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**Swansea University**  
**School of Human and Health Sciences**  
**Centre for Child Research**

**Negotiating Identities and Interrogating Inequalities of Class and  
Ethnicity in addressing an equality agenda:  
A rights based thesis of belonging**

**By Sarah Macdonald**

**Submitted to Swansea University in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy**

**2012**

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## Abstract

One of the most significant challenges the globalized world encounters is how to build a society that is more at peace with diversity and cosmopolitanism. Further, in a world where highly unequal power relations and a vast plethora of inequalities persist, interrogating and resisting inequalities is key. From this context, this study focuses on interrogating inequalities in addressing an equality agenda highlighting a thesis of belonging; the human need for belonging and security in that belonging and the human right to have these needs satisfied (UDHR, 1948). A thesis of belonging relates to an innate human need for belonging (Maslow, 1943) and it is argued in this thesis that this innate human need for belonging is very important and very much connected to many fundamental human rights which should be driven much more through equality focused social movements and the laws. Clearly, where human rights are not being upheld then action must be taken to uphold them. The research findings of this thesis show the relevance of a thesis of belonging and the relevance of two core theories which have a connection, a marxist theory of racism and a social identity theory of racism. A marxist understanding of racism clearly delineates the inequalities capitalism produces and in this thesis while it is not argued that a marxist understanding of racism alone completely explains all varieties of racism, through a significant number of participants' discourses this thesis shows how capitalism often appears to be a driving force behind discrimination made on the basis of ethnicity. In addition, a significant number of participants' discourses in this thesis also point towards a social identity theory of racism which indicates the significance of what a social group affords an individual where a sense of belonging derived from affiliation and acceptance in group membership provides a feeling of self esteem and security (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Breakwell, 1986; West, 1993, Aboud, 2008). Importantly, Tajfel (1981) emphasises how crucial it is to interrogate the social and economic context of discrimination and so here is where social identity theory relates to a marxist theory of racism.





For Stuart, Cara, my parents  
and for greater social justice, equality and real belonging

DECLARATION

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed.....

Date...12.10.12.....

STATEMENT 1

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## Introduction

One of the most significant challenges the globalized world encounters is how to build a society that is more at peace with diversity and cosmopolitanism. Further, in a world where highly unequal power relations and a vast plethora of inequalities persist, interrogating and resisting inequalities is key. From this context, this study focuses on interrogating inequalities in addressing an equality agenda highlighting a thesis of belonging; the human need for belonging and security in that belonging and the human right to have these needs satisfied (UDHR, 1948). A thesis of belonging relates to an innate human need for belonging (Maslow, 1943) and it is argued in this thesis that this innate human need for belonging is very important and very much connected to many fundamental human rights which should be driven much more through equality focused social movements and the laws. Clearly, where human rights are not being upheld then action must be taken to uphold them. The meanings inherent in a thesis of belonging and the relationship of belonging to human rights will be discussed in more detail further on in this introduction.

The research findings of this thesis show the relevance of a thesis of belonging and the relevance of two core theories which have a connection, a marxist theory of racism and a social identity theory of racism. A marxist understanding of racism clearly delineates the inequalities capitalism produces and in this thesis while it is not argued that a marxist understanding of racism alone completely explains all varieties of racism, through a significant number of participants' discourses this thesis shows how capitalism often appears to be a driving force behind discrimination made on the basis of ethnicity. In addition, a significant number of participants' discourses in this thesis also point towards a social identity theory of racism which indicates the significance of what a social group affords an individual where a sense of belonging derived from affiliation and acceptance in group membership provides a feeling of self esteem and security (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Breakwell, 1986; West, 1993, Aboud, 2008). Importantly, Tajfel (1981) emphasises how crucial it is to interrogate the social and economic context of discrimination and so here is where social identity theory relates to a marxist theory of racism. Tajfel (1981) underlines the significance of interrogating the in-group and out-group elements of group membership and the need to investigate;

*'the social and social psychological conditions which determine the creation of the social-cognitive consensus about group membership, the development of*



*positive or negative evaluations of the group and of one's membership in it, and the corresponding investment of emotion' (1981, p. 230).*

In some spheres, and in certain contexts discourses of identity become highly dichotomised where some are included and privileged whilst others are excluded from belonging, inclusion and acceptance in a particular in-group and are marginalised and dispossessed. So, from this context we can clearly perceive the importance of analysing the contexts where discrimination arises in order to protect people who are persecuted because of a particular identity in addressing an equality agenda and to find ways of alleviating the conditions which racism and other forms of discrimination thrive in. Tajfel emphasises the dichotomy between inclusion and exclusion which in certain conditions arises and which sometimes translates into discriminatory behaviour underscoring as noted above the importance of interrogating the social and social psychological conditions surrounding positive and negative attitudes towards the specific in-group and specific out-group pointing to the need to analyse the *'effects of all this on social behaviour towards the relevant in-group and the relevant out-group'* (1981 p. 230).

There are a number of barriers to and facilitators of children and young people's belonging rights and to their rights in relation to their equality of access to and experience of educational services. This study primarily interrogates the inequalities relating to exclusions made on the basis of nationality, ethnicity and class and investigates the roles and responsibilities of local, national and international communities in addressing an equality agenda which develops strategies that find ways of realising all children and young people's rights, advocating for the development of more pathways that help children and young people perceive themselves as agents of change in their own lives. As part of that interrogation this study also considers the social construction of nation and race where there exists a merging of reality and myth and a creation of imagined communities which may for people who are marginalised in some spaces become a vital form of belonging, refuge, inclusion, recourse and resistance. Also analysed is the dichotomy between fluid and fixed discourses of identity and the relevance of the discourse of belonging to understanding nation and nationalism, race and racism and again the responsibility of local, national and international communities to tackle discrimination.

Rights of all types coexist and are interdependent, whether conceived of being natural (Locke, 1768) human or civil, they do not exist independently from one another, nor do they exist in a lofty vacuum detached from social movements. Indeed social movements form an integral part of establishing rights and maintaining them. Furthermore, rights are not straightforward in the sense of being uncontested, indeed rights may conflict. In addition, whilst the state has a greater responsibility to ensure all people's rights are realised, rights are determined by the state and society so both agents have responsibility to ensure that all people's rights are realised. Markedly, rights combine freedom with control, all individuals are entitled to rights but at the same time have responsibilities to ensure that other people's rights are being met and that their own rights are not conflicting with those of others. Thus the language of rights can be misleading if the responsibilities part of the paradigm is forgotten. Faulks underlines the rights and responsibilities paradigm in connection with defining citizenship maintaining that: *'Citizenship is a status that denotes membership of a nation-state and which carries with it certain rights and duties associated with that citizenship'* (Faulks1998, cited in Butler and Keith, 1999, p. 89). Further, in working towards a democratic community which protects and benefits all people, the importance of supporting all people in becoming active citizens and agents of change in their own lives is a fundamental. As Talbot emphasises in discussion of citizenship and community: *'The challenge lies in creating the conditions whereby all citizens feel able to become actively involved- can influence, persuade and campaign- and in the making of decisions can work together for common good'* (Talbot1999 cited in Butler and Keith, 1999, p. 89). Markedly, sometimes a rights and responsibilities discourse is propagated by the state and other organisations in an effort to reduce responsibility for ensuring all people's rights are being met. Indeed the current conservative-liberal democrat coalition's advancement of the big society concept could be considered to be such a discourse that is used by some in positions of power to minimise the role of the state in providing for the welfare of citizens. Importantly Butler and Keith underscore the insider-outsider dichotomy connected with the idea of citizenship, and draw our attention to the rights attached to citizenship underlining how many people are excluded from these rights by their non citizenship status or the fact that they are socially excluded in some way: *'The notions of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion' are central components of the idea of citizenship. Insiders enjoy privileges, resources and rights.*

*Outsiders, or those 'socially excluded' enjoy none of these* (Butler and Keith, 1999, p. 90).

In exploring the meanings in a thesis of belonging and the relationship of belonging to human rights, it is apparent that a significant number of human rights issues are attached to issues connected with belonging and inclusion. A sense of belonging derived from affiliation and acceptance in group membership provides a feeling of self esteem and security (Tajfel and Turner, 1979; Breakwell, 1986; West, 1993, Aboud, 2008). Therefore, the more inclusive society's cultural fabric is, the greater the sense of belonging given to people is. Thus in understanding the importance of the human need and right to belonging and inclusion, we can perceive how an individual's or group's persecution and general exclusion from acceptance in and participation in a group or groups and from a service or services in society is a breach of fundamental human rights. In challenging the myriad forms of exclusion that people contend with we can look to human rights based approaches for recourse where there is a focus on ensuring people greater inclusion and belonging through an upholding of all people's civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights. As Orend emphasises: *'One justification for human rights rests on a conception of human nature that assumes a set of vital needs we all share, and a core principle that is deeply, and manifestly, wrong to inflict harm on people in connection with their vital needs'* (Orend, 2002, p. 69).

Decidedly, a human right to belonging forms very much a core part of equality law. For the human need for belonging and the human right to have this need satisfied (UDHR, 1948) through the realisation of all people's civil, political, economic, social and cultural rights is crucial in addressing an equality agenda. Within this human rights framework, Orend underlines the repressiveness of governments who deny their citizens their rights whilst claiming rights for themselves:

*'The contemporary human rights idea suggests that every human being- man or woman, rich or poor, adult or child, healthy or sick, educated or not- holds human rights. We are all members of the human community, and so hold any and all of those rights referred to as human rights.....Overlooking universality is, of course, the very bread- and- butter of those who violate human rights, such as repressive governments. Officials in such governments often claim many things for themselves- rewards and resources, access and influence-which they deny to their fellow citizens. Thus they fail to grasp, or respect fully, the twin commitments to universality and to a form of equality inherent in the human rights idea'* (Orend, 2002, p. 16).

In discussion of perceiving rights as agents of change, Beirne points out that whilst naturally everyone has rights, these rights may be denied by others:

*'Rights inhere in us by virtue of our very humanity, so slaves in ancient Rome, Jews under the Nazis, and women under the Taliban, all possessed rights, even if those rights were abused egregiously. Part of the modern debate about rights has been an exploration of how to ensure that these rights, deriving from our very humanity, are more respected than they have been in previous generations.'* (Beirne in Harvey, 2005, p. 44).

Crucially, Beirne emphasises the need to redress the power imbalance between society and the state and underlines two areas where greater change is necessary:

*'Those holding power must accept that there are limits to their power, and that one of the most important limitations imposed on them is the requirement to uphold the human rights of all those over whom they exercise power. Secondly, human beings must be agents of their own change in this process, for it is only in asserting rights that change is effected on the governors and the governed'* (Beirne in Harvey, 2005, p. 44).

Beirne also underscores how economic, social and cultural rights are *'the poor relation in British human rights discourse'* (Beirne in Harvey, 2005, p. 46) and she contends that this is due to the ramifications of the second world war and the cold war from where there developed two distinct covenants of rights. For whilst the Soviet Union emphasised the importance of upholding economic, social and cultural rights, the West gave preference to emphasising civil and political rights. Markedly, Beirne points to the *'distinctiveness of socio-economic rights as agents of change'* and argues that greater emphasis must be given to socio-economic rights in Britain: *'The promotion and protection of socio-economic rights (alongside, not in contra-distinction to civil and political rights) can prove a particularly effective force for change in our society'* (Beirne in Harvey, 2005, p. 45).

In discussion of marxist jurisprudence, Marx and Lenin argued that in the class based society humans are alienated from their true social nature and that in order to challenge this transformation of human nature must take place where an individual perceives herself or himself as an integral member of a community as opposed to a right bearing member:

*'Man in class society is alienated from his original social nature. When all traces of this alienation have been removed, each person will see himself, not as the isolated, right-bearing individual which bourgeois justice focuses upon, but as an integral member of a community. Its life will be his life. All will spontaneously observe what Lenin called the 'elementary rules of social life' and should any isolated individual step out of line, he will be dealt with by the spontaneous reaction of his fellows. There will be no need*

*for rule-makers, no need for coercion, and so no 'law' in the bourgeois sense* (Harris, 1980, p. 256).

In relation to how the research for this thesis developed and the background to the research, the research began by analysing literature relating to the barriers and facilitators of children and young people's access to services and in that analysis inequalities of class and ethnicity were very apparent. Thus the research aimed at interrogating these inequalities, analysing the roles and responsibilities of local, national and international communities in developing strategies that find ways of overcoming exclusions, providing for all children and young people's rights, with a particular focus on analysing ways to improve children and young people's equality of access to and experience of educational services. Having analysed the extreme political right in France and postcolonial theory as part of undergraduate studies, this has certainly influenced the researcher's philosophy. Also, an assault experienced when the researcher was 13 by a white female of Austrian nationality exhibiting xenophobia has also had a profound influence on the researcher and the issues considered in this thesis, namely issues relating to inequalities related to discrimination based on nationality and ethnicity and the processes of inclusion and exclusion involved.

There are eight core research questions which this thesis explores and will be discussed throughout the thesis. Firstly, what are the key barriers and facilitators of children and young people's equality of access to and experience of educational services? Secondly, does group membership identity hold an appeal for individuals? And if so what is it about group membership that is appealing? Thirdly, why does a collective identity sometimes become exclusive? Fourthly, what are the social circumstances that may act as a catalyst for discrimination made on the basis of class, nationality and ethnicity? Fifthly, what other exclusions may be made that are closely related with those made in connection with nationality or ethnicity? Sixthly, how relevant is a marxist understanding of racism? Seventhly, what role does the media play in constructing a sense of nation in Britain and is this construction of nation inclusive or exclusive and what influence does this have on intergroup attitudes? And eighthly, how can the local, national and international community help to challenge the discrimination that people may face in terms of exclusions made on the basis of class, nationality and ethnicity?

This review analyses a diverse range of literature, examining ethnocentrism and discriminations made on the basis of class, nationality and ethnicity in conjunction with

a variety of theories which appear relevant including social constructivism, social identity theory, dialectics, marxism, relative deprivation theory, postcolonialism and Orientalism. Further, in response to challenging ethnocentrism, discriminations and resulting inequalities, findings from the study of this thesis suggest the importance of education and a rights based approach which are explored through the literature review.

The rationale for the specific literature analysed here which underpins the range of bodies of literature considered is based on a thesis of belonging, the human need for belonging and the human right to have this need satisfied. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights delineates rights rooted in the aims of equality, liberty and respect that in combination with social movements if thoroughly implemented through international and domestic law contribute towards the equality, freedom, security and well-being of all people regardless of national or ethnic identity or status which is important for achieving greater inclusion and belonging for all people in society (UDHR, 1948).

In terms of defining the human need for belonging and the human right to have this need satisfied, this is conceived of in two ways which are linked. The first part of the main argument of the thesis concerns the thesis that people have an innate need for a sense of belonging (Maslow, 1943) and that a sense of belonging and self esteem needs in that are often derived from acceptance and belonging in a group or social identity (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Breakwell, 1986, West, 1993, Aboud, 2008). The second part of the main argument of this thesis concerns taking a rights based agenda to ensure that belonging rights are satisfied (UDHR, 1948). In particular, there are a number of rights delineated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights that are specifically relevant to the understanding the core argument of this thesis including articles, 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 14 part 1 21 part 2, 22 and 26. Articles 1, 2, 3 and 21 (a) give a particular focus and grounded agenda to this study's thesis of belonging, the human need for belonging and security in that belonging and the human right to have these needs satisfied (UDHR, 1948). Further, in interrogating the barriers to and facilitators of children and young people's belonging rights and to their rights in relation to their equality of access to and experience of educational services, taking a rights based approach is essential in terms of extending entitlement and realisation of rights, a process which the Welsh assembly government have committed to in their implementation of the rights of the child delineated in the UNCRC.

**Article 1** of the UDHR states that *'All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one*

*another in a spirit of brotherhood' (UDHR, 1948).* This underlines the importance of building policy and practice that is focused on emphasizing and ensuring the universality of rights. Further, this article points to the rights and responsibilities paradigm and the importance of developing respect amongst people. Similarly, the American Declaration of Independence points to the universality of rights and also to the responsibility of governments to ensure these rights are being met, maintaining that all people are created equally, that they are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness. Additionally, **article 2 of the UDHR** points to the issue of discrimination and draws attention to a variety of identity based inequalities and exclusions which are made and emphasises that all people are equally entitled to the same rights:

*'Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty' (UDHR, 1948).*

**Article 3** which asserts that *'Everyone has the right to life, liberty and security of person' (UDHR, 1948)*, points to the need to ensure a series of fundamental rights which many other rights are based upon. Notably, it underlines the core argument of this thesis in relation to the right to security of person, in terms of belonging rights, that every citizen or non-citizen is protected by the state in terms of ensuring that all people's human rights are being met and upheld. Finally, **article 21 part (2)** which maintains that *'everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country'* is especially relevant to the interrogation in this research study of the barriers to and facilitators of children and young people's access to and experience of educational services. Centering on a thesis of the importance of belonging, this review considers the significance of belonging often derived from a social identity in group membership, the social circumstances that may act as a catalyst for discrimination made on the basis of nationality or ethnicity and the value in using education and rights based approaches for tackling discrimination. A dichotomy is often established between xenophobia and cosmopolitanism, between discourses of belonging and unbelonging, between insiders and outsiders where fluid, inclusive, discourses of identity contrast with fixed, exclusive discourses of identity. It is important to note that whilst this dichotomy exists between

inclusion and exclusion, belonging and unbelonging, the two are not mutually exclusive as an individual or group who experiences exclusion from one social identity may in response seek a greater sense of belonging and inclusion in another social identity.

Social constructivism and dialectics appear relevant to participants' discourses in the study of this thesis in connection with the human need for belonging. This is visible in participants' discourses of collective identities, where constructions of simplified representations of ethnicity and binary oppositions are presented, where the self and other are dichotomized and defined. Further, social identity theory appears relevant where a sense of belonging and unbelonging is displayed in reference to nationality and ethnicity, where at a collective level, identities are defined and boundaries are demarcated in terms of insiders and outsiders. A marxist understanding of racism also appears relevant to the discourse of belonging as racial discrimination appears very much connected to inequalities of class. Further, relative deprivation theory seems apposite in discourses where manifestations of racist attitudes appears to be influenced by deprivation and racism seems to be targeted at immigrants who are perceived to be given state priority in terms of housing and jobs. Postcolonial theory also considered in this review is important for understanding the discourse of belonging and unbelonging in this thesis as it points to the impact of colonialism and imperialism and the drive for economic expansion which was a major influence behind these movements and which to involved significant exploitation. Further, postcolonial theory perceives that in the post-colonial state, the aftermath of colonialism continues to influence the relationship between the 'West' and the 'East,' and this has been taken into consideration in this thesis where representations of fixed, narrow understandings of identities and exclusionary practices are present in participants' discourses. Orientalism which has links with postcolonial discourse centres on critiquing 'Western' representations of 'Eastern' cultures and seems relevant to the study of this thesis as Orientalism appears in some participants' discourses in the study where the 'West' and the 'East' are dichotomized and immigrants are stereotyped and represented as not belonging in Britain where there is a narrow and exclusionary defining of what participants consider it means to be British and to belong to the national collective.

In Britain and North America inequality and division in policy design and a lack of state provision of support and services for people living in vulnerable and minoritised positions perpetuates inequalities relating to class and ethnicity. The next part of the introduction contextualises the research agenda of this study underlining inequalities of



class and ethnicity in the two research contexts of Britain and North America.

## **Defining Class, Nation, Race and Ethnicity**

### **A construction of Class**

Marxist theory theorises class as a group of persons sharing the same relationship to the means of production. In the Communist Manifesto Marx and Engels (1848) highlight the inherently unequalizing and unjust system of capitalism and point to the constant battle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In their manifesto Marx and Engels emphasise this unequal and exploitative relationship and the power struggles surrounding it well maintaining that:

*'The history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles. Freeman and slave, patrician and plebeian, lord and serf, guild-master and journeyman, in a word, oppressor and oppressed, stood in constant opposition to one another, carried on an uninterrupted, now hidden, now open fight, a fight that each time ended, either in a revolutionary reconstitution of society at large, or in the common ruin of the contending classes' (Marx and Engels, 1848, p. 1).*

Furthermore, Marx and Engels highlight how the proletariat are exploited by the bourgeoisie who make financial gains from the labour of the proletariat whilst the proletariat struggles to make ends meet, often being caught in a poverty cycle as power imbalances increase:

*'The average price of wage labour is the minimum wage, i.e., that quantum of the means of subsistence which is absolutely requisite to keep the labourer in bare existence as a labourer. What, therefore, the wage labourer appropriates by means of his labour, merely suffices to prolong and reproduce a bare existence' (Marx, Engels and Hobsbawm, 1998, p. 53).*

Marx and Engels Communist Manifesto is just as relevant today in 2012 as it was in 1848 as divisions and inequalities between the haves and the have nots still persist. Indeed in most spaces across the world and in the study's research contexts of Britain and North America, whilst undoubtedly state service provision has improved and the gap between the rich and poor has been narrowed since 1848 it is still nevertheless a wide one as in many spaces a lack of sufficient state provision and inequalities of class remain persistent. Marx and Engels (1848) draw attention to the injustice of elitist practices working within capitalistic processes and the exploitation of the proletariat

underlining the fracture between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat maintaining that; *'Society as a whole is more and more splitting up into two great hostile camps, into two great classes directly facing each other: bourgeoisie and proletariat'* (Marx, Engels and Hobsbawm, 1998, p. 35).

So, as can be perceived above Marxist theory points to the inherent inequalities in the class based system of capitalism as Giddens underlines: *'Capitalism is inherently a class system in which class relations are characterized by conflict'* (Giddens, 2006, p. 16). Markedly, Olumide (2002) highlights the social and ideological construction of the fabrications of class, race and gender pointing to how ideologies of divisions and differences are propagated so that power imbalances are maintained where the gap between the rich and poor is perpetuated. Hierarchical forms of knowledge production only perpetuate dominant ideologies which oppress and dispossess some whilst advantaging others:

*'We live in societies that are ordered, through the ideological construction of divisions such as race, class and gender, in such a way that people tend to develop distorted beliefs about themselves and about others. Such beliefs act to avert conflict and disorder so that social and economic life can proceed in ways which privilege some whilst dispossessing many. Those who are dispossessed may for a time be persuaded of the inevitability of their situation. This however, is never completely successful, and has to be reinvented and re-established. Although domestic order may be created through repressive controls, in many states it is most usually (though not invariably) secured through ideological control'* (Olumide, 2002, p. 14).

Clearly, there is a significant relationship between inequalities of class and inequalities of race, which the findings of the study of this thesis show. Markedly, Rahman (1993) also points to this underlining the inequalities of class at work which produce social oppression and points to how the dominant class tries to monopolise knowledge production, emphasising the need for oppressed people to develop their own communities of knowledge and find ways of asserting their knowledge against that of the oppressor.

## **A social construction of Nation**

Nation is 'an aggregation of people or peoples of one or more ethnicities organized into a single state' (Collins, p. 1038). In the social construction of nation there sometimes in some spaces exists a merging of reality and myth and a creation of imagined communities which may for people who are marginalised in some spaces become a very important form of belonging and recourse. Further, in some spaces and in certain contexts nationalism occurs where national identity is narrowly defined in an effort to include some whilst excluding others. Smith (1998) analyses the global appeal of nationalism for so many and takes an ethno-symbolic approach to analysing nations and nationalism in which he emphasises the significance of memories, symbols and myths of the nation in the process of defining and redefining a sense of nation (Smith, 1998). Markedly Smith points to the resurgence of ethnic conflict and nationalism and asks why the idea of nation holds such significant appeal for some:

*'Why is it that so many people remain so deeply attached to their ethnic communities and nations? And why do the myths, memories, and symbols of the nation command such widespread loyalty and devotion? And why are so many people still prepared to make considerable sacrifices, even of life and limb, for their nations and cultures?'* (Smith, 1998, p. 3).

These are significant questions for the study of this thesis as they are connected with understanding the power social identities and their ideologies hold over some people and help in the work of challenging unequalizing ideologies. Indeed, answers to these questions assist in the process of interrogating inequalities such as those of class and race in addressing an equality agenda. Exploration of pathways to answering these questions will be made further on throughout this thesis.

## **A social construction of Race and Ethnicity**

Certainly, as discussed in more detail further on in this chapter, the social construction of race is to a significant extent connected with the furthering of inequalities of class. Cox (1959) emphasises that racism arises from capitalism, arguing that the ruling classes employed slavery, colonization and racism as ways in which to exploit labour. An alternative perspective is given by neo-marxists who suggest that racism is not the consequence of capitalism alone but is a labyrinthine and multifaceted phenomenon. Certainly in analysing the relationship between inequalities of class and those of race, the establishment and re-establishment of a dichotomy between belonging and

exclusion, between insiders and outsiders has a very central place in maintaining this relationship. For some people difference is contentious and a fear of difference acts as a barrier to realising how similar in reality we really are. In discussion of the racialised justification of the exploitation of people's labour, land and resources Olumide underscores how differences are racialised by institutions and how we don't always realise the extent to which institutions influence our social selves and indeed of the importance of demanding social change:

*'Some of the worst excesses of exploitation have seized on race as their rationale. Where groups, or particular human differences, become racialised, any mixing of difference is, of course, tabooed. If we are, as a people, mindful of the ways in which our social organisations construct and shape our 'social selves', to progress beyond these gross inequities, we must invent fairer and more just organisations for ourselves to inhabit. We can do this only when we are aware of the consequences of present arrangements and have the will to insist on social change' (Olumide, 2002, pp. 2-3).*

As with the social construction of race, we should also recognise and interrogate the process of social construction at work with ethnicity and how social organisations influence how we perceive ourselves and others. In defining ethnicity from the context of the identity defining process we can perceive the importance of the role of social construction in creating and defining cultural traditions of people groups and the role of the collective memory in remembering and celebrating these identities and the traditions attached to them. As with all identities, ethnicity should be conceived of as a fluid, ever moving and ever changing social and cultural process and not a fixed, immovable monolith.

In perceiving a marxist understanding of racism and ethnicity we can from this context analyse the fabrication of ethnicities and how for some a sense of belonging and security derived from membership in group identities is important. Further, for some under certain conditions in capitalistic societies in both contexts of wealth and deprivation any perceived threat to this sense of belonging and security means that narrow dichotomies of belonging and unbelonging, of inclusion and exclusion are forged and re-forged, cycled and re-cycled as a means of further identity definition in the pursuit of greater belonging, security and wealth.

## **Inequalities of class and ethnicity in North America**

In discussion of inequalities of class and ethnicity in the context of North America in his article '*Still Separate, Still Unequal: America's Educational Apartheid*' Kozol underlines how over 50 years since the *Brown versus Board of Education* decision of 'separate but equal' many schools in New York City and across America still appear to be as racially segregated as they were in 1954. The author further argues that in many cases it seems that schools and the state appear to have given up trying to challenge this trend and have reverted to a philosophy that mirrors the 'separate but equal' 1896 decision in *Plessy versus Ferguson*:

*'Implicit in this mediation is a willingness to set aside the promises of Brown and—though never stating this or even thinking of it clearly in these terms—to settle for the promise made more than a century ago in Plessy v. Ferguson the 1896 Supreme Court ruling in which "separate but equal" was accepted as a tolerable rationale for the perpetuation of a dual system in American society (Kozol, 2005, p. 38).*

Additionally, in relation to the inequalities that immigrant families contend with in the context of North America, Reardon-Anderson et al (2002) insist that policy is biased in favour of native families: '*the design of social welfare policy and the needs of the growing number of immigrant children continue to be mismatched as policy favours native families*' (p. 2). Feldman (2002) underlines how an individualistic perspective on rights in the U.K. and the U.S. means that positive discrimination is somewhat hampered. However, he points out the arguments in favour of positive discrimination in tackling inequalities maintaining that:

*'Ethnic diversity in education, housing, professions etc. benefits the whole of society, and also helps to strengthen the institutions concerned. Another argument is that special action is helpful in producing substantial numbers of for example black or women doctors in order to give members of that racial group or sex a role model which will encourage them to take up opportunities which are available'* (Feldman, 2002, p. 153).

Markedly, whilst the United States of America is one of the richest nations in the world per capita wealth, large inequalities in the distribution of wealth persist (GINI index, Human Development Report 2006, Table 15, p. 335). This disparity in wealth is especially apparent in New York State. In *On the Edge in the Empire State: New York's Low-Income Children*, Chau et al point to recent research by Bernstein and McNichol who report that the income gap in New York State between the highest-income families and the lowest-income families is the largest in the nation (Bernstein & McNichol 2006

cited in Chau et al 2006). Furthermore the authors report that nearly half of all New York State residents live in New York City, where the cost of living is very high. More than two in five children in New York State live in low-income families. Further out of the 2 million children living in New York City, 56% of those children live in low-income families (Chau et al 2006). Additionally there are an increasing number of homeless families in New York and this homeless status acts as a major barrier to children's access of services. In his case study on homelessness in New York City, Nunez (2001) contrasts the findings of a survey carried out by The Institute for Children and Poverty and describes them in terms of '*a story of two children, one with a prosperous and bright future, the other with poor health, sporadic education and little social stability*' (p. 367). Markedly, there are high rates of economic poverty amongst immigrant children and their families. The Urban institute highlights the barriers immigrants in North America face and reports that whilst in the year 2000 children of immigrants were the fastest growing segment of the population under 18 (Van Hook & Fix2000 cited in Reardon-Anderson, Capps & Fix, 2002, p. 1), in 2001, one in four low-income children was an immigrant's child (Fix, Zimmermann, and Passel2001 cited in Reardon-Anderson, Capps & Fix, 2002, p. 1). In 2002, poverty rates in New York State for immigrant children were 23%, 7% higher than poverty rates for native children and just over the average US rate of 22%. Furthermore, due to expensive housing costs, New York State is one of the most densely populated areas for immigrant children in the States, at 36% versus 26% nationally (Capps & Fortuny, 2006, p. 18). Further, Capps and Fortuny underscore the higher economic hardship affecting immigrant children and argue that consequently they have greater needs for public benefits and other social service supports than native children do. Additionally they observe how most of the types of benefits needed in immigrant families are linked with low-wage work such as tax credits, housing, food assistance, health insurance coverage, and child care subsidies. However in spite of this, children in immigrant families are much less likely than those in native families to receive these benefits and services, when taking account of income and parental work. Significantly, the authors ask how the isolation of immigrant families and their wariness of participating in public benefit and service programs can be overcome (Capps & Fortuny, 2006, pp. 12, 13, 25). Further Capps et al point out how undocumented families are often afraid of drawing attention to themselves in case of deportation and so consequently they do not access services which they are eligible for (Capps, Ku, et al. 2002 cited in Capps, Hagan, and Rodriguez 2004,

## **Inequalities of class and ethnicity in Wales**

### **Poverty and inequalities in employment**

A report by the group End child poverty (2012) underlines that currently in Britain four million children or one in three children are living in poverty which is one of the highest rates in the industrialised world (End child poverty, 2012). Markedly, Croke and Crowley point to the significant level of poverty in Wales and emphasise that whilst Britain remains one of the richest countries in the world there exists a significant level of children living in poverty in Wales. In particular, Croke and Crowley call for the Welsh Assembly government and the UK government to uphold children's rights pointing to article 15 of the UNCRC which maintains that the government must *'undertake all necessary measures to the maximum extent of available resources to accelerate the elimination of child poverty, tackling 'the scourge of child poverty in Wales' with as many resources as possible, noting that 'it is a disgrace that such a high percentage of the child population are living in poverty. The UK and Welsh Assembly Government should act with urgency to address the fundamental right of all children to live a life free from poverty'* (Croke, R. and Crowley A., 2007, p. 41). In particular, Croke and Crowley stress that *'children of asylum seekers and migrant workers, disabled parents, single parents and large families, and children living in some Black Minority Ethnic groups are the children who are most at risk of poverty'* (Croke, R. and Crowley A., 2007, p. 41).

In terms of employment in Wales when analysing it by ethnicity, the 2011 EHRC review found that *'non-white men and women both have lower employment rates than their white counterparts in Wales'* (How Fair is Wales p. 50). However the authors underline that whilst there exists this overall distinction there is significant variation between ethnic groups. Additionally the reviewers found that Bangladeshi males are much more likely to be in employment than white males reporting that *'relative to white males, Bangladeshi males are 330% more likely to be in employment'* (EHRC, 2011, p. 50). Conversely, the review states that *'Black Caribbean and Black African men are less than half as likely to be in employment'* (EHRC p. 50). Further, gender disparities are visible as the study informs that *'The employment rates of Bangladeshi and*

*Pakistani women are particularly low, just 8% and 11% respectively work full-time (EHRC, 2011, p. 50). Additionally, the review states that 'the average wealth of ethnic groups other than White British and Indian is significantly below average' (EHRC, 2011, p. 57). Also, in terms of hourly pay the review's findings point to discrimination in Wales related to gender, disability and ethnicity (EHRC, 2011, p. 8). Despite the fact that this review found that Bangladeshi men are much more likely to be employed than white men and Chinese students are high academic achievers, evidence suggests that significant inequalities relating to wealth persist as a greater overall proportion of ethnic minority members in Wales work in low paid jobs. Markedly Davies et al report that 'Poverty is more prevalent in Black and Asian households, households where there is a disabled person present and within the rented sector' (Davies et al, 2011, p. 129).*

### **Inequalities in Education in Britain**

Markedly, in the Hill report (2010) an *Anatomy of Economic Inequality in the U.K.* the authors point to the persistent inequalities people contend with in Britain. In terms of inequalities in income Hill et al underline the significant gap between rich and poor in British society and underscore how it has increased since the 1960s:

*'Britain has moved from being a society where those near the top had three times the incomes of those near the bottom in the 1960s and 1970s to one where, since the start of the 1990s, they have four times as much. We have still not seen the full results of this shift, as the gainers and losers from this process have still only had half their careers within this more unequal world' (Hill et al, 2010, p. 403).*

In terms of addressing an equality agenda in education, identification, monitoring and assessment of any group or groups whose members may be underachieving is key. In *How fair is Britain* (2010) the authors underline the importance of education, how it is a right which improves life conditions and opportunities stating that 'a wealth of evidence shows that education is a key determinant of life chances. As well as being a right in itself, education is an enabling right, allowing individuals to develop the skills, capacity and confidence to secure other rights and economic opportunities' (EHRC, 2010, p. 300).

Croke and Crowley (2007) identified a number of groups whose educational achievement is seriously below average in Wales reporting that; 'The educational attainment of some groups of children including working class White boys and children from some minority ethnic groups, such as Gypsy/Roma and Black and Asian ethnic



backgrounds, are significantly below average (Croke and Crowley, 2007, p. 46). Additionally, the authors highlight very low levels of training and confidence that teachers in Wales had relating to cultural diversity and dealing with racism and suggest a much more diverse curriculum as well as encouraging greater involvement of parents (Croke and Crowley, 2007).

A marked inequality and barrier to retention in and access to formal education in Wales has been experienced by some students from minority ethnic groups in terms of permanent exclusion from school. A 2011 EHRC review carried out in Wales, asks how fair a society Wales is and reports that *'pupils from non-white backgrounds are at least a fifth more likely to be excluded than those from white backgrounds'* (EHRC, p. 41). Whilst the authors point to the rarity of students being permanently excluded from school they point out the severity of its' impact on an individuals' educational development: *'Although rare, school exclusions have a serious detrimental effect on educational development'* (EHRC, 2011, p. 41). Further, the authors suggests another barrier experienced by some ethnic minority students to educational development in Wales is related to language difference, which they suggest seems to be a particularly relevant factor with students born outside of Wales whose first language is not English: *'People from ethnic minority backgrounds are more likely to fail to achieve functional literacy compared to white people (41% compared to 24%). For numeracy, a similar percentage point gap exists - 69% compared to 53%'* (EHRC, 2011, p. 45). Furthermore, the authors of the review state that *'it is clear that some groups are performing much worse such as Pakistani and Bangladeshi people'* (EHRC, 2011, p. 40). However, the authors continue by cautioning that *'it is not, however, a case of non-white groups uniformly attaining worse outcomes than the white majority'* (EHRC, 2011, p. 40). Further, evidence from the review suggests that students of Black and Pakistani ethnicity seem to be struggling more than others in their educational development as the authors report that *'A higher proportion of pupils from Asian, Indian, Irish, Mixed White and White British ethnic backgrounds achieved a good level of development when compared to pupils from Black and Pakistani ethnic groups'* (EHRC, 2011, p. 41).

Davies et al report that *'Chinese pupils are more than twice as likely to achieve a grade C or above in all core subjects at GCSE than Black Caribbean and Black African pupils (68% compared to 31% for black pupils)'* (EHRC, 2011, p. 43). However, they note that there are other factors which affect these findings including socio-economic

background and gender (EHRC, 2011, p. 43). Further, the authors highlight that in Wales like in England, *'Indian and Chinese males are best qualified while Bangladeshi males and Pakistani and Bangladeshi females have the highest proportion with no qualifications'* (EHRC, 2011, p. 46). Similarly, another review carried out in Wales reports that Bangladeshi pupils are some of the lowest achieving students, whereas Indian pupils are some of the highest achieving students (Davies et al, 2011, p. 21). Notably, this review underlines how in comparison with statistics nationally there is a larger proportion of ethnic minority members living in Wales with no qualifications. Further, the authors point to inequalities of gender and ethnicity as they report that for ethnic minority groups *'the differential is highest for females since 25% have no formal qualifications, compared to 23% in the Outer UK and 15% in London, East and the South East'* (Davies et al, 2011, p. 27).

The key stage four results by ethnicity in Wales in 2008 were as follows for girls. Indian girls achieved the highest grades, followed by Bangladeshi, Pakistani, White-British, mixed, white-other and Black African girls achieved the lowest grades. (No results of Chinese girls were provided but if it follows the pattern of the achievement for boys then they would have had the highest grades.). The key stage four results by ethnicity in Wales in 2008 for boys were as follows. Chinese boys achieved the highest grades followed by Indian, Asian-other, Pakistani, Mixed, White-other, White-British, Bangladeshi and Black African boys achieved the lowest grades (Hill et al, 2010, p. 78). In terms of GCSE results by religion Hindu students achieved the highest results and from all religious groups girls tended to achieve better grades than boys:

*'In all measures of GCSE attainment, Hindu boys and girls perform most highly on average: Hindu girls achieve almost 2 GSCE grades A\*-C more than Christian girls, and over 2 GSCE grades A\*-C more than Muslim girls. For all religious groups, girls tend to do better than boys, and the gender gap is similar across religious groups'* (Hill, 2010, p. 82).

Variations within ethnic groups in achievement as well as between ethnic groups should not be overlooked. Clearly, in order for a robust analysis of the inequalities which may be affecting individuals and groups, a thorough analysis of the relationships and interconnections between gender, ethnicity, class and other social divisions is very necessary. Hill et al (2010) emphasise this need to analyse the distinctions within social groups as well as between social groups pointing to how inequalities of class within social groups as well as across social groups are very significant:

*'There remain deep-seated and systematic differences in economic outcomes between social groups across all of the dimensions we have examined – including between men and women, between different ethnic groups, between social class groups, between those living in disadvantaged and other areas, and between London and other parts of the country. Importantly, however, differences in outcomes between the more and less advantaged **within** each social group, however the population is classified, are usually only a little narrower than those across the population as a whole. They are much greater than differences **between** groups. Even if all differences between such groups were removed, overall economic inequalities would remain wide'* (Hill et al, 2010, p. 385).

**The first part** of the literature review theorizes ethnocentrism, nationalism, racism with the discourse of belonging, analysing identity theories that point to a sense of belonging and self esteem gained from group membership. **The second part** of the literature review analyses different conceptualisations of social justice and social equality theories. Further, this section also further defines access and experience of services. **Part three** of the literature review analyses the thesis of belonging in connection with social identity theory. **Part four** of the literature review theorizes nationality and ethnicity as social constructions and analyses the paradox of self and other, discussing hegemonies of power and the processes of scapegoating and stereotyping.

**Part five** of the literature review focuses on theorizing social identity in terms of imagined communities and threatened identities, where myths and memories combine with a strong sense of belonging derived from a collective celebration of national identity. **Part six** of the literature review theorizes a marxist understanding of racism, analysing imperialism and capitalism and the construction of identities through power relations. Furthermore, this section analyses the inequalities of class and ethnicity in Britain, considering the relationships between immigrants and host communities in the Britain, hegemonies of power, politics and racism and the relevance of relative deprivation theory. Finally, in exploring how the local, national and international community can help to challenge discrimination that people may face in terms of exclusions made on the basis of nationality or ethnicity, **part seven**, the last section in the literature review considers the importance of education and a rights based approach for tackling discrimination which is suggested by many of the participants in the study of this thesis. In this last chapter, the value of education, social movements and the law for challenging discrimination and exclusion is emphasised in pursuit of the human need and human right for belonging.

**Chapter two** of this thesis discusses the **methodology** of the research study which centres on a philosophy of action research . Also, it discusses the relevance of using a thematic and critical discourse analysis in the study. **Chapter three** of this thesis, the **findings and discussion** chapter presents a rounded discussion of five core themes that derive from the research. **The first theme** considers identity definition in relation to the thesis of belonging, analysing study findings which point to the relevance of social identity theory. **The second theme** of this chapter considers the study findings in relation to the media's legitimising of myths and consensually shared social ideologies. **The third theme** of this chapter discusses the study findings in relation to a marxist understanding of racism analysing the dominant systems of capitalism and imperialism. **The fourth theme** of this chapter considers the study findings in relation to developing an expansive and inclusive multicultural citizenship, theorising on a performative, postmodern approach to identity politics. And the **fifth theme**, the last section in the findings and discussion chapter considers the pathways to social justice and social equality through community organising, education and a rights based approach. Finally, **part 4, the conclusion** of this thesis brings the core arguments of the thesis as a whole, emphasises the contribution of this thesis and makes some suggestions for future research agendas.

## **Chapter 1: Literature Review:**

### **1: Theorizing Ethnocentrism, Nationalism, Racism and The Discourse of Belonging**

#### **1.1: Belonging, Self Esteem, Exclusion, and Group Identification in Identity Theories**

The concept of belonging appears central to understanding nationalism, racism and xenophobia because their construction relies on attempting to establish a dichotomy of belonging and not belonging, of inclusion and exclusion, of insider and outsider. The desire to belong, to feel accepted for self-esteem needs appears a fundamental emotion in the human psyche (Maslow, 1943). A sense of belonging in group identity seems to provide a feeling of self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Breakwell, 1986 and West, 1993).

Ethnocentrism centres on a belief in the intrinsic superiority of the nation, culture, or group to which one belongs, which is often linked to a dislike of other groups. In discussion of ethnocentrism and cultural relativism Sanders (1999) underlines the dangers of extremes of both:

*'The dangers of an ethnocentric perspective are relatively clear. It is a manifestation of the exercise of power imbalances between different cultures and societies. With ethnocentrism one has cultural hegemony; however with cultural relativism one lacks a foundation from which to censure practices like foot-binding in China and female circumcision' (Sanders, 1999, p. 27).*

Nationalism has many different forms from the more banal to the more extreme and understanding the context from which it grows within is crucial to any analysis. From a sense of loyalty to a national community to a more fanatical devotion, nationalism has a diversity of manifestations, from uprisings against colonial or illegitimate rule to intolerances related to religious differences. At the core of nationalism's various paradigms is a social identity. A social identity that connects individuals providing a platform to define individual and national identity providing a sense of belonging. Gandhi (1998) argues that nationalism provides a guise for a variety of intolerances between people worldwide maintaining that; 'Nationalism has become the popular pretext for contemporary disquisitions of intolerance, separating Croatians and Serbians,

Greeks and Macedonians, Estonians and Russians, Slovaks and Czechs, Armenians and Azerbaijanis, Israelis and Palestinians, Hindus and Muslims' (Gandhi, p. 108). In discussion of nationalism, Grosby (2005) suggests that what is noticeable about nationalism 'is the belief that the nation is the only goal worthy of pursuit- an assertion that often leads to the belief that the nation demands unquestioned and uncompromising loyalty' (Grosby, 2005, p. 5). Nationalism like this involves an essentialising and a fixing of identities and a dichotomization between insiders and outsiders. Markedly, a similar focus on reducing and cementing identities and dichotomization of those who belong and those who are deemed not to belong is found in analysis of racism. Hall underlines how racism tries to produce fixed identities arguing that;

*'Racism operates by constructing impassable symbolic boundaries between racially constituted categories, and its typically binary system of representation constantly marks and attempts to fix and naturalize the difference between belongingness and otherness.'* (Hall, 1992, p. 255).

From a postcolonial perspective, the need for independence from the colonial structure appears to justify nationalist uprisings. Without condoning violence, certainly, nationalism has acted as a catalyst for deconstructing colonisation and asserting the independence of a nation. As Gandhi notes while nationalism should not be perceived as the only way to defeat colonisation, it is argued by Fanon and others that it is the primary way that 'the colonised culture overcomes the psychological damage of colonial racism (Gandhi, 1998, p.111).

In discussion of racism, Petrova (2001) suggests that denial is the new phenomenology of racism and maintains that to an extent 'all societies are racist to some degree' (Petrova, 2001, p. 45). However, it should be recognised that whilst Petrova's contention that all societies may be racist to some degree might be valid to a point, not all societies have expressed ideologies of race, and those societies that have seem to be linked to specific contexts such as the civilising mission attached to the period of colonisation and the slave trade where the colonised people of colour were often depicted by the white coloniser as savages needing to be civilised in an effort to justify European and North American domination and exploitation for economic expansion. Similarly though more banal is the subtle and sometimes not so subtle dichotomy of belonging and unbelonging which is frequently employed by politicians in reference to appealing to voters who have nationalistic sentiments. Similarly, rises in nationalism like rises in the articulation of racist ideologies seem linked to specific contexts,

contexts where there exists real or perceived periods of uncertainty in society, uncertainty attached to schisms in culture, politics and markedly uncertainty attached to periods of economic instability in society where there may be high unemployment combined with the state making significant economic cuts, reducing its provision of services. Indeed, Petrova underlines that ‘racism is ubiquitous at least at the level of attitudes, though the presence of racism may not necessarily be visible in social behaviour’ (Petrova, 2001, p. 45). Markedly, the author emphasises the widespread denial of racism asserting that; ‘The existence of racism is widely denied across cultures, with varying degrees of disguise and the acknowledgment of racism is a prerequisite (but not at all a guarantee, or a bridge) to overcome it’ (Petrova, 2001, p. 45). Clearly, discourses of social justice and social injustice, social equality and social inequality, belonging and un-belonging need interrogation in policy and practice. This interrogation is the responsibility of the state and of society.

De Haan (1998) suggests that analysing exclusion through the concept of social exclusion has merit as it highlights the multidimensional character of exclusion. De Haan defines the concept of social exclusion as:

*‘A multi-dimensional concept. It refers to exclusion (deprivation) in the economic, social and political sphere. It goes beyond the analysis of resource allocation mechanisms, and includes power relations, agency, culture and social identity. Social exclusion can refer to a state or situation, but it often refers to processes, to the mechanisms by which people are excluded. The focus is on the institutions that enable and constrain human interaction’ (De Haan, 1998, pp. 12-13).*

De Haan places significant emphasis here on the mechanisms of exclusion and draws our attention to how institutions can act as facilitators or barriers for human interaction. Certainly, tackling the inequalities that lead to a state or situation of social exclusion is crucial. However, there is a danger that in overly focusing on the paradigm of social inclusion and exclusion in tackling inequalities and disregarding the distinctions between inequalities, differences in inequalities may become homogenised and real institutional and social change may be made more difficult to achieve. Whilst Williams (2003) argues that ‘the concept of social inclusion as a strategic approach to policy development has its merits’, she also suggests that it may be too universalistic; ‘the concept of social inclusion operates with rather blunt notions of who is insider and who is outsider, obfuscating fine gradations of inequality as they impact on different groups’ (Williams, p. 154). Further, Williams asserts that ‘the language of inclusion has

displaced more sharply focused concepts such as social justice/injustice and equality/inequality in policy discourse' (Williams, p. 154). Additionally Williams underscores that the homogenising effect of inclusion language may hamper achieving social justice and social equality at centres of power and highlights the Parekh report:

*'The Parekh report suggests the shift in emphasis to a focus on the insider/outsider boundary of social inclusion means that concerns come to revolve around enabling individuals to traverse the margins of the exclusionary boundaries but at the same time place no real pressure for change at the centre of society, its core power relations and hierarchies' (Williams, p. 154).*

Markedly, concerns over universalist policy and practice are highly relevant to the Equality Act 2010 which has recently come into force in Britain which in its design tries to address a number of inequality issues at once.

One of the main concerns of this thesis centres on the theory that contextualisation of the conditions surrounding equality and inequality has potential to help in interrogating an equality agenda. For, in deconstructing national identity and ethnicity, nationalism and racism, if it is recognised that national identity and ethnicity and nationalism and racism are not constructed in isolation but are positioned and produced within the social, economic, cultural and political landscape, then this may assist in interrogating the processes and mechanisms that work to include some whilst excluding others.

In interrogating those processes and mechanisms in the study of this thesis, critical discourse analysis is used which will be further discussed in chapter 2 of this thesis which discusses the methodology used in this study. Critical discourse analysis is especially suited to this study as it focuses on interrogating hierarchies of power present in a variety of private and public discourses. Indeed, these discourses of power lie at the core of the paradigms of inequalities related to class and ethnicity (Van Dijk, 2008).

Clearly, social injustice and social inequality are tied to exclusionary practices. Racism produces exclusion and disconnection for some and inclusion and connection for others. Williams (2002) highlights the impact of exclusion she has experienced which is connected to discourses of belonging and not belonging:

*'It's difficult to feel belonging when nothing tells you that you belong' (p. 168). 'I grew up in a small Welsh town amongst people with pale faces, feeling that somehow to be half Welsh and half Afro-Caribbean was always to be half of something but never quite anything whole at all. I grew up in a world of mixed messages about belonging, about home and about identity' (preface).*



Further, Williams underlines her 'confrontation' with herself 'and with the idea of Wales and Welshness' she encountered on a journey which started out as a search for her roots:

*'It's a truism that those who go searching for their roots often learn more about the heritage they set aside than the one that they seek. In the 1980s, serendipity took me to the Caribbean, to the country of my estranged father and I began a journey I had not anticipated. It was a journey that took me across a physical terrain spanning three continents and across a complex internal landscape. If I set out with the idea to document something of my searching as a second generation black Briton, what began as an account of a journey became an account of a confrontation with myself and with the idea of Wales and Welshness' (2002, preface).*

William's discourse here underlines the importance of belonging and the search for belonging in different parts of the world as well as pointing towards the importance of driving forwards a commitment to building a Wales and a Welshness that is inclusive.

National identity can provide a sense of belonging and a sense of security in that belonging. It seems to provide this in a variety of ways for example it may be in relation to a cultural belonging and/or to the knowledge that the state has a duty to ensure the security of its citizens. However, what happens when belonging and security is not afforded by the state or by society to a person/s or group/s because of nationality or ethnicity? The following section will further consider this question, examining the psychological and social significance of fluid and fixed discourses of identity.

## **2: Conceptualising Social Justice, Social Equality and Access to Services**

Markedly there exist diverse conceptualisations of social justice and social equality. The conceptualisations of social justice and social equality in this thesis are drawn from egalitarian and liberal philosophies which have a practical focus and emphasise the importance of striving for equality of opportunity and social justice with the ambition of creating a democratic citizenship where there are no exclusions made on the basis of nationality, ethnicity, class, gender or sexuality. In this section on the literature review the implications of different conceptualisations of social justice and social equality will be considered.

### **2.1: Discussion and implications of different conceptualisations social justice and social equality**

Liberalism and egalitarianism at their core value freedom and equal rights and whilst there have developed a variety of different conceptualisations of these philosophies, emphasis on preserving freedom and equal rights by society and by the state for the benefit of all people in society are ambitions that have been sustained. Interestingly, there are many competing theories of social justice as some philosophies perceive lesser value in emphasising freedom and equality than others, maintaining that those that do are utopian and unrealistic.

In emphasising the need to achieve equality the Vienna Declaration and Programme of Action (1993) considers social justice and equality as an objective of the human rights education (UN General Assembly, Part ii D.) In John Rawls' theory of social justice (1971) he highlights the importance of the principle of maintaining human rights for all, so underlining the state's responsibility to ensure the welfare of all people in society. Rawls criticises lawmaking that favours the many rather than the few arguing that; 'Each person possesses an inviolability founded on justice that even the welfare of society as a whole cannot override. For this reason justice denies that the loss of freedom for some is made right by a greater good shared by others' (Rawls, pp. 3-4). Rawls's theory of justice is significantly influenced by those of Locke, Rousseau and

Kant which points towards the concept of a social contract. In contrast, Amartya Sen (2009) highlights the problem with theories that appear to focus solely on identifying what is a just society arguing that more emphasis on creating practical methods of countering injustice and increasing justice is necessary: 'A theory of justice that can serve as the basis of practical reasoning must include ways of judging how to reduce injustice and advance justice, rather than aiming only at the characterization of perfectly just societies- an exercise that is such a dominant feature of many theories of justice in political philosophy today'(Sen, ix). Furthermore, Sen argues that theories of justice that solely consider justice in an institutional paradigm are unbalanced as 'Justice is ultimately connected with the way peoples lives go, and not merely with the nature of the institutions surrounding them' (Sen, 2009, x). Perhaps a marrying together of the theories of justice of both Rawls and Sen could be made and applied in lawmaking and practice. As whilst Rawls's and Sen's theories appear far apart in terms of Rawls's general focus seeming more abstract and utopian and Sens' focus seeming less abstract and more realistic, at the core they both share a concern for social justice. In particular, this focus on social justice appears evident in Rawls's emphasis on the social contract and his argument that the state has a responsibility to ensure the welfare of every individual in society pointing to the need to take forward a rights based agenda. And it is also evident with Sen's argument that a theory of justice must be grounded with practical reasoning that is focused on how to diminish injustice and increase justice.

## **2.2: Defining access to services**

Article 21 (2) of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights states that 'Everyone has the right of equal access to public service in his country' (UDHR, 1948). In pursuing this right through international and domestic law equality of access to state services would be broadened. Further, in addition to widening access to services in order to achieve the widest possible satisfaction of service users and maintain retention of service users the quality of services offered must come under scrutiny and where the services on offer are deficient in some respect improvements must be made. In identifying and assessing the key barriers and facilitators of children and young people's access to and experience of educational services it is important to further examine what is meant by access and experience of educational services. Evaluating equality of access to services does not solely equate to determining whether there

simply exists a particular service provision but further focuses on analysing the relationship between service provision and the community and the myriad of factors which influence this interface as well as the quality of the actual service itself. Is there some aspect of a particular service that is found to be especially beneficial by its users and conversely is there some aspect of service provision or a deficiency in service provision for example in an educational context that acts as a barrier and provides students with a negative experience? Hawkins and Price define access to services as 'the social interface between services and the community' where 'assessing access requires determining the extent to which services and products may be obtained at a level of effort, and of monetary, opportunity and social cost, that is acceptable to and within the means of poor, marginalised and vulnerable people' (Hawkins & Price, 2002, pp. 2). And quality of services is defined as 'the social experience of services and is operationalised in terms of whether a programme is responding to the perceived needs and demands of clients and potential clients' (Hawkins & Price, 2002, p 5). Certainly assessment and monitoring of the education system in Wales, the UK and globally as to whether its services are meeting the needs and demands of all its users and potential users is key.

### 3: Belonging and Social Identity Theory

In relation to inclusive processes which favour social justice and equality, the psycho-social significance of a fluid belonging can be seen through an emphasis on hybrid identities where membership and acceptance by a society or group is viewed as fluid, favouring multiple belonging, multiple identities. In contrast, in relation to exclusive processes which favour social injustice and inequality, the psycho-social significance of a fixed belonging can be seen through an emphasis on attempts to fix identities connected to group identification, favouring a dichotomy of self and Other, of insider and outsider to forge a greater sense of immutability in belonging. This dichotomy appears forged through nationalist and racist ideologies where the nationalist or racist view presents an unmoving understanding of self and Other, insider and outsider. This dichotomy is perpetuated by capitalism which has produced a globalised market for the sale of goods and ideologies. As Sanders notes 'Nothing exports capitalism nearly as effectively as the fast-food delivery of Big Mac' (Sanders, 2009, p. 17). Significantly, in this globalised world it is often the more powerful which dominate over the less powerful.

This chapter will examine group identification in identity theories analysing the dichotomy between fluid and fixed discourses of identity.

In discussion of how a more fixed belonging can be seen through group identification, it is of value to consider how this is manifested in adolescence. Erikson (1995) notes how identity confusion in adolescence often acts as a catalyst for forming groups and stereotyping which help create a sense of belonging to compensate for this identity confusion. Furthermore, Erikson underlines how within these groups adolescents test each other's loyalty to the group. In particular, Erikson notes how;

*'The readiness for such testing also explains the appeal which simple and cruel totalitarian doctrines have on the minds of the youth of such countries and classes as have lost or are losing their group identities (feudal, agrarian, tribal and national) and face worldwide industrialization, emancipation, and wider communication' (Erikson, 1995, p. 236).*

Additionally, Erikson argues that the adolescent mind is in a transition stage between childhood and adulthood and describes it as an ideological mind, keen to be affirmed and influenced;

*'The adolescent mind is essentially a mind of the moratorium, a psychosocial stage between childhood and adulthood. It is an ideological mind- and, indeed, it is the ideological outlook of a society that speaks most clearly to the adolescent who is eager to be affirmed by peers, and is ready to be confirmed by rituals, creeds, and programmes which at the same time define what is evil, uncanny, and inimical. In searching for the social values which guide identity, one therefore confronts the problems of ideology and aristocracy'*(Erikson, 1995, p. 236).

Similarly Kroger highlights the significance of social identity underlining how, *'the peer group, used by teenagers in different ways through the adolescent years, provides support in meeting the individuation challenge as well as giving an index of adolescent separation-individuation status* (Kroger, 1996, p. 74). Peer group influence is significant in adolescence and identifying and fitting in with this group for many young people may be very important. Further group influence appears to have significant power beyond adolescence and perhaps especially in a context where an individual is experiencing an identity crisis or confusion. This is discussed further on in this chapter in connection with Tajfel and Billig's thesis (1974) that experiencing uncertainty may act as a catalyst for group membership. Markedly, in the study of this thesis one of the participants underlines the inherent dangers of categorisation, stereotypes and labels and cautions of how often young people internalise and accept a societal identity which limits them enormously. To counteract this fixed understanding of identity, this participant suggests the value in relating to people as performers and improvisers of their lives, taking a performative approach to identity, emphasising a Vygotskyian theory of development where a child learns through performance and improvisation (Vygotsky, 1978).

In analysing identity, West argues that identity concerns *'a matter of life and death'* (West, 1993, p. 163). Further West contends that identity is tied to *'desire and death'* (p. 163) and underlines the significance of belonging to identity asserting that, *'It's the longing to belong, a deep visceral need...where there is a profound desire for protection, for security, for safety, for surety'* (pp. 163-164). Notably West also points to how humans construct a sense of belonging and identity through *'their desire for recognition, association and protection'* (p. 164). Likewise Parekh points to the importance of belonging emphasising the impact of culture in society: *'the cultural fabric of a society expresses ideas of who 'we' are. To the extent that it is inclusive it, it gives all people a sense of belonging and makes a strong stand against racism'* (Parekh, p. xviii).

Similarly Tajfel and Turner's (1979) social identity theory contributes to an analysis of belonging and unbelonging in relation to intergroup relations. Like Maslow (1943), Breakwell (1986), West (1993) and others, Tajfel and Turner (1979) emphasise the relationship between self-esteem needs and group membership. They developed social identity theory to facilitate an understanding of the psychological basis of intergroup discrimination. Their theory contends that people identify with groups in such a way as to increase positive distinctiveness and self-esteem, arguing that humans have an innate tendency to categorize themselves into one or more in-groups, constructing a part of their identity on the basis of membership of that group and enforcing boundaries to enable separation from other groups (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Indeed, the self is formed from discourses that are social. In particular, Tajfel (1981) points to the cognitive, evaluative and emotional aspects of a group and group membership:

*'This is a description of what 'is' a group which may include a range between one to three components: a cognitive component, in the sense of that knowledge that one belongs to a group; an evaluative one, in the sense that the notion of the group and/or of one's membership of it may have a positive or a negative value connotation; and an emotional component in the sense that the cognitive and evaluative aspects of the group and one's membership of it may be accompanied by emotions (such as love or hatred, like or dislike) directed towards one's own group and towards others which stand in certain relations to it' (p. 229).*

Markedly, Tajfel (1981) points to the significance of interrogating the in-group and out-group components of group membership and the need to analyse;

*'the social and social psychological conditions which determine the creation of the social-cognitive consensus about group membership, the development of positive or negative evaluations of the group and of one's membership in it, and the corresponding investment of emotion' (1981, p. 230).*

Furthermore, Tajfel emphasises the importance of interrogating the *'effects of all this on social behaviour towards the relevant in-group and the relevant out-group'* (1981 p. 230). Reicher underlines how Tajfel's experience of anti-Semitism in his life and that of his family and friends had a significant impact on his research into prejudice and his development of social identity theory and the psychological basis of intergroup discrimination. Tajfel had Polish-Jewish parents and was born in Wloclawek in 1919. At the start of the second-world war Tajfel was captured by Germans when he was a member of the French army. Despite being detained in prisoner of war camps it was never discovered that Tajfel was Jewish and so he survived the Holocaust. However when he was finally released he discovered that most of his friends and family had not

survived (Reicher, 2009). In Reicher's biography of Tajfel he suggests these experiences influenced his research in three ways:

*'First, he developed an abiding interest in prejudice; second, he recognised that his fate was tied entirely to his group identity; third, he understood that the Holocaust was not a product of psychology but of the way in which psychological processes operate within a given social and political context' (Reicher, 2009).*

Tajfel and Billig theorised that people are more likely to make group affiliations if they experience uncertainty; 'under conditions of cognitive uncertainty and/or instability people will restructure their cognitive outlook in order to restore a greater amount of order and certainty. They will therefore be more responsive to the influence of others, and consequently more liable to form group affiliations, which will provide them with the necessary social supports' (Tajfel and Billig, 1974, cited in Billig, 1976, p. 277).

Realistic conflict theory was developed by Sherif and Sherif et al (1954) who carried out a study that analysed intergroup conflict and cooperation through an experiment carried out in a summer camp in Robbers Cave State Park in Oklahoma where two groups of twelve year old boys were placed in different areas of the park. The authors of the experiment organised three phases; the in-group formation phase, a friction phase designed to increase conflict which included competitions between the groups and an integration phase designed to reduce conflict. The study showed how quickly in-groups and out-groups can form and also how sometimes a conflict resolution can be achieved by establishing super-ordinate needs that require groups to work together (Sherif and Sherif et al, 1954). Markedly, Billig (1974) criticises Sherif and Sherif et al (1954) for not emphasising the impact of the role they played as authors in influencing the outcomes of the experiments as they were the most powerful group and it was in their interest to create conflict between the two groups:

*'The discussion of the institutionalisation of competition highlights the roles of institutions in social structures. Thus the central question can be approached: in whose interest is the institution?... The one group in the boy's camp with a definite vested interest in the institution of competition and the "semi-institution" of group co-operation was, in fact, neither of the two group of boys. It was the third group-the experimenters....This third group, the experimenters, is the social group which creates the other two groups- giving them their social meaning and their social reality' (Billig, 1974, p. 307).*



Thus whilst, the Robbers Cave Experiment seems to show how quickly group conflict can emerge, as Billig highlights it also reveals how this conflict is often constructed by another, which in this case was the experimenters.

Maslow's theory (1954) proposes a hierarchical theory of human motivation which he contends progresses through different stages when each need is met, from physiological needs, safety needs, love/belonging needs, self-esteem needs ultimately leading to self-actualization (Maslow, 1954 p. 394). Maslow contends that any threat or potential threats to the physiological, safety, love/belonging, self-esteem and self-actualization needs are considered to be a psychological threat (Maslow, p. 395). This model is helpful as it sets out significant categories of needs, however the hierarchical format of Maslow's model may appear prescriptive and less universally applicable. Whilst Maslow maintains that although 'the hierarchy principle is usually empirically observed in terms of increasing percentages of non-satisfaction as we go up the hierarchy,' (Maslow, 1954, p. 395), he does acknowledge that, 'reversals of the average order of the hierarchy are sometimes observed' (Maslow, 1954, p. 395). This perhaps suggests that Maslow is trying to appear to be less prescriptive in his approach, however, if taken out of context and applied universally, Maslow's theory of human motivation appears fairly prescriptive and deductive. However, Maslow himself notes 'the present theory then must be considered to be a suggested program or framework for future research and must stand or fall upon researches yet to be done' (Maslow, 1954, p. 371). As Maslow advises his framework should be considered as a suggested one and is likely not to be universally applicable, so also do Colton et al (2001) who specifically warn against presuming Maslow's and others models are universally applicable, highlighting the ethnocentricity inherent in any attempt at a universalisation of Western notions of child development. In essence, Sanders argues 'we can get into serious difficulties if we assume that western notions of child development have a normative application outside Western cultures (Sanders, 2001, p. 31). As the study of this thesis was based in a Western context and also most of the literature reviewed has been written in a Western context, therefore a recognition of the western ideologies that pervade is essential. Therefore, as well as providing an example of the need for belonging, Maslow's (1943) theory of human motivation could be used to illustrate the necessity for recognition of the dangers of presenting an ethnocentric perspective of research.

Like Maslow (1954), Breakwell (1986) agrees that identity processes are driven by a need for distinctiveness, continuity and self-esteem, and suggests that there is not

always a hierarchical order, arguing that the principles of identity processes *'will achieve priority according to the social context.'* Breakwell also highlights that their priority is significantly influenced by 'intergroup context' and further highlights the complexities within identity processes as she underlines how there may be other values which guide identity processes (Breakwell, 1986, p. 25). This points to the competitive dynamics of the intergroup context and the importance of recognizing this social context in order to understand the identity processes which present within it.

In a similar way to Breakwell, Aboud (2008) admonishes a societal-social-cognitive-motivational theory of the development of children's social identifications and attitudes and maintains that;

*'Although social identity theory has highlighted that self-esteem can sometimes play an important motivational role in children's constructions of representations in in-groups and out-groups, self esteem is unlikely to be the only motivational factor in operation.'* (Aboud, 2008, p. 98).

Aboud theorizes a societal-social-cognitive-motivational theory (SSCMT) in relation to intergroup attitudes and outlines potential motivations of which she suggests may include; 'needs for a sense of belonging, of distinctiveness, of self-efficacy, of continuity, and of purpose and meaning (Aboud, 2008, pp. 98). Further, Aboud underlines the potential for a variety of influences on intergroup attitudes underlining the discourse and practices of parents, teachers and peers, and the representations that are purveyed by mass media (p. 99).

Social dominance theory (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) argues that humans categorize themselves into in-groups to increase positive distinctiveness. Pratto et al, (2006) discuss the production of group-based social hierarchy maintaining that;

*'According to social dominance theory, group-based social hierarchy is produced by the net effects of discrimination across multiple levels: institutions, individuals, and collaborative intergroup processes. Discrimination across these levels is coordinated to favour dominant groups over subordinate groups by legitimising myths, or societal, consensually shared social ideologies'* (Pratto et al., 2006, p. 275).

This suggestion that discrimination works from a variety of platforms and through social ideologies points to its pervasiveness in society and also its power. Historically, legitimising myths have been frequently used to justify social dominance over the other. For example, the civilising mission of colonization provides an illustration of a legitimizing myth where racist stereotypes were employed in order for economic gain.

Turner (2006) challenges the social dominance theory suggested by Sidanius & Pratto

(1999), arguing that it perpetuates social determinism:

*Theories like SJT and SDT invoke specific motives to explain why social change does not happen. Theories like symbolic racism and the whole family of implicit prejudice analyses tell us that political changes in attitudes and beliefs are only superficial because negative affect and stereotypes learnt through early socialization persist in a cultural unconscious no matter what one believes consciously. Anyone who looks outside the window at daily events around the globe will find that resistance, conflict and change are as normal as the sun rising' (Turner, 2006, pp. 42-43).*

Turner's criticism here is that the ideas relating to systems justification theory (SJT) and social dominance theory (SDT) (Sidanius & Pratto, 1999) are flawed because they project social determinism as they do not recognise the realities of independence, resistance and change against prejudice and power or indeed the possibilities for independence, resistance and change. This is Turner's criticism with structural-functionalism, where he argues that social psychology's perspective on social conflict has been overshadowed by the persistence of a '*structural-functionalist*' understanding of society and also by the historical and political influence of '*race relations*' and '*the commitment to individualism in the US*' (Turner, 2006, p. 43). A Marxist reading of Turner's criticisms could be made where he perceives social determinism as a product of individualism which is an integral feature within the dynamics of capitalism. In particular structuralists and functionalists have been criticized by post-structuralists, marxists, feminists, postmodernists and others for disregarding possibilities of independence and resistance in favour of assimilation and agreement.

Turner's criticisms of the theories of systems justification and social dominance for being socially deterministic are worth examining in the study of this thesis and beyond as it is important to try and avoid a deterministic perspective which perpetuates dominant systems. This is pursued in this thesis by examining any patterns of resistance, conflict and change which occur in order to reflect those realities. However, it is also equally important to try and avoid indeterminism, which also perpetuates dominant systems where every event and action is considered to be determined by chance. This is pursued in this thesis by examining any patterns of oppression which also occur in order to reflect those realities. As Korsgaard underlines '*a person is both active and passive, both an agent and a subject of experiences*' (Korsgaard, 1996, p. 363). In light of this determining the degrees to which an individual or group is active and passive is important.

#### **4: Understanding Nationality and Race as Constructions:**

### **Nationalism and Racism: The Paradox of Self and Other, Us and**

### **Them**

At a conference called The Sounds of Silence where the discussion centred on the social construction of race and gender and oppression, Patricia Williams (1991) discussed her thoughts and experience of 'society's constant construction of' her 'blackness:'

*'I think: my raciality is socially constructed, and I experience it as such. I feel my blackself as an eddy of conflicted meanings- and meaningless- in which my self can get lost, in which agency and consent are tumbled in constant motion. This sense of motion, the constant windy sound of manipulation whistling in my ears, is a reminder of society's constant construction of my blackness' (Williams, 1991, cited in Back & Solomos, 2000, p. 422).*

In discussion of the usage of race, Bulmer and Solomos contend that the conceptualisation of race that society is familiar with today appeared late in the advancement of capitalism: 'the concept of race as we understand it today came into being relatively late in the development of capitalist societies' (Bulmer and Solomos, 1999, p. 8). Furthermore, the authors discuss how the concept of race became embedded in society from the mass produced cultural images representing ethnic groups to theories in science, medicine and the social sciences:

*'The attempt to classify humanity according to the ideas that 'races' embodied a package of 'fixed physical and mental traits' was to become a key concept in the social and political debates of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Such ideas became part of popular cultural images about racial groups, but they also became an integral element of thinking in science and medicine and in embryonic social sciences such as anthropology and sociology. Ideas about the specific attributes of 'races' became common currency among both dominant and subordinate groups' (p. 8).*

Markedly, Foucault argues that racism was established with the help of social Darwinism which was established in the nineteenth century and argues that Nazism drew upon this heavily suggesting that; 'It was on the basis of social Darwinism that racism was formulated, becoming one of the most enduring and powerful ingredients of Nazism' (Foucault, 1994, p. 358).

In analysis of the social construction of race Wodak and Reisigl highlight the conflicting processes of domination and resistance which occurs, highlighting the socially construction of race and how this construct is used to try and exploit and exclude certain ethnic groups underlining the very real negative impact and exclusionary practices of a fixed understanding of race:

*'From a social functional point of view, "race" is a social construction. On the one hand, it has been used as a legitimating ideological tool to oppress and exploit specific social groups and to deny them access to material, cultural, and political resources, to work, welfare services, housing and political rights. On the other hand, these affected groups have adopted the idea of "race". They have turned the concept around and used it to construct an alternative, positive self-identity; they have also used it as a basis for political resistance and to fight for more political autonomy, independence and participation' (Wodak and Reisigl, 2001, p. 373).*

Gobineau who was a French aristocrat and writer is often considered as being influential in furthering a racist discourse. In particular, Gobineau's racialist theory of the Aryan master race in his book *An Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (1853–1855) gained significant attention. Poliakov discusses Gobineau's racism and highlights that Gobineau asserted that 'the white race was blessed from infancy with 'the two main elements of all civilization: a religion and a history.' Gobineau's assertion of white supremacy is based on a Manichean dichotomy. And in this dichotomy Gobineau reflects a differentialist religious racism as he represents the religion of Christianity as being a white religion that is superior to that of non-whites (Poliakov, 1999, p. 53). In addition to the misrepresentation of religions it is essential to recognise the influence of class issues in Gobineau's racism. Significantly, Biddiss (1999) argues that class issues are the driving force behind Gobienau's racism, maintaining that;

*'Gobineau's racism originates with his revulsion against a society which had rejected the virtues of nobility. His social pessimism is a matter of class-consciousness. The writers of French history had for long made such a connection between race and class (Biddiss, 1999, p. 49).*

The embeddedness of the social construction of race can be identified in an illustration by Williams (1998) where there is a defining of race, a white construction and defining of black people in Haiti:

*'A Haitian statesman was visited by an official from the United States during the 1930s. "What percentage of Haiti's population is white? Asked the American. Ninety-five percent, came the answer. The American official was flustered and,*

*assuming that the Haitian was mistaken, exclaimed, "I don't understand-how on earth do you come up with such a figure?" "Well, how do you measure blackness in the United States?" "Anyone with a black ancestor". "Well, that's exactly how we measure whiteness," retorted the Haitian. (Williams, 1998, p. 52).*

Through this illustration Williams challenges the construction of race, the assumed universality of race and the assumed power to define the other. Furthermore, in deconstructing whiteness Williams emphasises the long history of ethnocentrism and the polarization of 'white' people within the construct of whiteness when she argues that:

*'Whiteness is a kind of sociological clubhouse, a weird compression of tribal and ethnic animosities, some dating back to the time of the Roman invasions, all realigned to make new enemies, all comprised to make new friends. East against west, north against south, high against low, light against dark, black against white' (Williams, 1998, pp. 52-53).*

Frantz Fanon illustrates the effects of being Othered, of being made to feel different when he describes a lasting impression from his encounter with a white Parisian child and her mother:

*'And the child pulls the hand of the mother and says, "Look, Mama, a black man. For the first time, I knew who I was. For the first time, I felt as if I had been simultaneously exploded in the gaze, in the violent gaze of the other, and at the same time, recomposed as another"' (Fanon, 1952, p. 53).*

In discussion of the defining of self and Other, and us and them, of individual, and collective identities, Pilkington (2003) underlines *'the emergence of a racialized regime of representation of us and them'* (Pilkington, 2003, p. 179) and maintains that;

*'To point out what we are is at the same time to point out what we are not. To define ourselves is at the same time to maintain that we differ from others. Frequently the construction of identities expresses differences through binary oppositions: us and them, the Self and the Other. These oppositions are rarely neutral and often oversimplify matters. This is not accidental' (p. 179).*

These binary oppositions are often the result of the creation and perpetuation of inequalities which are significant in the history of European colonialism. British colonizers and other colonizers in Europe constructed racialized oppositions of self and Other, us and them in order to try and justify and disguise the fact that their overriding motive for colonisation was the expansion of power and wealth for Britain and other

colonizers in Europe, gain for the self, and significant loss for the Other. Pilkington underlines this inequality and argues that:

*'The relation between Europeans, not least the British and other peoples has until recently, and especially since the sixteenth century, been a highly unequal one. Economic, political and cultural domination therefore frequently entailed simplified representations, which relied on crude binary oppositions such as White/ Black and Western/Oriental in which one pole of the binary was clearly the dominant one' (Pilkington, 2003, p. 179).*

While Pilkington's emphasis here on the constructions of '*crude binary oppositions*' and the '*simplified representations*' of these relations is highly valid, his reference to '*until recently*' could be criticised from both a postcolonial and a Marxist perspective. Post colonialism perceives the inequalities of the postcolonial period as stemming from the colonial period. For although colonialism has been dismantled, it leaves nevertheless a damaging legacy and is not easily forgotten or desired to be forgotten. And from a Marxist perspective the class based inequalities of modern imperialism are similar to those class based inequalities of colonialism so whilst colonialism has been dismantled, inequalities of class still exists. Thus from both these perspectives relations are still highly unequal.

Markedly, Blum (2002) argues that in discussing the social construction of race it is important to recognise that whilst race remains a social construction and therefore imaginary, not real, the racialization of groups is a real process, albeit based upon an imaginary basis:

*'Certainly, to recognize something as a human creation implies that it need not exist, at least not in the form it does, and thereby provides a basis for hope that we could live without various forms of injustice, oppression, and constraint attached to such creations.'* (Blum, 2002, pp. 158-159).

However, Blum is sceptical about the human ability to counteract inequalities and argues that;

*'Racialized thinking is deeply embedded in our social existence; its constructedness notwithstanding, we may not be able to change these social forms without far-ranging and currently barely imaginable changes in familiar structures, such as an end to racial inequality and race-based social segregation.'* (Blum, 2002, pp. 159).

Similarly, Wallerstein discusses Balibar's criticism of his perspective being deterministic and concludes that;

*'Universalism and racism-sexism are not thesis and antithesis awaiting their synthesis. They are rather an inseparable pair containing reflexes both of domination and liberation, and history calls upon us to go beyond them as problematic. It is in this spirit, I believe, that we have ever to return to the last and to seek to understand our own ambiguities, since after all we are products ourselves of the historical system of which we are a part.'* (Balibar and Wallerstein, 1991, p. 232).

Whilst Blum's contention concerning how deeply racialized thinking is in society and Wallerstein's contention that people are products of historical systems because they are part of it are valid, there is a danger in presenting an overly deterministic view. Whilst racialized thinking is deeply embedded in social existence, the slave trade abolitionist movement and later the American civil rights movement were struggles that whilst encountering considerable opposition, did manage to achieve certain very significant successes in attaining greater equality, namely in the abolition of the slave trade and the passing of a number of civil rights acts. Whilst Blum does appear deterministic in his attitude towards achieving greater racial equality here, this should be tempered with his later recognition that, 'in the larger scheme of things, however, the achievement of racial justice itself weakens racial consciousness' (Blum 2002, pp. 177-178).

Lacanian psychoanalysis and Hegelian philosophy can be useful in understanding the processes of social construction involved in nationalism and racism. In particular, Lacan's argument that desire is linked to something which is lacking rather than being linked to an object, and Hegel's thesis of identity being defined in difference where identity becomes dialectical, and Marx and Engel's dialectical materialism of the class struggle, all appear significant to a greater understanding of the identity processes within nationalism and racism. Hegel emphasises the dialectic of self and Other highlighting how self-consciousness exists only because it is acknowledged by another; *'self-consciousness exists in and for itself when, and by the fact that, it so exists for another; that is, it exists only in being acknowledged'* (Hegel, 1977, p. 111). Whilst Hegelian theory and Marxist theory have significant value in them in terms of analysing what lies beneath manifestations of nationalism and racism, application of these theories which universalise should be avoided. Markedly, Spivak (1999) warns against the universalizing of these theories and criticises Hegel, Kant and Marx, arguing that the subject of their universal narratives remained European and thus can be likened to an ethnocentric discourse;



*'The field of philosophy as such, whose model was the merging of science and truth, remained untouched by the comparative impulse. In this area, Germany produced authoritative "universal" narratives where the subject remained unmistakably European. These narratives- Kant's cosmopolitheia, Hegel's itinerary of the Idea, Marx's socialist homeopathy-neither inaugurated nor consolidated a specifically scholarly control of the matter of imperialism' (Spivak, 1999, pp. 8-9).*

In conclusion, the dialectics of self and other, us and them, work within a paradoxical paradigm. The paradigm is paradoxical because within the nationalist and racist discourse, difference is often constructed and over emphasised between the self and other for a variety of reasons and for a variety of purposes. Further, the self and other may often be presented as different in order to further define the self and to try and impose boundaries and distance between the self and other in order to attempt to validate the individual's nationalistic or racist discourse. Arguably, a significant lacking, deprivation or unfulfillment of security, love and belonging needs in the self and in society may form the basis for a desire to fill this void through nationalism or racism. So an individual may try to fill this void with antipathy for the other, a transference of the feeling of exclusion in the self and in society onto the other, which may manifest itself in nationalistic or racist behaviour.

Lacan emphasises how ingrained desire is in the self and expresses the elusiveness of desire in underlining the relationship between desire and lack:

*'Desire is a function central to all human experience, it is the desire for nothing nameable. And at the same time this desire lies at the origin of every variety of animation...Being comes into existence as an exact function of this lack. Being attains a sense of self in relation to being as a function of this lack, in the experience of desire' (Lacan, 1988, pp. 223-224).*

From a context of economic deprivation, two individuals both in competition for jobs, houses and resources may feel antagonism towards one another if it is perceived that the self is being or may be deprived of something that the Other has or may have. This discourse points to relative deprivation theory (Runciman, 1966). However, in this context the antagonism may well be the result of the shared context of deprivation and not the result of the Other. Thus, whilst unequal, unfair and unjust, in some contexts the sense of lack or deprivation which the self may experience and the need for self-preservation in the class struggle may often act as a catalyst for the desire to vilify and exclude the Other.

## **4: Understanding Nationality and Race as Constructions: Nationalism and Racism: The Paradox of Self and Other, Us and Them**

### **4.2: Difference and Prejudice**

Some of the themes visible in the study of this thesis are that of the sense of self-esteem gained from national identity and the relationship between relative deprivation theory and racism as well as differentialist racism which appears to be linked to a fear of difference. In consideration of global migration to understand the often uneasy relationship between the self and Other and how difference is negotiated, it is useful to consider the similarities and differences of present day nationalism and racism with those of the past in the U.K.

Markedly, the sharp rise in immigration following the second world war in 1945 Britain had a significant impact on society. The reality that immigration was encouraged by post war governmental policies, and the valuable roles that immigrants played in society appears to have been disregarded by some in favour of prejudice, discrimination and exclusion. As the EHRC triennial review authors point out:

*'After 1945, immigrants were encouraged to come to Britain from Commonwealth countries to fill labour shortages and help rebuild a nation scarred by years of war. Yet despite the important role that these immigrants played in industry and in public services, many faced daily prejudice. They found that the colour of their skin restricted their choice of where to work, where to live, and who their friend could be' (EHRC, 2010, p. 18).*

Similarly, two hundred years earlier in British society, prejudice and anti-immigrant sentiment was also an issue. In recounting the history of 'English' attitudes to 'non-English' people in mid-18<sup>th</sup> century Britain, Statt underlines the dichotomy of in-groups and out-groups within ethnocentrism and also suggests that increased ethnocentricity developed in opposition to plans to make general naturalization permanent:

*'Foreigners, especially the visible ones who had come to England, stood outside the majority culture, and this otherness came to be particularly potent by the 1750s, in the very years when parliamentarians and publicists made the last concerted effort to make general naturalization a permanent national policy (Statt, 1995, pp. 186-187).*

Interestingly, Statt underlines how there was a significant reluctance of many in power to adopt an active immigration policy; *'Both Lords and Commons treated the establishment of an active immigration policy as a distinctly secondary political priority, as one pregnant with potential dangers' (Statt, 1995, p. 66).* The plan to make

general naturalization permanent was perhaps deemed more acceptable than an active immigration policy by some, as the latter would cause a greater encounter with difference and so would unsettle narrow notions of national identity. Indeed, arguably, support for making general naturalization permanent was largely only finally accepted by the more xenophobic in power as they were strongly influenced by the desire to increase their own power, status, wealth and security through attracting a larger population and workforce to Britain. Therefore, it is probable that during mid-eighteenth century Britain there was increased ethnocentrism because of the threat the Other may have appeared to symbolize in terms of being perceived as a threat to nationality identity and national culture.

Moinian's (2009) study carried out in Sweden emphasises how ethnicity should be perceived as fluid not fixed as '*a social and cultural dynamic process*' as opposed to a '*categorical and static reference*' (Moinian, 2009, p. 46). And of particular interest in the discussion of the findings Moinian highlights the resistance to stereotyping when one child was asked when or where he felt Iranian or Swedish;

*Sirius: I am neither Swedish nor Iranian!*

*Farzaneh: What are you then? What do you usually answer when your friends ask you where you come from?*

*Sirius: I don't know. I say, I'm just me! I mean I'm both Swedish and Iranian, but neither of them alone. Not all the time!*

*Farzaneh: Can you tell me more? What do you mean?*

*Sirius: I am a human being, and I feel both like a Swede and an Iranian. When I meet some real Iranian children, those who know everything about how to be a correct Iranian, then I feel more like a Swede. They can laugh at me, and pull my leg if I say something incorrect or have a wrong attitude to something (Moinian, 2009, p. 43).*

Sirius's refusal to place his identity in an essentialised position could be analysed as a postmodern understanding of identity, however this interpretation juxtaposes with his apparent acceptance of the primordial positioning of others in relation to himself, i.e. the placing of himself or being placed outside of being like 'real Iranian children,' as Moinian further comments;

*'Sirius, like the rest of my informants, rejected placing himself within an ethnic binary discourse that could fix him as being this or that. But he never denied the existence of such a binary. On the contrary, he was willing to help me distinguish and reflect over these binaries' (Moinian, 2009, p. 44).*

Sirius's grappling with stereotyping; his contestation of a fixed binary discourse and the

setting of fixed boundaries around identities highlight the negative impact of prejudice and the difficulties and importance of resisting fixed identities in exchange for the construction of fluid, hybrid identities. Sirius's response of 'I'm just me', 'I am a human being' and his mention of meeting 'real Iranian children' points to his frustration of feeling ethnically categorised. Furthermore, Sirius displays concern that he will be laughed at by those who have knowledge 'about how to be a correct Iranian.' This uncertainty that Sirius displays, is maybe indicative of a fear of not being accepted because of being perceived as different to the majority ethnic group and therefore of not belonging. Sirius's experiences have similarities with the experiences of Alcoff (2006) who describes the difficulties society imposes on her sense of acceptance with her identity:

*'Only recently have I finally come to some acceptance of my ambiguous identity. I am not simply white nor simply Latina, and the gap that exists between my two identities (indeed my two families)- a gap that is cultural, racial, linguistic and national- feels too wide and deep for me to span. I cannot bridge the gap so I negotiate it, standing at one point here, and then there, moving between locations as events or other people's responses propel me. I never reach shore: I never wholly occupy either the Anglo or the Latina identity. Paradoxically but predictably, in white society I feel my Latinidad, and in Latin society I feel my whiteness, as that which is left out: an invisible present, sometimes as intrusive as an elephant in the room and sometimes more as a pulled thread that subtly alters the design of the fabricated self. Peace has come for me by no longer seeking some permanent home onshore. What I seek now is no longer a home, but perhaps a lighthouse that might illuminate this place in which I live, for myself as much as for others' (Alcoff, 2006, p. 284).*

Alcoff's account of her frustration with the fixed categorisation of her identities by others highlights the discourse of power and the degrees of belonging and exclusion within it where difference further challenges fixed notions of identity.

Markedly, in his discussion of increasing cultural diversity in the world Hall cautions that 'The capacity to live with difference is, in my view, the coming question of the twenty-first century.' (Hall, 1993, p. 361). In the study of this thesis while for some an encounter with difference does not appear problematic, for others it appears to be so. In the discourses of those participants who exhibited ethnocentrism, nationalism or in a minority of cases racism, dichotomization is noticeable between self and other, between those perceived to belong and those who are excluded from belonging, as is the perceived economic threat of the Other perhaps indicating a fear of difference and relative deprivation theory.

## **4: Understanding Nationality and Race as Constructions: Nationalism and Racism: The Paradox of Self and Other, Us and Them**

### **4.3: Power, Scapegoats and Stereotypes: Representing the Other as a Threat**

Nationalism, racism and xenophobia are based upon the creation, establishment and perpetuation of stereotypes. How and why are stereotypes produced and continued in society and the state and what counters stereotyping? A postmodern perspective emphasises the unfixing and hybridity of identities and perceives identity as provisional, like a performance as opposed to a fixed notion of sameness. Faced with globalisation and migration and the individual and national unfixing of identities, there appears sometimes an attempt to essentialise and fix identities, to stereotype, to essentialise, perhaps because of a fear of difference or an incapacity to contend with difference as Hall points out. Indeed, this incapacity to live with difference is emphasised through global migration. In discussion of citizenship and migration Castles and Davidson consider the relationship between democracy and empowerment and point out that:

*'Only that position (the ideal of democracy) is consistent with power from below. Logically, citizenship as empowerment must tend to be expansive and inclusive as it seeks to solve ever-widening and complex problems involving an ever-greater number of people' (2000, p. 27).*

Arguably, citizenship as empowerment must go beyond being expansive and inclusive in order to consistently pursue democracy. Indeed for the effective tackling of inequalities it is vital. Karatani highlights the possibility of working towards a cosmopolitan citizenship. In particular, the author underlines how a cosmopolitan citizenship extends rights to all people whether in possession of citizenship status or not: *'Formed by like-minded political units, the cosmopolitan type of citizenship is a multi-level citizenship structure under which the possibility of extending rights is infinite, whether or not one is a citizen of a member country' (Karatani, 2003, p. 26).*

Inequalities are produced and reproduced by society and the state and are reliant on the essentialising and fixing of identities of which stereotyping is linked. Hall describes stereotyping as 'a signifying practice' (Hall, 1997, p. 258) and points out that;

*'Stereotyping reduces, essentializes, naturalizes and fixes 'difference' and is part of the maintenance of social and symbolic order. It sets up a symbolic frontier between the 'normal' and the 'deviant', the 'normal' and the 'pathological', the 'acceptable' and the 'unacceptable', what 'belongs' and*

*what does not or is 'Other', between 'insiders' and 'outsiders', Us and Them-. It facilitates the 'binding' or bonding together of all of Us who are 'normal' into one 'imagined community'; and it sends into symbolic exile all of Them- 'the others' - who are in some way different- 'beyond the pale' (Hall, 1997, p. 258).*

Furthermore, Hall underlines the relationship between inequalities of power, stereotyping and hegemony and highlights the 'natural' appearance of hegemony;

*Stereotyping tends to occur where there are gross inequalities of power. Power is usually directed against the subordinate or excluded group. Hegemony is a form of power based on leadership by a group in many fields of activity at once, so that its ascendancy commands widespread consent and appears natural and inevitable' (Hall, 1997, p. 258).*

For some people the notion of fixed identities and the power to categorise in stereotyping perhaps appeals perhaps because of the simplicity of stereotypes. Markedly, internalisation of a negative stereotype seems apparent with ethnic self-misidentification found amongst black children in Clark and Clark's study in the U.S in 1947. Clark and Clark used dolls of different skin colours and other techniques to see which ethnic group the children would identify with the most. In discussion of their findings the authors maintain that;

*'These data suggest that by the age of seven the Negro child cannot escape realistic self-identification, but many of them indicate a clear-cut preference for white and some of them evidence emotional conflict (bizarre responses) when requested to indicate a colour preference' (Clark and Clark, 1950, p. 349).*

Furthermore, Clark and Clark (1950) underline the racialization of and racism inflicted on black and other coloured people by white people:

*'Coincident with the awareness of racial differences and racial identity there is also the awareness and acceptance of the existing cultural attitudes attached to race. It is clear that the Negro child, by the age of five is aware of the fact that to be coloured in contemporary American society is a mark of inferior status (Clark and Clark, 1950, pp. 349-350).*

Clark and Clark's study (1950) has been criticised because it is argued that the dolls (which were one of the instruments used in the study) lacked a sufficient range of skin tones and hair colours. Katz (1996) discusses Clark and Clark study and other similar studies and notes that; *'It seems that misidentification was a widespread phenomenon amongst young black children' (Katz, 1996, p. 15).* However, Katz suggests that the studies are limited in terms of understanding the development of racialized identity; *'The doll studies have only a limited value in explaining the development of racial*

*identity, mainly because of the difficulty in extrapolating conclusions about identity from measurements of identification' (Katz, 1996, p. 15). Further, Katz maintains that; 'the doll studies attempt to provide an objective measurement for a phenomenon which is largely subjective. The method does not address the question of what it means to a child to say I am more like this doll than that one' (Katz, 1996, p. 16). Whilst conclusions from the doll studies may appear limited in this sense, this subjectivity should not correlate to any dismissal of the significant political, economic, social and cultural inequalities and the systemic racism experienced by many black children living in America and Europe of the 1950s and today.*

Breakwell (1986) also underlines the influence of stereotypes in British society in 1974 with her discussion of findings from her study which took place then and reflects on this noting that; *'black girls probably held a more negative stereotype of black people as they showed ethnic self-misidentification when asked which series of pictures most closely resembled themselves (representing a range of skin tones and hair colours)' (Breakwell, 1986, p, 85).*

Furthermore, as with the Clark and Clark study (1950), Breakwell underlines the power of stereotypes to lower self-esteem with her finding of black girls self-misidentifying in her study, concluding that; *'this finding is compatible with the notion that membership of an ethnic minority will challenge self-esteem if the individual has accepted the dominant negative stereotype of that group' (Breakwell, 1986, p, 85).*

### **Stereotypes in Colonialism and Imperialism**

During and after the period of European colonial expansion the people who were subjected to colonization were frequently stereotyped in publications as savage beasts and also noble savages that needed civilizing. This was largely done as an attempt to disguise and justify the true motives behind colonial rule and the slave trade which were largely the expansion of power and wealth. In her discussion of stereotypes of Others, Loomba highlights some of the stereotypes employed by European colonialists;

*'Laziness, aggression, violence, greed, sexual promiscuity, bestiality, primitivism, innocence and irrationality are attributed (often contradictorily and inconsistently) by the English, French, Dutch, Spanish and Portuguese colonists to Turks, Africans, Native Americans, Jews, Indians, the Irish, and others' (Loomba, 1998, p. 107).*

Similarly, Blum (2002) discusses how biological racism was developed as a way of justifying the colonisation of people and also notes how differences in culture and religion were used as examples of inferiority in order to rationalise colonisation. And again we can perceive how capitalism, the securing of greater power and wealth was a significant driving force behind these justifications given for colonisation;

*'It was only when the European powers turned definitively to conquest, subjugation, displacement of native peoples, and slavery that they began to develop rationalizations in which the latter were viewed as inferior and subhuman. Cultural and religious differences aided in the quest for such rationalization. Both Native Americans and Africans were viewed as non-Christians, and in that regard inferior to Europeans' (Blum, 2002, p. 112).*

Furthermore, the establishing and promotion of stereotypes of the colonised to justify the domineering and capitalistic motives of colonisation was significant during this period. Blum implicitly underlines this point highlighting how *'the image of native Americans and Africans as savages became much more pervasive as a result of conquest and enslavement' (Blum, 2002, p. 112).*

Another example of the creation and perpetuation of stereotypes is apparent in the popular public picture postcards of American Indians in the late nineteenth century of the United States where postcards of American Indians were commonly used to further stereotypes. By presenting American Indians as warriors that represented a threat to European expansion this helped to justify their fight against the Indian: *'Portraits of the Utes metaphorically symbolized the courageous and cunning foe who challenged the Anglo-American warrior' (Albers & James, 1990, pp. 355).* In further discussion of this Albers and James point out how the postcards were:

*'Devoid of historically identifiable settings and contexts,' which helped 'to project metaphorical meanings onto photographs that have no basis in the lived, historical realities of the picture's principal subjects...What mattered was whether the card's content conformed with some widely recognized visual image of the American Indian' (Albers & James, 1990, pp. 357-358)*

Markedly, it appears that this capturing and manipulation of the American Indian through stereotyping in publications reflects the exploitation and manipulation involved in European imperialist expansion in order to rationalise this exploitation and disguise the real underlying motives of amassing power and wealth.



### Stereotypes and Anti-Semitism

It is noticeable that prior to, during and after the Holocaust, anti-Semitic publications portrayed Jewish people and other groups as the Other, as a subhuman parasite who did not belong, which in the eyes of the oppressors helped to justify the Holocaust. *Mein Kampf/ My Struggle*, first published in English in 1969 was an autobiography written by Hitler while he was in prison and it was distributed widely. Hitler's concluding remarks are as follows;

*'Just as Germany must inevitably win her rightful position on the earth if she is led and organised according to the same principles. A state which in this age of racial poisoning dedicates itself to the care of its best racial elements must someday become Lord of the earth' (Mein Kampf, 1992, p. 628).*

The female personification of Germany seen in this text and the idea of its supremacy with the inclusion of racial poisoning appear designed to instil a sense of belonging, a sense of allegiance to Germany, and a significant sense of fear and hatred of the Other, who was the Jew, presented as the Other that stands in the way of individual and national success. The metaphor of Germany as representative of a mother or indeed a father, seeks to invoke a tie between family and the nation of Germany, to further cement a dichotomy of belonging and exclusion, of belonging for Germans who were considered fit to belong and exclusion for Jews and others who it was designed to exclude. In essence the text alludes to a Manichean dichotomy, seeking to homogenise, divide, include and exclude. Indeed, the entrenchment of a Manichean dichotomy of insiders and outsiders, is often employed through language and imagery for a nationalism which seeks to include some and exclude others. Grosby underlines the significance of the use of motherland, fatherland and homeland in nationalistic texts and highlights the nationalistic aim of enforcing boundaries;

*'Mother and father refer to the relational descent of the child from those directly responsible for its biological generation and land conveys the image of a bounded, yet extensive territory. And homeland combines reference to the familial dwelling and its immediate area in which the infant was conceived, nourished and came to maturity with the image of a more extensive territory. This combination of terms implies a classificatory category of kinship. However, it is a form of kinship that revolves around the image of a bounded territory' (Grosby, 2005, p. 43).*

The use of the parental and homeland metaphor in connection with anti-Semitism and nationalism is engineered to be emotive, to create a myth, an anti-Semitic myth. Erikson

discusses the power of myths created by Hitler in Mein Kampf and highlights the blending of fact and fiction;

*'A myth blends historical fact and significant fiction in such a way that it 'rings true' to an area or an era, causing pious wonderment and burning ambition. To study a myth critically, therefore, means to analyse its images and themes in their relation to the culture area affected. (Erikson, 1995, p. 295).*

Indeed the creation and propaganda of myths in Nazi ideology was significant. For the idea of Germany and Germans as an Aryan 'race' being unique formed a fundamental part of fostering a sense of belonging for Germans and thus allegiance to the Third Reich, in order to justify their exclusion of Jews, Gypsies and other groups who were Othered. Furthermore, as Erikson points out, in order to understand myths, a recognition of the culture they relate to has to be made. Notably, Erikson, emphasises the dichotomy which Hitler and other members of The Third Reich forged to gain, maintain and extend their power, where the Jew is represented as being subhuman and evil in contrast with the German who is represented as superhuman and good:

*'The Jew is described as small, black, and hairy all over; his back is bent, his feet are flat; his eyes squint and his lips smack; he has an evil smell, is promiscuous, and loves to deflower, impregnate and infect blonde girls. The Aryan is tall, erect, light, without hair on chest and limbs; his glance, walk, and talk are stramm, his greeting the outstretched arm. He is passionately clean in his habits. He would not knowingly touch a Jewish girl-except in a brothel (Erikson, 1995, p. 309).*

Balfour (1992) discusses the processes which the Third Reich used to manipulate support for the persecution of Jews and highlights the co-ordinated effort of propaganda which was used to dominate and instil fear and compliance in the people. Further Balfour draws attention to Goebbels who was Minister for Public Enlightenment and Propaganda in the Third Reich and describes him as *'one of the most talented but unscrupulous publicists who ever lived'* (Balfour, 1992, p. 52). Furthermore, Balfour emphasises the significant levels of control the totalitarian state exerted in controlling the media noting that after joining the cabinet Goebbels;

*'Proceeded to organize a 'Reich Chamber of Culture' with subsidiaries covering all forms of publicity and the arts. Persons who were not accepted as members were forbidden to engage in any activity within its field. Editors were told what to say, even where to print the news. A number of papers were left in apparent independence, to conciliate people whose opposition might be dangerous and to impress the outside world but in due course they were nearly all acquired secretly by one of several Nazi holding companies. The press as a*

*result acquired a dull uniformity and wits adapted a current slogan to run 'One Reich, one Fuhrer, one Paper!'' (Balfour, 1992, p. 52).*

Markedly on the 25<sup>th</sup> February, 1945 when the Third Reich and its followers were a few months away from surrendering, Goebbels desperately tried to instil terror in the readers of Das Reich. Certainly, it would be somewhat surprising if Goebbels was unaware of the persecution and genocide of millions of Jews, Roma and other people who were victimised by Hitler and the Third Reich and so it is very easy to see what Balfour means about Goebbels being 'one of the unscrupulous publicists who ever lived' (Balfour, 1992, p. 52):

*'If the German people were to lay down their arms...the Soviets would occupy the whole of Eastern and South-eastern Europe, plus the largest piece of the Reich. In front of these territories...an iron curtain would come down behind which the mass slaughter of the people would take place' (Goebbels cited in Balfour, 1992, p. 76).*

What causes some people to be more nationalistic or racist or anti-Semitic than others? Are nationalism, racism and anti-Semitism diseases of the mind? Certainly, influences in childhood and adolescence can have a significant impact psychologically. In discussion of the purported beatings that Hitler's father Alois gave his son, psychologist and psychoanalyst Miller (1983) suggests that this had a significant impact on his life;

*'The child who was once persecuted now becomes the persecutor. In psychoanalytic treatment, the story is enacted within the framework of transference and countertransference.... What did this child feel, what did he store up inside when he was beaten and demeaned by his father every day from an early age?' (Miller, 1983).*

Miller (1983) further highlights the influence of parental attitudes upon those of children, suggesting that Hitler's father's oppressive behaviour influenced Hitler and his creation of a totalitarian regime:

*'The family structure could well be characterized as the prototype of a totalitarian regime. Its sole, undisputed, often brutal ruler is the father. The wife and children are totally subservient to his will, his moods, and his whims; they must accept humiliation and injustice unquestioningly and gratefully.... In the totalitarian state, a similar function is assigned to the security police. They are the overseers of the slaves, although they are slaves themselves, carrying out the dictator's wishes, serving as his deputies in his absence, instilling fear in his name, meting out punishment, assuming the guise of the rulers of the oppressed' (Miller, 1983).*

Whilst to a certain extent Hitler's anti-Semitism may perhaps be explained in part by the purported physical abuse Hitler's father inflicted on him, as Turner (2006)

underlines in his discussion of the dangers of social determinism; *'It is not enough to say that a person is racist because their society is racist. Why is the society racist and why are others not? Why did this person conform, when others resist, fight and change society?'* (Turner, 2006, p.43).

### **Contemporary Stereotyping and the Representation of the Other in Britain**

As will be discussed further on, the British National Party in the U.K. consistently portrays immigrants and asylum seekers as a threat to 'British' citizens and to 'British' culture and as a scapegoat for a variety of social and economic problems, often playing on people's fears about unemployment. In *The Search for Tolerance*, a study by Lemos and Crane (2005) one young person said he disliked; *'Terrorists from Irak [sic.] and Pakistan – because they experiment different weapons of mass distrucksion [sic.] and hate our way of life'* (p. 8). Markedly, Lemos and Crane consider that the young person 'links concerns about weapons of mass destruction with a wider 'clash of civilisations' theme when giving his reasons for disliking Iraqis and Muslims and Asians in general' (p. 8). Lemos and Crane also highlight another response which was given by a young white male; *'Muzlims, Indians, pakistans Iraquies [sic.] – Because they have their own country and they try to sneak in our country (there's too many)'* (p. 8). The inclusion of 'our way of life' and 'Muslims', 'our country' and 'their own country' in the answers shows the multifaceted nature of racism where cultural, religious and physical racism intersect where there is a dichotomised homogenization of us versus them. The appearance of racism and intolerance shown towards certain groups in these responses points towards a perceived threat of terrorism and a perceived threat of large numbers of illegal immigrants in Britain. Certainly, fears concerning these perceptions are produced, reproduced and exacerbated by society, the media within society and the state which also appears evident in the study in this thesis. Lemos and Crane (2005) discuss this in their exploration of the 'sources of negative attitudes' suggesting that 'The link between Muslims, Asians, refugees and asylum seekers in the UK and terrorism and war seems to be influenced by media stories' (p. 9). And notably they further account for this by highlighting how 'the survey was taken in the period leading up to the invasion of Iraq when media coverage and public discussion was extensive' (Lemos & Crane, 2005, p. 9). Similarly, Cooper (2009) comments that;

*'Media reports of overwhelming numbers of refugees and asylum seekers entering the country and placing a burden on public services, exacerbated by*

*concerns about global terrorism and national security, has created the sense that they are a threat to the U.K, resulting in refugees and asylum seekers being vulnerable to racial and religious harassment and discrimination' (Cooper, 2009, pp. 137-138).*

Indeed the media have the capacity to produce a certain moral panic (Cohen, 1972). Fekete and Webber (1994) highlight this with their discussion of what they describe as 'an alarmist feature' in a newspaper:

*'In the U.K, the threat of Third World, overseas-inspired terrorism (not linked so specifically to immigrants and asylum seekers per se) was the theme of an alarmist feature in the London Evening Standard (15.10.92) on 'How world extremists set up havens in London', which quoted 'security experts' concern that 'expatriates' were using the 'anonymity and freedom' of London for fund-raising for 'terrorist wars' and that 'foreign conflicts' could spill over on to its streets. Again, the article was entirely speculative and provided no concrete evidence to substantiate its claims. Instead, it included a 'Guide to the angry factions who could be your neighbour'- photographs and addresses of the buildings of so-called 'terrorist' organisations operating from the U.K' (Fekete and Webber, 1994, p. 5).*

In particular, Muslims in Britain have been increasingly Othered since Britain's military support in the invasion of Iraq which supported the U.S. Bush administration's "war on terror". This Othering is clearly demonstrated by some sections of the media and various studies where Muslims have been found to be homogenized and linked with the threat of terror (Lemos and Crane, 2005). Gilroy discusses the impact of the terrorist attacks on the world trade centres in New York and points to the polarizing effects of the Bush administration's "war on terror," arguing that;

*'The vexed relationship between cultural differences and the ordering of principles of national states has become a huge political and juridical issue since the 9/11 attacks on the United States. Those events have been widely interpreted as part of a conflict between contending civilizations. Indeed the Bush administration's "war on terror" might be thought of as having brought the slumbering civilizational giants of Christendom and the Orient back to life.'* (Gilroy, 2004, p. 21).

Furthermore, Gilroy points to the breach of human rights of prisoners held at Guantanamo Bay and notes how;

*'More than 600 detainees were forcibly held at the camp in Cuba and were for more than two years denied access to legal assistance and separated from the jurisdiction of the many and various sovereign countries from which they*

*derived their nationality or citizenship and were held indefinitely without charge neither as criminals nor as prisoners of war but “battlefield detainees” and “enemy combatants” (Gilroy, 2004, p. 22).*

In addition to the perceived threat of terror, the stereotyping and scapegoating of immigrants in Britain and the projection of fear and moral panic seem in part a manifestation of the class struggle which is often exploited by the media. This is visible in an article published by the Express in February 2010 which shows a picture of a long queue of immigrants and is titled ‘Immigrants Handed 1.3 million jobs in Britain’ (Hall, 2010). Note in particular the writer’s extremely dramatic and exaggerated references which are designed to be emotive, alarmist and panic inducing where he refers to ‘*the collapse of Britain’s border controls*’, ‘*fury over continuing levels of mass immigration*’ and ‘*Britain’s surging population.*’ Further, Hall criticises Gordon Brown the labour primeminister at the time for encouraging ‘mass immigration’ to Britain:

*‘Latest evidence of the collapse of Britain’s border controls will be a huge embarrassment to the Prime Minister following his now discredited vow to put British-born workers first. And it raises fresh questions about Britain being a target for “benefits tourism”, with concerns that immigrants are using National Insurance numbers to get state pensions and other welfare handouts. It is bound to intensify fury over continuing levels of mass immigration, which is tipped to send Britain’s population surging to more than 70 million within 20 years’ (Hall, 2010).*

Another article also written by Hall in the express has a similar nationalistic echo, displaying a picture of a job centre showing a queue of people waiting and is titled ‘British Jobs Pledge Shattered as 98% go to Immigrants’ (Hall, 2010)

*‘Official figures revealed that more than nine out 10 of the 1.7 million jobs added to the economy since 1997 have gone to workers from overseas. They also showed that nearly 300,000 fewer British-born workers were employed in the private sector than when Labour came to power. The figures provoked renewed fury over the Government’s open-door policy just weeks before polling day. Critics seized on them as devastating proof of the complete failure of the Prime Minister’s pledge to provide “British jobs for British workers” (Hall, 2010).*

Here again we can see how sections of the media appeal to their readership through creating a dichotomized, alarmist and nationalistic discourse, playing upon people’s fears about unemployment and job security in order to increase profit margins. Politicians also often play upon people’s fears and insecurities and turn these concerns into a platform for gaining public support. For instance former Prime Minister Gordon

Brown described critics of the Labour government's immigration policy as appealing to the "worst instincts of nationalism and xenophobia" which sharply contradicts with Brown's nationalistic pledge of "British jobs for British Workers". Valentine et al (2009) underline that the Commission on Integration and Cohesion (2007) identified 'Britishness as an important potential unifying force, and argued that an inability to speak English is a critical barrier to the integration of migrant groups and to cohesion. However, Valentine et al argue that this approach to furthering integration may risk presenting an ethnocentric notion of Britishness which the authors argue exacerbates negative attitudes;

*'Ill-defined notions of Britishness also risk potentially having the effect of legitimising negative attitudes by the majority population towards migrants and their cultures rather than promoting its responsibility for fostering integration by recognising the presence of, and need to respect and accommodate the needs of, minorities' (Valentine et al, 2009, p. 247).*

Kavanagh's article in the Sun projects and reflects nationalistic and xenophobic attitudes. One headline he writes declares that 'Open Door Labour has betrayed us all', and suggests that Labour's immigration policy is destroying Britain's identity, using the immigrant as a scapegoat, stereotyping the immigrant as a drain on resources and a terrorist threat;

*'New Labour not only flung open the floodgates to wholesale immigration, they lied through their teeth in the process....Behind our backs, Tony Blair and Gordon Brown hatched a plot to bury the UK's identity as a nation and turn us into a multi-cultural state. We might become a troubled, divided and quarrelsome country with too few immigrants who really want to work and too many who wish to bring this country crashing to its knees through violence' (Kavanagh, 2009).*

David Cameron's recent speech about the failure of multiculturalism in Britain appears to move away from encouraging a British citizenship which is expansive and inclusive. In his speech Cameron suggests that multiculturalism in Britain has caused greater segregation rather than integration and argues that focusing more on strengthening British national identity would further integration. Ivison (2011) criticises Cameron for 'tarnishing a tradition of tolerance' and points to the value of liberal multiculturalism and in response to Cameron's rejection of multiculturalism Ivison argues that a better response is policy reform rather than moving away from the ideals of multiculturalism: *'Where we find multicultural policies being used to encourage or tolerate discrimination or alienation then we amend the policy. We stop the discrimination; we*

*don't abandon the public ideal of multiculturalism.*' Furthermore, the author tackles the myth that multiculturalism is a breeding ground for extremism arguing that:

*'There is no empirical evidence that multiculturalism erodes the social capital required for civil society to work. Claims that multiculturalist policies ferment radicalism need to be treated with extreme care. The connections are complex and unclear. If poverty and alienation provide fertile ground for extremist politics, then to what extent have multiculturalist policies contributed to those conditions? Which policies exactly? If alienation helps explain political extremism, then how will abandoning a policy of seeking principled accommodation of religious and cultural beliefs in the public sphere help us overcome it?(Iverson, 2011).*

Iverson's argument for persisting with a liberal multiculturalist agenda is a convincing one. Clearly, an ethnocentric outlook which encourages an essentialising and fixing of national identity and culture poses a real threat to democracy.

In considering the power of the media to influence public opinion, it is important to interrogate the influences the mass media exerts on society. Van Dijk emphasises how in modern industrial societies communication is mass mediated and underlines the power and significant influence the media exerts, pointing to its reproduction of racism;

*'The mass media play a crucial role in the persuasive reproduction of dominant ideologies in general, and of ethnic ideologies in particular. We have seen that this role is not passive, but active. The media not only express, reflect or disseminate ethnic opinions, but actively mediate them, both among the various power elites themselves, as well as between the elites and the public. They autonomously (re-)interpret, (re-)construct and (re-)present them, and therefore contribute themselves to their production, and hence to the construction of the ethnic consensus that underlies the racist ideologies and practices of our society' (Van Dijk, 1989, p. 221).*

In addition to the impact of alarmist media articles on perpetuating stereotypes and xenophobia, the Macpherson report (1999) highlighted the problem of institutional racism in the police force from the Stephen Lawrence inquiry. In consideration of institutional racism we can perceive the subtleties of racism and its entrenchment in systems and structures of power. In the Macpherson report the finding of unwitting racism was emphasised;

*'Unwitting racism can arise from racist stereotyping of black people as potential criminals or troublemakers....Furthermore such attitudes can thrive in a tightly knit community, so that there can be a collective failure to detect and to outlaw*



*this breed of racism. The police canteen can too easily be it's breeding ground' (Macpherson, 1999, 6.17).*

Certainly, the findings of the Macpherson inquiry have huge symbolic and practical value in that every agency wherever located must by law address an equality agenda. Arguably, the fact that it has taken the police 18 years to convict Stephen Lawrence's killers underlines how deeply entrenched racism is in society and emphasises the finding of institutional racism in the police force and attempts to deny this was a racially motivated murder. The sentencing of Dobson and Norris on the 4<sup>th</sup> January 2012 was increased because crucially it was based upon evidence which shows this was a racially motivated crime. Crucially this landmark case and decision necessitates and highlights that the impact of racism in crime must be interrogated. Further, as a political imperative the police must be called to account for the disproportionate number of black people who are stopped and searched and further for the disproportionate number of black people in the prison system. Certainly, these massive inequalities in policing and detention are an indictment of the police force in Britain and demands immediate interrogation and significant redress so that justice is served.

The importance of challenging unwitting racism is clear and in order to challenge it, greater understanding of it and awareness of it must be made. For as the Macpherson inquiry demonstrates as well as attending to individual agency, institutional structures must also be interrogated. Importantly, whether at an individual or collective level claims of unwitting racism must not be used as an excuse of responsibility for interrogating and redressing the inequalities that racism tries to establish, clearly, whether considered unwitting or not, both witting and unwitting racism must be interrogated and addressed. The finding of institutional racism in the police force by the Macpherson inquiry points to how deeply entrenched racism can be and the necessity to tackle cultures of discrimination which in some spaces and circumstances may develop from the powers that be in the higher echelons of the police force to the canteen. In analysing unwitting racism from Bourdieu's perspective on habitus we can further understand how deeply influential culture can be: "*Habitus is a sort of scientific feel for the game that causes us to do what we do at the right moment without needing to thematize what had to be done*" (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, pp. 223-224).

The relationship between individuals and their environments or habitus is a very significant one. So in a context where there is a habitus or a culture of racism which is deeply entrenched and has been allowed to be entrenched by individuals and institutions

who either in adding to it or by their silence have not challenged it, in some spaces there develops a normalisation of racism. Thus unwitting racism can be scrutinised from a context of a normalisation of a culture of racism where it is so commonplace that for some who collude in it is perceived as acceptable and becomes institutionalized by those who produce and reproduce it by their attitudes, behaviour and indeed by their silence at not speaking out against it. Consequently, whether witting or unwitting a finding of institutional racism in the police force or any other institution should be taken very seriously, and any justifications given by those in the police force who were connected with the Stephen Lawrence case and indeed from those who were not should be very carefully scrutinized.

As a direct result of the findings of the Macpherson report it is a legal obligation for all institutions whatever the size to address an equality agenda and if there is racism, regardless of whether witting or unwitting, it has to be interrogated. The ways in which unwitting racism is relevant to this thesis will be discussed in the findings and discussion chapter.

Stereotyping, misrepresentation of the Other, the Outsider, is enacted in both subtle and overt ways for attaining greater power. Lemos and Crane indicate that the influence of the media and parents and peers on young people's attitudes may be relevant in some cases: *'the interpretation of media stories might either be relayed or mediated by parents or peers'* (Lemos & Crane, 2005, p. 9). However, to temper the influence politics, media, parents and peers have upon adolescent attitudes, the degree to which people passively accept what their society teaches should always be considered.

In conclusion it is worth underlining the responsibility the state and society have in challenging scapegoating. Williams (1991) underlines that;

*'Those who compose the fringe of society have always been the acceptable scapegoats, the butt of jokes, and the favoured whipping boys. It resembles the pattern within psychotic families where one child is set up as "sick" and absorbs the whole family's destructiveness. The child may indeed be sick in unsociably visible and dramatically destructive ways, but the family is unhealthy in its conspiracy not to see in themselves the emanation of such sickness'* (Williams, 1991, p. 422).

Williams's comparison of the pattern of scapegoating of the 'fringe of society' to that of the scapegoating of a child in a psychotic family emphasises the destructiveness of scapegoating. For example, whether emanating from the state or society, the vilification

of immigrants and asylum seekers and the scapegoating which is often employed by some to blame immigrants and asylum seekers for socio-economic problems in society is responsible for perpetuating stereotypes and tensions between those who are considered to be insiders and those who are considered to be outsiders. In so doing, this provides a convenient basis to shift the responsibility for socio-economic problems away from society and the state onto immigrants and asylum-seekers. Therefore, where there may be a rolling back of state provision of services, in a context of poverty and unemployment, rather than calling for the state to take greater responsibility and increase state provision the 'outsider' becomes for some a convenient scapegoat, representing the other as a threat.

## 5: Imagined Communities and Threatened Identities: Belonging, Celebration, Protection and Memories of Oppression in National Identities.

### 5.1: Belonging, National Identity, Nationalism and Racism

Bond (2006) debates national identity, belonging and exclusion and structures his analysis of these on a study of exclusion or inclusion from Scottish national identity. Bond (2006) carried out a secondary analysis of data from the 2003 Scottish Social Attitudes Survey to help determine the significance which members of the public gave to birth, ancestry and residence as indicators of Scottish national identity. In particular, emphasis in the survey was given to exploring attitudes surrounding potential exclusion from Scottishness towards people born in England who have migrated to Scotland and those who belong to 'visible' minority ethnic groups (Bond, 2006, pp. 613-614). In dealing with potential criticisms concerning the use of secondary analysis of data Bond points out that any unfamiliarity with the purposes behind the design of the questions in the survey is obviated by the fact that he with others was involved in the design of many of the survey questions.

In his discussion of the foundations of national identity Bond emphasises how;

*'Claims to a given identity are always circumscribed by the actions and reactions of others (Bechhofer et al.1999, cited in Bond, 2006, p. 610). The claims to national belonging of those characterized by 'difference' (not least with respect to national and ethnic origins) may be problematized by the beliefs which the majority hold about the validity of such claims. Equally, members of minority groups may choose to exclude themselves from the identity associated with the majority' (Bond, 2006, pp. 610-611).*

This highlights the socially constructed, interdependent nature of national identity where minority groups often face barriers to being accepted. Groups often create and enforce boundaries around national identity in order to foster a stronger sense of their own national identity. Whilst Bond concludes that acceptance into a state of national belonging for those who are portrayed as different is possible, he notes that 'for such people this belonging is likely to be problematized by both externally imposed and self-imposed limitations placed on their identities' (Bond, 2006, p. 623). Externally imposed limitations on her identity and the dichotomy between belonging and exclusion is

evidenced by Laura Fish a black woman who was adopted by a white family. In her article she highlights the racism she has experienced in society, living in a predominantly white area in a predominantly white country. One incident the author describes is of racism she experienced at school:

*'As a child I accepted racism quite calmly, I had known it from day one and nobody explained what was happening or why it happened. My elder brother is very clever and I used to watch him being teased at school for doing so well. He had no real friends and I gained strength from his weakness and resolved never to let people get me down, never to show the pain, no matter how severe. So I rarely reacted when attacked or abused. I do remember kicking a sixth form boy in the balls when I was in my first term at secondary school. He and his friends always called me nigger and although I didn't understand it, it hurt so bad that I kicked out uncontrollably. To my bad luck the deputy headmistress saw and I was dragged into her office to explain. She shouted at me condemning me as a rebel and saying it was my fault they called me a nigger. There was no one to turn to, no sympathy, no understanding and no point in reacting' (Fish, 1990).*

This represents the pain and frustration experienced by the author in response to repeated racism and it also shows the headmistress's cruelty; *'She shouted at me condemning me as a rebel and saying it was my fault they called me a nigger' (Fish, p. 26)*. It also shows the author's feeling of isolation and the presence of none or ineffective practice of anti-racism policies in the school; *'there was no one to turn to, no sympathy, no understanding and no point in reacting.'*

Home is often associated with a sense of belonging and this can be used to further understand nationalism and racism as nationalism and racism are also associated with a sense of who belongs and who does not belong, of insider and outsider. Castles and Davidson (2000) discuss the notion of home and its' connections to a sense of belonging and security and compare it to the nation state where some are included and others excluded:

*'The notion of home plays an important role for most people: home is where one feels a sense of belonging and security, and where one can decide on acceptable values and forms of behaviour. Home also implies closure: only those who belong can come in, and a home-owner can shut the door on outsiders' (Castles & Davidson, 2000 p. 130).*

Further, Castles and Davidson use their discussion on the notion of home to highlight the negotiation which goes on between immigrants and host communities:

*'Migration means leaving home and taking up residence in someone else's home. This implies a clash between the 'house rules' of the new place and the practices that immigrants bring with them. The newcomers seek to construct a place that they can again call home, and follow their own preferences. This involves negotiation with neighbours (Castles & Davidson, 2000 p. 130).*

Migration does not inevitably 'imply a clash' between host communities and migrants but when it does this often revolves around narrow and exclusive definitions of national identity and culture. This negotiation between insiders and outsiders, and the negotiation for a sense of belonging which is gained from group membership forms part of a process that people use on a daily basis to include some and exclude others. As minority groups are excluded from majority groups often attachment and identification for minority groups within their minority group identity becomes more important so exclusion from one dimension means further identification and a sense of inclusion in another.

The negotiation surrounding dichotomies between insiders and outsiders, between the self and other, us and them, is one that works subtly as well as overtly. Frequently the mention of nationalism denotes extremist views, parties, groups, and wars, however, as Billig (2005) points out that whilst it is very easy to overlook the subtleties of nationalism, it is very important not to. Billig (2005) argues that in established nations '*nationalism is the endemic condition* (p. 6),' suggesting that there is an entrenchment of national identity in established nations. Billig (2005) explains this with the assertion that '*nationality identity is remembered because it is embedded in routines of life, which constantly remind, or 'flag', nationhood* (p. 38). Taking a historical constructivist view Billig emphasises how 'banal nationalism' like other ideologies might appear to be natural occurrences and refers to Barthes who claimed '*that ideology speaks with "the Voice of Nature"*' (Barthes 1977, cited in Billig, 2005, p. 37). Sindic (2008) shares Billig's perspective on banal nationalism pointing to its' deep-rootedness suggesting that:

*It is easy to argue that nationalism is still one of the most potent political forces in our contemporary world by pointing to such phenomena as the multitude of separatist movements across the world (including in the UK), the so-called 'resurgence of nationalism' in Eastern Europe following the collapse of the USSR, as well as the strength of anti-European feelings amongst part of the British population. But, as Billig (1995) has shown, most nationalism is, in fact, 'banal.' It lies in the myriads of institutions and practices that shape our everyday experiences and which presuppose and reinforce the idea that the world is organised in terms of nations* (Sindic, 2008, p. 3).

The understanding of nationalism in its banal form (Billig, 2005) and the metaphor of home as representing the nation state (Castles & Davidson, 2000) are helpful in considering all the subtle forms racism takes and the insider/outsider polarization within

racism. Certainly, nationalistic and racist behaviour commonly rely on the creation of subtle boundaries which demarcate difference and help foster a sense of belonging for the instigators and often exclusion for others. This dichotomy of belonging and not belonging, of inclusion and exclusion is attached to the nationalistic definition that for example Welsh and English national identities respectively hold something unique which cannot be shared by outsiders and which is in danger of being sullied by outsiders. The antagonistic history of nationalism between Wales and England can still be perceived today and is also evidenced in the study of this thesis. This antagonistic history is predominantly linked to issues of identity, autonomy, power, control and the expansion of wealth.

Williams et al (2003) discuss the effects of devolution in Wales and remark that;

*'One noticeable shift has been from a situation where the Welsh were more likely to be identified as an ethnic minority in the wider U.K. framework, more specifically related to English dominance, to a situation that is witnessing the emergence of the English as a politicised ethnic minority within Wales' (Williams et al, 2003, p. 222).*

Furthermore, Williams et al (2003) underline how a person commenting on work with a South Wales based race equality council reported that; *'For the first time some quarter of the cases that I've been dealing with are to do with English people living in Wales, who have chosen to live here, and they perceive that people are discriminating against them because they are English' (Williams et al, 2003, p. 222).*

In discussion of the negative reception of immigrants in mid eighteenth century Britain Statt suggests that the stereotyping of immigrants by the English was a way of establishing a greater sense of being unique in being English and so defining a greater sense of identity; *'these popular stereotypes and symbols convey in the language of a metaphor a keen sense of the differences between foreigners and the English, they thereby played an instrumental role in shaping the national self-image of the English themselves' (Statt, 1995, p. 192).*

The dichotomy of belonging and exclusion is apparent in Britain past and present where nations established themselves in opposition to each other. Solomos points to the recurrent debate surrounding understandings of 'Englishness' and 'Britishness' underlining that; *'The ongoing debate about the meaning of 'Englishness' and 'Britishness' in an increasingly multicultural society hinges on concerns about who really 'belongs' within the imagined boundaries of the national collectivity' (Solomos,*

2003, p. 252). This can also be applied to discourses that surround the meaning of Welshness. What does it mean to be Welsh? Apart from legal criteria, what other criteria does society use to define national identity and why? And what do politicians and political parties use to define national identity and why? Appeals to national sentiment are frequently made by political parties and this is often done to further define a national identity, to appease dissatisfaction with the status quo in society and to foster greater allegiance to and compliance with the state. Certainly, institutions, histories, cultures, traditions and many other entities play a significant part in establishing and maintaining a sense of identity in nation. For it is through these means in the collective memory that a nation's story is told and retold which offers a sense of shared identity, affording a deep sense of individual and collective rootedness and belonging. Therefore whether there is an inclusive or exclusive understanding of belonging is key.



## **5: Imagined Communities and Threatened Identities: Belonging, Celebration, Protection and Memories of Oppression in National Identities**

### **5.2: Imagining The Nation**

The process of identity construction is a complex one where both personal and collective identities can be linked. In his work '*Imagined Communities*', (Anderson, 1991) Anderson associates the desire to feel one belongs to something greater, to an 'imagined community' with ideas about nationalism and racism presenting a discourse of social construction. Anderson defines a nation in an anthropological manner suggesting that it is;

*'An imagined political community- and imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign. It is imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion'* (Anderson, 1991, pp. 5-6).

What does Anderson mean by '*in the minds of each lives the image of their communion?*' If interpreted as meaning every member of a nation shares the same view of a togetherness with their fellow members in their national identity then this suggestion seems misleading. Anderson's approach to understanding nationalism has been described as a modernist one, where he maintains that nations and nationalism are products of modernity and have been created as means to political and economic ends. Anderson felt that neither Marxist nor liberal theory explains nationalism as well as Modernism. This modernist perspective on nationalism contrasts with the primordialist one where nations and nationalism are considered as ancient and natural phenomena. In contrast, a postmodern understanding of nationalism and racism suggests a more fluid understanding of Marxist, liberal and modernist theory, encompassing a greater diversity of perspectives.

Anderson's understanding of nationalism (1991) has similarities with that of Billig (1995) in terms of seeing both positives and negatives associated with it. Similarly, Blum (2002) describes Anderson's notion of 'imagined communities' in relation to nations as 'striking' and argues 'that because people can forget this, and especially because a "natural" view of nations provides fertile soil for virulent destructive forms of

nationalism, the idea of social construction can serve to remind us of the historically contingent character of nations (Blum, 2002, pp. 157-158).

Anderson argues that in the eighteenth century, industrialisation acted as a catalyst for nationalism, where the novel and the newspaper '*provided the technical means for 'representing' the kind of imagined community that is the nation*' (Anderson, 1991, p. 25).

Furthermore, industrial processes such as printing made it more possible for people to establish and inhabit a sense of shared nationhood: '*Print capitalism made it possible for rapidly growing numbers of people to think about themselves, and to relate themselves to others, in profoundly new ways*' (Anderson, 1991, p. 36).

In relation to the influence of the enlightenment on the rise of nationalism in Europe, Anderson articulates how the nation is imagined as sovereign as the rise of the nation state coincided with that of the enlightenment and the revolution which challenged the divinity of religions; '*Nationalism has to be understood by aligning it with the large cultural systems that preceded it, out of which- as well as against which- it came into being*' (Anderson, 1991, p. 12). Furthermore, Anderson explains the power of the imagined community in fostering a sense of passion and allegiance for one's country using the example of people who give their lives in war;

*'It is imagined as a community, because, regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship. Ultimately, it is this fraternity that makes it possible, over the past two centuries, for so many millions of people, not so much to kill, as willingly to die for such limited imaginings'* (Anderson, 1991, p. 7).

However, not everyone conceives of the nation as a deep horizontal comradeship, for some this definitely seems apparent but for others this is not the case. Dreaming of imagined communities appears a popular pastime; however, some people who have those dreams are more aware than others of their limits. Nonetheless imagining communities provides space for the creation of a sense of shared dreams, a shared identity providing a sense of shared belonging which in the context of minoritised nations and groups of people within them becomes very important.

Anderson argues that '*nationalism thinks in terms of historical destinies, while racism dreams of eternal contaminations, transmitted from the origins of time through an endless sequence of loathsome copulations outside history*' (Anderson, 1991, p. 149).

Furthermore, the author distinguishes nationalism from racism and suggests that fascism is more closely linked to nationalism than racism, maintaining that nationalism is

related to a pride of nation, to *'historical destinies'* whereas racism is more concerned with a desire to racialize groups and to segregate. Additionally, Anderson posits racism within the ideology of class and nationalism within that of the power of nation, *'The dreams of racism actually have their origin in ideologies of class, rather than those of nation: above all in claims to divinity among rulers and to 'blue' or 'white' blood and 'breeding' among aristocracies'* (Anderson, 1991, p. 149). However, whilst the ideological roots of the construction of race and racist behaviour may not be identical to the construction of nation and nationalistic behaviour, and their prominence and contexts in time and space are different, arguably they both share the concept of *'imagined communities.'* Indeed the origins of nationalism are perhaps not as distinct from those of racism as Anderson suggests. Fundamentally, racism and extreme nationalism both share the desire for more power and the assertion of that power, the power of the self over the other politically, economically, socially and culturally, with many contestations over difference. Bhabha criticises Anderson's understanding of racism highlighting the deterministic perspective Anderson reflects where he positions the nation as a feature of modernity describing Anderson's understanding of nation as; *'Anderson's homogeneous temporality of the modern nation'* (Bhabha, 2000, pp. 364-365). Bhabha criticises Anderson for the suggestion that racism belongs to a history prior to the establishment of the nation state; *'For Anderson, racism has its origins in antique ideologies of class that belong to the aristocratic 'pre-history' of the modern nation...Race represents an archaic ahistorical moment outside the 'modernity' of the imagined community'* (Bhabha, 2000, pp. 364-365).

Thus Bhabha contends that the universalizing of time in Anderson's theory creates a certain ambiguity which *'obscures the opportunity for understanding the colonial history of contemporary metropolitan racism in the West'* (Bhabha, 1994, pp. 364-365). Certainly, in his analysis of nationalism, Anderson (1991) at times does appear to present nationalism in a utopian manner, and racism in a deterministic one. Whilst nationalism and racism are different they both centre on the imaginary contention that nations and races are not constructed. Therefore, significantly distinguishing nation and nationalism from race and racism can result in a deterministic perspective. As Bhabha underlines the understanding of racism and the colonial legacy appears deemphasized as racism is presented as primordial and inevitable.

Like Anderson (1991), Gellner (1983) shares a modernist view on nationalism, arguing that the industrial revolution demanded an imposition of cultural homogeneity on

society. However, unlike Gellner (1983), Anderson (1991) shows a degree of benevolence towards nationalism. Smith (1998) however, disagrees with both Anderson (1991) and Gellner's (1983) modernist thesis on nationalism and suggests an 'ethno-symbolic' approach to understanding nations and nationalism in which he highlights the significance of memories, symbols and myths of the nation (Smith, 1998). In contrast to the modernist understanding of nationalism where nationalism is viewed as a phenomenon resulting from the industrial revolution Smith (1998) argues that there are many examples of antique nations. Notably, Smith (1998) emphasizes how nationalism can be found in both non-industrial and post-industrial societies thus the author argues that nationalism cannot be regarded as a feature of modernism. Additionally, Smith considers that Anderson fails to explain the attraction of nationalism because he perhaps does not emphasise the discourses of power at work in politics and the class struggle enough:

*'Anderson fails to explain how nationalism can have such a profound popular emotional appeal, how the possibility of imagining the nation turns into the moral imperative of a mass dying for the nation, and why imagined print communities should become prime candidates for nationhood and mass self-sacrifice' (Smith, 1998, p. 8).*

### **Colonization versus Decolonization**

Certainly, both colonisation and decolonisation involve power struggles, however, the struggle for decolonisation is a reaction to the imposition of power through colonisation, whereas, colonisation was more concerned with the expansion of power and wealth.

Fanon argues that;

*'Decolonisation which sets out to change the order of the world, is obviously a programme of complete disorder' it is an historical process: it cannot be understood except in the exact measure that we can discern the movements which give it historical form and content. Decolonization is the meeting of two forces...Their first encounter was marked by violence and their existence together- the exploitation of the native by the settler- was carried on by dint of a great array of bayonets and cannon' (Fanon, 1961, pp. 27-28).*

In discussion of Fanon's analysis of colonisation and decolonisation, Gandhi analyses the nationalism which led to decolonisation and remarks that whilst Fanon is deeply ambivalent towards 'an entrenched and centralised postcolonial nation-State' (Gandhi, 1998, p. 111), he is;

*'Committed to the therapeutic necessity of anti-colonial national agitation. While nationalism comes under suspicion as the only legitimate end of de-*

*colonisation, it is nevertheless postulated as the principal remedial means whereby the colonised culture overcomes the psychological damage of colonial racism' (Gandhi, 1998, p. 111).*

### **The allure of imagined communities**

Balibar & Wallerstein (1991) implicitly point to the class struggle in their analysis of the constructions of race, nation and class. Furthermore, they highlight the merging of reality and myth, emphasising the construction and allure of myths and collective narratives by pointing out that despite their fabrication in the recent past, the imagined community is still preferred under certain circumstances:

*'Every social community reproduced by the functioning of institutions is imaginary, that is to say, it is based on the projection of individual existence into the weft of a collective narrative, on the recognition of a common name and on traditions lived as the trace of an immemorial past (even when they have been fabricated and inculcated in the recent past). But this comes down to accepting that under certain conditions, only imaginary communities are real' (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991, p. 93).*

Indeed, as Balibar & Wallerstein highlight 'under certain conditions only imaginary communities are real' (1991, p. 93). For ethnic minority groups in a context of diaspora the need for a sense of shared understanding and support is important for coping with a variety of difficulties and so networking at local, national and global levels becomes very important. Markedly, society and the state at local, national and global levels all have a legal responsibility to help support ethnic minority groups in defending their human rights and addressing an equality agenda.

Zizek (1993) discusses the meanings of belonging and nationhood in environments that are at once ever more global and yet at the same time focused on fixed notions of national identity. Interestingly, Zizek argues that '*the bond linking together its members always implies a shared relationship toward a Thing, toward Enjoyment incarnated*' (Zizek, 1993, p. 201). It is enjoyment attached to the national identity that is considered to be unique to its national members whilst simultaneously guarded from being shared with and sullied by the other. Zizek highlights the fundamental contradiction with this, pointing out that 'it appears to us as '*our Thing*', as something accessible only to us, as something 'they' the others, cannot grasp; nonetheless it is something constantly menaced by 'them' (Zizek, 1993, p. 201). Despite nationalistic and racist attempts to fix nationality and ethnicity, they are not inherently fixed, unalterable states where some

can truly belong and others cannot, as Žižek's emphasises, it is paradoxical to suggest or pretend otherwise. In specific, he points to the paradox where sometimes an immigrant is perceived as a drain on resources by not working and the next minute the immigrant is presented as stealing jobs. Notably this contradiction is evidenced in some of the findings of the study of this thesis. Žižek's use of the word '*incarnated*' in connection with enjoyment appears both emotive and ambiguous and therefore seems reflective of a certain abstractness. However, it is of value in further understanding the mechanisms and processes that people use to include some and exclude others in a variety of contexts and not only that of nationalism and racism. From the context of discussing meanings of belonging and nationalism, the author's reference to enjoyment '*incarnated*' seems related to the concept of impersonating a quality. In analysing Žižek's meaning here it is important to recognize that the author's usage of '*enjoyment incarnated*' is influenced by Lacan's thesis on desire. And this in turn is connected with Žižek's wider aims in which through this book he employs Kant and Hegel's works to highlight Lacanian theory and critique ideology. This Lacanian influence appears significant as Žižek suggests an impersonation of enjoyment that is not real enjoyment, but rather an attempt to create enjoyment and at a group level create a shared sense of this elusive enjoyment. The idea that a person experiences enjoyment through another person, through the Other is central to the Lacanian thesis on desire and its relationship to lack. Indeed in analysing the identity processes involved with nationalism and racism this sense of creating a shared sense of elusive enjoyment is present. It is worth emphasizing however, that whilst this might appear illogical and irrational to someone who does not exude nationalistic or racist attitudes, to the nationalist and racist this might appear entirely logical and rational where irrationalities are rationalised. Žižek argues that what motivates nationalistic and ethnic antagonism is a collectively driven refusal of our own enjoyment, referring to the way that individuals often shown preference for experiencing enjoyment as part of a group rather than as an individual. Indeed, the author's chapter heading *Enjoy your nation as yourself* is a reminder of the potential nationalistic and racist attitudes which are sometimes advanced within a group context that de-individualise and homogenise identity. Markedly Žižek's discourse here presents a convincing theoretical deconstruction of the nationalistic and racist mind, showing an insight into the self-other dichotomy.

Enjoying one's nationality at a collective level often appears appealing but depending on the manner in which this celebration is carried out, it can sometimes be very divisive.

Evidence of this has been recorded with incidents of group fuelled discrimination, and racist behaviour at national and international sporting events. This illustrates how behaviour is significantly influenced by the group context. On the one hand where what is by most enjoyed as a friendly competition, on the other is, for a minority of extremists, used as an opportunity to express frustration, anger and resentment. Mangan et al (1996) point to the significance of sport for bolstering national identity in Ireland, Wales and Scotland and the authors suggest that this is related to English imperialism;

*'There are many currents which eddy around football, group identity and 'nationality' in the two large islands off the coast of Continental Europe which turn on the effects of English imperialism. Holt has pointed to the significance of sport in symbolising and sustaining the particular cultural nationalism which tends to define the non-English parts of the Kingdom (Holt et al, 1996 pp. 57-58).*

In the study of this thesis sport is seen to be very much connected with national identity where many participants indicate a stronger awareness of their Welsh national identity at a sporting match where Wales are playing and indicate pride when Wales win. Certainly, a match provides a large scale arena for a communal celebration and further defining of a collective identity.

In conclusion of this chapter, it seems important to recognise the significant influences which are drawn upon in the imagining of nation and nationality which involve both processes of remembering and forgetting. In analysing Freud's discussion of the significance of repression in memory, Billig argues that language provides a means of repression and emphasises that; 'Dialogic repression can be seen to operate at different, but interrelated levels, whether in the mind of the isolated individual or in shared practices of discourse' (Billig, 1999, p. 100). Certainly, this sense of an individual and/or a sense of shared repressing forms part of the imagining of nationality and nation as Renan underlines: 'forgetting... is a crucial element in the creation of nations' and national unity is always affected by means of brutality'(Renan, 1990, p. 11). In discussion of Renan's emphasis on the significance of forgetting in imagining the nation Billig (1995) points out that;

*'Every nation must have its history, its own collective memory. This remembering is simultaneously a collective forgetting: the nation, which celebrates its antiquity, forgets its historical recency. Moreover, nations forget the violence which brought them into existence' (Billig, 1995, p. 38).*

Further, Billig (1999) highlights Renan's suggestion that 'the forgetting is accomplished, not by a general amnesia, but by the formulation of historic myths which only recount a gloriously unshadowed past' (Billig, 1999, p. 170). Certainly, in defining and imagining the nation, there often persists a significant numbers of myths which seek only to present 'a gloriously unshadowed past'(Billig, 1999, p. 170). The formation of a nation involves both social and political processes encompassing a collective representation. In representing a nation's history in a positive light through myths or closed narratives this provides a sense of shared pride and acts as a means of sustaining the collective consciousness of a national identity. Without the representation of 'a gloriously unshadowed past' celebration and pride in a collective belonging to the nation is problematised.



## **5: Imagined Communities and Threatened Identities: Belonging, Celebration, Protection and Memories of Oppression in National Identities**

### **5.3: Multiple Identities and the Notion of Fixed Identities: Celebrating 'Welshness': Self esteem and Identity Definition**

Wales's relationship to nationalism is related to the history of English occupation. Racism in the U.K. is partly linked to the post-colonial state. Indeed in the context of Wales, racism in Wales is visible through Wales's part in colonialism and the slave trade and in the waves of migration that have occurred. In the report *Immigration and Inclusion in South Wales* Threadgold et al argue that 'there is a significant history of racism as evidenced by a number of studies *'which does not always sit easily beside the 'myth of warm, accepting proletarian Wales' (Threadgold et al, 2008, p. 3).*

Similarly, Williams (2002) notes how the first significant race riots in the U.K were in Wales. Llwyd (2005) also underlines this pointing to the context of the first world war:

*'There was a simmering underlying tension between the white and black people of Cardiff during the First World War. Cardiff's black population was often vilified, and after the end of the War, the smouldering fire exploded in a blaze and tension became contention-the race riots of 1919. The first year of peace was a turbulent year' (Llwyd, 2005, p. 92).*

As Llwyd points out, 'the race riots in South Wales were part of a wider pattern of unease' (Llwyd, 2005, p. 92) in post World War 1 Britain. Notably, during this time, unemployment was high and jealousies and racism grew as black and other minority communities were made scapegoats for the social and economic problems affecting Wales and Britain. Lywd emphasises this underscoring how, *'Cardiff's black population had increased as a result of the war.'* Furthermore, Lywd notes that, *'white seamen were incensed by the willingness of white women to associate with black men when they were home on leave. They believed that black seamen had stolen their women and their occupations' (Lywd, 2005, p. 92).*

In discussion of the politics of race in Britain in the 1980s Solomos draws attention to the riots which took place in Handsworth in Birmingham, in St Paul's in Bristol, in Brixton, Southhall and Tottenham in London and in Toxteth in Liverpool (Solomos,

2003, p 143). Further, in evaluating the political responses to the riots, Solomos points to the promises made to communities in deprived areas by the state to address unemployment and cautions about the futility of tokenistic action which does not effect change highlighting that;

*'Symbolic action does little to change the underlying problems, and there have been persistent cries from black and ethnic communities and other inner city residents that the promise of reform without actual change is not acceptable' (Solomos, 2003, pp. 170-171).*

In consideration of Welsh nationalism, Williams et al (2003) underline how the result of nationalism between the Welsh and the English living in Wales is that black and other ethnic minorities also living in Wales are often ignored. Williams criticises a political Welsh nationalist organisation for the inducement of racist categories and highlights that the organisation in question;

*'Frequently used the term 'white settlers' to describe English incomers, explicitly evoking racist categories in which the Welsh white majority are aligned with the 'black' oppressed. The legacy of these tendencies is that valid concerns over threats to the vibrancy of small Welsh communities in terms of protecting a minoritised culture and language have been overlaid with all the imagery, fears, threats, and terminology of racism in the way that the problem is both perceived and described' (p. 225).*

This use of racist categories appears deliberate as it appears to be designed to be emotive and attract attention. And because of the invocation of racist dichotomies and the close comparison of the white oppressor settlers with the English and the oppressed black with the Welsh, any valid concerns are obscured. Furthermore, Williams points out that black and minority groups are excluded in the opposition, rigidity and homogeneity present in nationalistic and racist constructions of Welsh and English national identities;

*'In turn the idea of 'the Welsh' and 'the Welsh community' are constructed as fixed and immutable entities both culturally and linguistically and in the antipathy towards the Other- the English are also constructed as a monolithic block. Arguably, within this bilinear construction of 'us' and 'them', there is no space to locate black and ethnic minorities. They become neither English, nor Welsh- just an inconvenient complexity to the debate' ( p. 225).*

Davies (1998) notes how the art installation of Tim Davies with his piece entitled Wal Wedi Llosgi Burnt Wall (which was awarded silver medal in 'the people's choice' prize at the Welsh National Eisteddfod in 1995), *'challenges the more accommodating*

*version of Welshness projected by many among the Welsh elite and appears to have struck a responsive chord among those attending the Eisteddfod*' (Davies, 1998, p. 154). Noticeably, Davies underlines that in this art installation and the response to it there is an *'implied reference to the burning of holiday homes in protest against the effects of such properties on Welsh communities'* (Davies, 1998, p. 154). Certainly in this nationalistic mindset ethnic minority groups in Wales are excluded in their non-representation. And simultaneously, the Welsh oppression of ethnic minorities living in Wales is sometimes ignored. Indeed, Crawley and Crimes' (2009)<sup>1</sup> survey on Refugees living in Wales underlines that in the survey *'half of all refugees experienced negative public attitudes and racism whilst living in Wales'* (Crawley and Crimes, 2009, p. 5). Furthermore, the authors found that *'a third of survey participants feel that they have been discriminated against because of skin colour, ethnic origin or religion'* (Crawley and Crimes, 2009, p. 5). Markedly, Crawley and Crimes describe the racist incidents highlighted by participants in the survey and note that;

*'A significant number of incidents were described by survey respondents, many involving verbal and physical abuse, often by teenagers and youths. Damage to property was also widely reported. Reference was made by some respondents to discrimination in the workplace and in dealings with agencies and service providers, including the police. It appears that many racist incidents are not reported due to concerns about the consequences. Many also feel that incidents which are reported are not well dealt with by police, housing providers and the UKBA'* (Crawley and Crimes, 2009, p. 5).

This underscores how racism is suffused in many spaces within society and the state and how it is perpetuated by institutions and how it involves both a social and political exclusion.

The creation and celebration of culture appears to be significant part of defining national and ethnic identities. In this celebration of culture and collective identity, self-esteem is suggested to be linked to a celebration of group identity particularly at a collective level. The group context of celebration of culture seems used as part of

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<sup>1</sup> The survey included a total of 74 questions both closed and open-ended intended to capture information on the demographic characteristics of respondents and their circumstances and experiences of living in Wales. A total of 123 refugees participated in interviews for the survey which took place between August and November 2008 (Crawley and Crimes, 2009, pp. 1-2).

further defining the individual, ethnic and national identity. Indeed in constructing and defining these identities often the realities and myths of memories of oppression merge (Smith, 1998). Historically, in Wales these realities and myths are linked to the memory of English oppression over the Welsh. And as with many relationships of oppressor and oppressed, from the perspective of the oppressed, memories of oppression are remembered more than they are forgotten. And from the perspective of the oppressor, memories of oppressing often appear forgotten or conveniently ignored more than remembered which can be seen in the disregarding, marginalisation and ambivalence concerning oppression over black and other ethnic minorities both past and present in the U.K. which perpetuates many barriers to equality.

There may in some cases be a relationship between varying degrees of individual and national self-esteem and varying degrees of value placed on collective identities which is congruent with the idea that a sense of belonging in group membership seems to increase self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Breakwell, 1986, West, 1993). Smith (1998) describes the collective construction of identities and the power of a collective remembering underlining the power of myth, noting how;

*'Identities are forged out of shared experiences, memories and myths, in relation to those of other collective identities. They are in fact often forged through opposition to the identities of significant others, as the history of paired conflict so often demonstrates' (Smith, 1998, p. 247).*

Furthermore, Smith points to the distinction between individual and collective identities in terms of the latter tending to be more pervasive and persistent; *'They are less subject to rapid changes and tend to be more intense and durable, even when quite large numbers of individuals no longer feel their power which is especially true of religious, ethnic and national identities' (Smith, 1998, p. 230).*

The significance of collective identities can be seen in the Welsh National Eisteddfod. Davies highlights the construction of Welshness as she describes the Eisteddfod as *'performing Welshness'* (p. 151). Explicitly Davies states that she considers that *'the National Eisteddfod is used for performances not of a single homogenous and hegemonic Welshness but rather of alternative and often competing Welshnesses'* (Davies, 1998, p. 151). In particular the author emphasises how during the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century, the English threat of extinction of the Welsh language and culture meant that the Eisteddfod aimed to appeal to 'English imaginations' (pp. 151-152). Furthermore Davies suggests that this appeal was

significantly motivated by;

*'The desire to disprove the extremely negative picture of Welsh culture drawn by the Government's 1847 Report on Education in Wales (the 'Blue Books' Report). This report portrayed the Welsh as illiterate, uncouth and immoral and blamed their condition primarily on the continued existence of the Welsh language' (Davies, 1998, p. 152).*

Additionally Davies underlines how in practice this meant the curtailment of Welsh language in performances of the Eisteddfod. Furthermore, the author highlights that this de-emphasis of the Welsh language remained so until 1950 when the Welsh rule was introduced, which *'allows only Welsh from the Eisteddfod platform as well as making it the language of the ruling Eisteddfod Council and promoting its use in all displays and activities on the Eisteddfod field'* (Davies, 1998, p. 152-153). Whilst Welsh language has been given a more prominent place in the Eisteddfod which means that to a certain extent non Welsh speakers are excluded Davies points out that *'participation was broadened by simultaneous English translation made available, and folk dancing, brass bands and art and craft competitions'* (Davies, 1998, p. 153). England's domination over Wales can be observed throughout history. And the history of Welsh-English contestations over the Eisteddfod demonstrates Wales's efforts to further define and sustain its power and identity as a nation in response to threats to the sustainability of language and culture, and political and economic power in Wales. Markedly, as previously underlined, in this dichotomy between Wales and England, this identity-defining space, black and ethnic minority groups are often excluded (Williams et al, 2003, p. 225). In discussion of this exclusion, of her experience of it and others while students at university, Williams notes how;

*'Language politics filled the air. I remember experiencing the sense that things were changing but that I wasn't included in the battle. I couldn't empathise with it at all because for the great mass of us the agitation was unexplained, de-contextualised, something to do with a history in which there were only two sides- Welsh or English- and for those of us who didn't sit comfortably on either, there was no role at all. This great movement for Wales wasn't taking us all along with it. On the contrary, out of necessity or neglect it was fast excluding us. The Welsh were the Negro slaves and the English the plantation owners; it was as simple as black and white and yet not so simple at all' (Williams, 2003, p. 171).*

Notably, Bhabba (1994) argues that the space which national culture inhabits is neither fixed nor homogenous and affirms that a process of hybridity should be adopted in

relation to national culture where representation should be democratic;

*'The locality of national culture is neither unified nor unitary in relation to itself, nor must it be seen simply as 'other' in relation to what is outside or beyond it. The boundary is Janus-faced and the problem of outside/inside must always be a process of hybridity, incorporating new 'people' in relation to the body politic, generating other sites of meaning and inevitably, in the political process, producing unmanned sites of political antagonism and unpredictable forces for political representation' (Bhabba, 1990, p. 4).*

National culture and identity are not fixed but should be conceived of as fluid and hybrid however it is in a context where national identities and cultures may be perceived to be under threat that there perhaps grows a desire to cement identity, to protect it. Certainly in times of economic crisis and political instability in terms of what a collective identity offers the appeal greatens. A further defining of identity in group membership often appears to provide a greater sense of self esteem and belonging to something that is shared by others. Zizek reminds us of the paradox of a fixed understanding of national identity pointing out that something that is declared to be unique to its members who are considered to belong cannot be at the same time under threat from outsiders.

## **6: Nationalism, Racism, Imperialism and Capitalism:** **The Construction of Identities through Power Relations**

### **6.1: Inequalities of class and ethnicity in Britain: Relative deprivation theory, immigrants and host communities in the U.K.**

The perception that members of minority migrant groups are a drain on resources and receive preferential treatment whether it be free housing and/or food is frequently represented by sections of the media. It is also a perception that minority migrant groups are often made aware of (e.g. Hewett et al, 2005; Lemos & Crane, 2005; Threadgold et al, 2008). Competition over resources and opposition between settled communities and minority migrant groups connects with relative deprivation theory (Runciman, 1966). This is evidenced by some of the participants in the study of this thesis where it is perceived that immigrants and asylum seekers are given priority in terms of housing and immigrants are given priority in terms of employment. Most migrants and non-migrants do not choose to live in deprived areas but can only afford to live in areas where there is often inadequate housing and a lack of resources. Indeed, both groups experience inequalities which are frequently made on a class, gendered and racial basis. And those inequalities act to further social exclusion which as De Haan reminds us concerns, *'power relations, agency, culture and social identity'* (De Haan, 1998, pp. 12-13). Many migrants and non-migrants experience a limited freedom to choose. The state limits freedom as it is more economical for state housing groups to place asylum seekers and refugees, other migrants and non-migrants of limited means in housing within areas of greater deprivation.

Crawley (2009) highlights the difficulties refugees and asylum seekers face in Britain and emphasises how government immigration policies may threaten sustainable social and economic inclusion. Furthermore, Crawley underlines the significant barrier of hostile attitudes many immigrant families face;

*'Negative attitudes and hostility towards immigrant families, including children, represents a serious barrier to the success of the immigration experience and the integration and social inclusion of immigrant groups. Discrimination and racism also undermine ethnic relations and social cohesion more generally. Leadership in confronting these issues at the local and national levels is a political imperative'* (Crawley, 2009, p. 59).

Inequalities exist and are also furthered within all social groups and relate to inequalities of class, gender and race. Markedly Threadgold et al (2008) underline how the poorest areas in Cardiff in South Wales have the highest numbers of migrants living in them;

*'The worst areas of deprivation in Wales, measured by the Welsh Index of Multiple Deprivation, are also the areas in Cardiff where the greatest concentrations of migrants now live. These areas have complex histories of industrialisation, deindustrialisation and regeneration, accompanied by many migrations. Settled communities and new migrants share experiences of class, gendered, and racial, inequalities inherited from this common history' (Threadgold et al, 2008, p. 3).*

As competition for jobs and housing in periods of economic recession increases, so often does antagonism against the Other who is sometimes represented as posing an economic threat. And from this context the significant Other for the settled community often becomes the migrant community and the significant Other for the migrant community often becomes the settled community. In particular, relative deprivation theory (Runciman, 1966) appears a helpful theory in further understanding settled communities' attitudes towards migrant communities. Relative deprivation theory concerns individual and or group perceptions of equality and inequalities, irrespective of the reality of economic results. In the report by Crawley (2009) the author suggests a link between the concept of relative deprivation and negative attitudes to the Other;

*'The concept of relative deprivation may be the key to understanding attitudes towards ethnic or other 'outside' groups including asylum seekers and immigrants because it exists regardless of actual economic impacts and results primarily from a perception of discrepancy between the conditions of life to which people believe they are rightfully entitled and those they believe that others are rightfully entitled to. Thus, when others receive something they do not deserve or are perceived not to deserve – for example, they obtain certain benefits without working for them, or are given a status which they are not considered to be worthy of – people react negatively' (Crawley, 2009, p. 4).*

In further consideration of evidence for the theory of relative deprivation it is useful to examine what one lady interviewed for the Uncertain Futures Study said: 'There was this British lady and she was really poor and the lady was really annoyed, she said that the government don't pay attention to the people they should. Many people feel prejudice towards asylum-seekers' (Hewett et al, 2005, p. 37). Similarly, In The Search for Tolerance study, one young person said he disliked; *'Pakistanis, Muslims, Indians,*



*Iraqis – because they do nothing at all for our country and get free housing, food and they have their own country' (Lemos & Crane, 2005, p. 8).* These examples highlight how immigrants and asylum seekers are often perceived to be an economic threat. The other in each illustration is considered to be undeserving of government assistance in comparison with other people who are more deserving, such as perhaps people 'like' themselves. The young person indicates that he considers that the Other makes no contribution to the U.K. and does not deserve to receive free housing and food. His further emphasis that 'they have their own country' suggests xenophobia implying that he considers the other does not belong in the U.K. and that their 'own country' should be responsible for looking after its members. Dichotomization of us versus them and the homogenisations of an us and a them are visible with the reference to 'our country' and to 'their own country.'

Notably, Tajfel and Turner's (1979) theory which argues that people identify with groups in such a way as to increase positive distinctiveness helps to explain this as it highlights the importance of self-esteem in group identification and suggests the barriers and facilitators that individuals often face in the group identification process. In discussion of social comparison and relative deprivation Tajfel underlines how relative deprivation is linked to perceptions of illegitimacy: *'the perceived illegitimacy of an intergroup relationship is thus socially and psychologically the accepted and acceptable lever for social action and social change in intergroup behaviour'* (Tajfel, 1981, p. 267).

In a context of poverty, where public and private opportunities for employment are low and state provision of services and housing is inadequate and poor quality, concerns over who does and who does not have a legitimate right to jobs and housing may increase providing a rationale for negative attitudes towards immigrants and asylum seekers. Further where there persists unfair representations of immigrants and asylum seekers by politicians, the media and other groups, then some members of host communities may consider that the state is giving immigrants and asylum seekers priority over themselves and feel this is unfair and illegitimate.

## 6.2: Post-Colonial and Marxist Perspectives on Nationalism and Racism

The imperialist discourse uses racism as a tool to divide the self from the other, to establish superiority and to create a feeling of distance as strategies to position oneself in a more comfortable position to exploit the other. In the context of European colonization Greenblatt describes this unequal and exploitative nature of imperialism well when he says, *'the European dream endlessly reiterated in the literature of exploration is of the grossly unequal gift exchange; I give you a-glass bead and you give me a pearl worth half your tribe'* (Greenblatt, 1992, p. 110).

This grossly unequal exchange required the establishment and perpetuation of a dichotomy between the colonisers and the colonized in order to justify plundering and exploitation to gain greater power. Notably Miles underlines the significance of capitalism in the production and reproduction of racialization and racism throughout history: *'In all instance of unfree relations of production: that is to say, the ideology of racism constructed the Other as a specific and inferior category of being particularly suited to providing labour power within unfree relations or production'* (Miles, 1993).

A Marxist understanding of racialization and racism can be evidenced by a significant number of articles published in Britain during the period of colonisation. For instance, in an article which was printed in 1893 in the Western Mail, in Wales, Stanley (Stanley, 1893), discusses the progress of the British South African Company in colonising Africa, and creates a dichotomy for his audience where white colonisers are represented by the *'irresistible forces of civilisation'* and colonised black people are juxtaposed and represented as; *'savage'*; *'The expansive, irresistible forces of civilisation, gradually moving and deploying inland from the Congo from the East and South, has to encounter in its course the tribes of the interior. Of those the Matabele is among the most savage south of the Zambesi'* (Stanley, 1893). Furthermore, the arrogance, power struggle and violence of the white coloniser is apparent in Stanley's conclusion; *'Of the result of the companies advance, I repeat, I have no doubt. The fight may be protracted and fierce, but it can have but one ending. There is a stone set rolling on the African continent which no Black power may stay or turn'* (Stanley, 1893). How did the readers of this type of article in Wales and readers in other parts of the U.K. perceive similar articles which attempted to legitimise racism in order to justify the pursuit of power and wealth through colonisation? Articles like these appear designed to act as a platform to legitimise colonisation in some peoples' minds in Britain, perhaps including Stanley's

mind. Certainly, attempts by British and other European colonialists to seek legitimization from their nations were linked to the pursuit of power and wealth and the maintaining of them which can be observed in a number of published material, including, but not exclusively, through parliamentary debates, newspaper articles, literature on explorations, books, and postcards. The main purpose of these publications seems to be to represent the colonizer as the hero and the colonized as the villain in order to try and justify and maintain the pursuit of wealth for a few by any means possible (Greenblatt, 1992; Loomba, 1998, Llwyd, 2005).

In relation to British colonisation of South Africa Loomba emphasises how, '*In South Africa racial divisions were maintained along with direct and powerful intervention*' (Loomba, 1998, p. 111). Certainly because of the violence and inequalities instigated by the actions and presence of white British colonizers and settlers in South Africa, racialized divisions were perpetuated. These racialized divisions were brought into law with Apartheid which lasted for nearly half a century, and during this time the schisms between white colonizer people and black colonized people became more significant. The system of legal racial segregation which was enforced by the National Party government in South Africa from 1948 until 1994, when after much struggle, democratic elections were finally achieved and Nelson Mandela who led the African National Congress Party was voted in (Mamdani, 1996).

Markedly, Mamdani (1994) argues that apartheid was not unique to South Africa and maintains that the objectives of apartheid can be found at the heart of all colonial state powers in Africa. In particular, Mamdani asserts that there is a legacy of decentralised despotism in Africa underlining that, '*like all colonial powers, the British worked with a single model of customary authority in precolonial Africa. That model was monarchical, patriarchal and authoritarian*' (Mamdani, 1994, p. 39).

In relation to the British colonialism of India, Loomba (1998) draws parallels with modern imperialism and perceives a different pattern to the British colonialism of South Africa. Loomba compares the British colonialism of India to modern imperialism because of its greater functioning from a distance. As many British colonialists were geographically detached from the Indians they colonized, they perhaps felt in a more comfortable position to exploit them, however this did not mean that the Indians were less impacted by this '*remote control*' (p. 111) of colonial rule;

*'Millions of Indians never saw an English person throughout the term of the Raj, although that did not mean that their lives had not been woven into the fabric of empire. This kind of shallow penetration can be seen as a prototype for modern imperialism, which functions largely through remote control' (p. 111)*

### **Copper mining in the UK and the slave trade**

Copper mining in both England and Wales had significant links with the slave trade. Additionally, the impact of heavy industrial copper mining in South Wales and other places on the health of the workers, those in the community and on the environment was significant (Rees, 2000). Rees notes that the Tawe valley in South Wales was an area which formed part of a group of copper mining sites in South Wales which together *'produced virtually all of Britain's copper and until 1860 more than half of the world's copper'* (Rees, 2000, p.1).

In 1770, Thomas Williams and the Parys Mine Company bought a large works at Ravenhead in Lancashire and, in 1780 Williams and the Parys Mine Company 'took over the existing Upper banks works in a South Wales city, where as Harris notes, *'copper smelting had been established even longer than in South Lancashire, and on a much more extensive scale'* (Harris, 1964, p. 39). In 1785, Williams who owned a quarter share in the subsidiary of the Mona Mine Company,<sup>2</sup> purchased the Middle Banks smelting works in this city (Harris, 1964, pp. 52-53). Harris highlights the similarities between the Parys Company and the Mona Mine Company and notes how they both ran a smelting works in South Wales and in Lancashire and a manufacturing works in Holywell, Flintshire, and further Harris points out that *'the ores were mined side by side on the same Anglesey hill'* (Harris, 1964, p. 53). Llwyd (2005) underscores that Williams also set up another copper works nearby and notes that in *the '1780s, the entire output of that works was used to purchase slaves'* (Llwyd, 2005, p. 21). Clearly the motivation of maintaining profit seemed to be a significant one for Williams support of the slave trade, as Llwyd underlines; *'Thomas Williams claimed that he had invested £70,000 in the trade, and in 1788 he petitioned Parliament when a Bill was discussed to prevent British ships from carrying slaves'* (Llwyd, 2005, pp. 21-22). Similarly, Harris (1964) suggests how certain industrialists intended to make profit out of the slave trade, highlighting how *'in 1788 Thomas Williams and his partners declared that it was the slave trade in particular which had induced them to embark a great sum of money in the*

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<sup>2</sup> The Stanley Company was a subsidiary of the Mona Mine Company.

*copper industry'* (Harris, 1964, p. 10). Harris (1964) continues his argument by pointing to the articles which were produced with copper in Britain to give in exchange for slaves and notes the significant number exported to Africa; *'The exotic articles of the trade, particularly the manillas or bangles and the neptunes, curious salt evaporation pans, tended to draw the eye of those visiting copper works. The exports to Africa were certainly considerable'* (Harris, 1964, p. 10). Similarly, Llywd further highlights the connections between the growth in the copper industry in South Wales and the growth in the slave trade:

*'The \*\*\* copper industry flourished as the slave trade thrived. By 1750 South \*\*\* was producing 50% of British copper, and by the turn of the nineteenth century, 90% of British copper was being smelted in \*\*\*. The Forest Works at \*\*\*, built in 1717, produced manillas (bracelets) for usage in the slave-trade, and so did the \*\*\* works at \*\*\*, established by Joseph Percevall in 1737'* (Llywd, 2005, p. 8).

The school where the research with students took place for the study of this thesis is situated in the \*\*\* area and was built on what was formerly the waste product ground for a copper works.<sup>3</sup> Notably, during the growth of copper mining in South Wales, areas used for mining became heavily industrialised areas which produced significant amounts of pollution which as evidenced above caused damage to people's health and environmental damage (Rees, 2000). A picture of the smoke pollution from the copper industry can be seen in appendix 1. Significantly, during the industrial revolution, industrialists often set up enterprises in areas where it was cheapest to do so. In particular, Harris points out that South Wales was attractive to industrialists as it possessed cheap coal and a short sea journey to Cornwall where ores were shipped from (Harris, 1964, p. 12). Indeed, Cornwall is where a famous South Wales industrialist was based who owned a significant share in a copper works in South Wales from 1870 onwards.<sup>4</sup> Harris records how this industrialist was a Cornish miner and the founder of a famous family of industrialists in South Wales (Harris, 1964, p. 183). Certainly, the Vivian family of industrialists had a significant impact on the maintaining and greater

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<sup>3</sup> Morris company i.e. Lockwood and Company (Harris, 1964, p. 60).

<sup>4</sup> Harris notes how in South in 1924 this company merged with another company to form the British Copper Manufacturers' Limited which became part of Imperial Chemicals two years later (Harris, 1964, p. 183).

production of the mining industry in South Wales and evidence of their influence is apparent throughout South Wales today.

Further, Llwyd emphasises how industries in both North and South Wales were financed by the slave trade and marks the role that Richard Pennant played in perpetuating the slave-trade;

*'The Slate industry in north Wales and the metal industries in south Wales flourished because they were primarily financed by the slave trade. Richard Pennant, Member of Parliament for Liverpool, for a period, inherited the largest estate in Jamaica. He owned 600 slaves and 8,000 acres of sugar plantations. Pennant, the first Lord Penrhyn used a large amount of the profits acquired from his plantations to build roads in North Wales, to build a harbour at Port Penrhyn near Bangor (Abercegin), and to finance the Penrhyn Quarry in Bethesda' (Llwyd, 2005, p. 19).*

Furthermore, Llwyd underlines the importance of being a member of parliament for Pennant for maintaining the slave trade, his power and his wealth as *'he could argue in favour of slavery on all possible occasions'* (Llwyd, 2005, pp. 19-20). Markedly, Llwyd notes how Pennant's attitude towards slaves and the slave trade appears similar to that of other slavists in their presentation of a myth which depicted the slaves as being universally happy with their enslavement. In particular, Llwyd highlights this myth stating that Pennant had *'insisted that the middle passage from Africa to the West Indies was "...one of the happiest periods in a Negro's life"* (Llwyd, 2005, pp. 19-20). Further Llwyd underlines how those who supported the slave trade like Richard Pennant, Bamber Gascoyne and Thomas Williams financially benefited from the it and opposed the abolition of the slave trade (Llwyd, 2005, p. 20). Llwyd's discourse points to the cruelty of the justification of exploitation of people by plantation owners like Richard Pennant emphasising how; *'Plantation owners such as Richard Pennant justified slavery by alleging that slaves led a good, healthy life'* (Llwyd, 2005, p. 20). Williams (2002) emphasises Pennant's exploitation of slaves and workers in Pennant's plantations and industries underlining that;

*'It was the cruelly driven slaves; men, women and children who toiled and sweated for huge sugar profits that built the industries in Wales. Out of the profits of slavery in one empire, he built another on near-slave labour'* (Williams, 2002, p. 175).

Similarly, Llwyd seeks to raise awareness of Wales's and the U.K.'s involvement of the slave trade and the exploitation of black people, remarking how;

*'Much of Wales's economy was closely linked to slavery. Welsh planters, agents and ship captains were directly involved in the slave trade, and their involvement brought them immense riches. Others were indirectly supported by slavery, such as the ordinary workers and labourers of Wales who were employed and exploited by slave-owners such as Richard Pennant and industrialists such as Anthony Bacon, as well as ordinary seamen such as John Morris. During the age of slavery, black people had a virtually invisible presence in Wales. They were part of the country's economic system, but were not a part of the country's population, with a few exceptions (Llwyd, 2005, p. 24).*

Certainly the economies of South Wales and other parts of the U.K. were very much connected to the slave trade and to furthering it by exploitation for the increase of power and wealth. Indeed, the driving force behind the slave trade and European colonisation was capitalism and the greed of those who actively took part in exploiting people. This also seems to be a key cause of much nationalism and racism today and so we can perceive how frequently issues of class work behind manifestations of racist and nationalistic behaviour.

Alcoff, suggests the invisibility of class and looks at how class intersects with the more visible identities of race and gender. Indeed, Alcoff's discussion highlights the need for recognition of the links between the discourses of race, gender and class in deconstructing nationalism and racism. In particular, Alcoff highlights the inequalities of power many people experience, emphasising how limiting social identities of race, ethnicity and gender often are and how class is often very much entrenched within these identities. Notably Alcoff's discourse points to the inherent inequalities of capitalism and the exclusions based on race, ethnicity and gender maintaining that,

*'Social identities such as race, ethnicity and gender remain the most telling predictors of social power and success, predicting whether one works in the service sector, the trades or the managerial class, whether and how much profit can be made by selling ones home, how likely one is to be incarcerated, how likely one is to suffer sexual or domestic violence, and even how high one is likely to score on the SAT. Such facts do not displace the importance of class; rather, they reveal that class works through, rather than alongside, the categories of visible identity' (Alcoff, 2006, p. viii).*

Further on Alcoff discusses the most impoverished in North America and maintains that racism and sexism have had a significant part to play in *'the low level unionization'* and the *'lack of a viable left'* (Alcoff, 2006, p. X). Alcoff continues to argue that this situation persists because of *'the social, cultural, and political division between white workers and people of color. If these communities were mobilized and united in*

*purpose, the current ruling oligarchy would be in trouble'* (Alcoff, 2006, p. X). Similarly Paredes (2007), discusses the results of a study which consisted of surveys and interviews with people in three areas of Peru and underlines how racism persists pointing out significant power imbalances;

*'Most people are aware of the effects of racial and cultural traits on people's chances of getting access to jobs. Power is seen to be in the hands of whites and mestizos. In the provinces mestizos are aware of their power locally, but in Lima, all agree that power is in the hands of the whites in most institutions of the government, and even more so, in the private sector'* (Paredes, 2007, p. 31).

Furthermore, Paredes' discussion demarcates the relationship between racism and class and the effects of creating inequalities in provision of education for indigenous people in Peru as Paredes emphasises; *'it was found that the effects of ethnicity are embedded in the mechanisms of education supply. Education is not only limited for the poorest- the indigenous in the highlands- but its quality is tremendously poor for those living in urban settings'* (Paredes, 2007, p. 31). Capitalism is a system which is both dominant and globalised as it works to divide and conquer on a large scale and thus any understanding of racism must consider the role capitalism plays within it whilst also analysing its particular historical, social, cultural, political context. In the study of this thesis, where racism appears in some participants' responses or where causes of racism have been discussed with participants, the role of capitalism in racism and how to counteract it has been considered.

In response, to the idea that any similarities with the colonial period has desisted, Sardar & Van Loon (1997) emphasise the oppression and repercussions of colonialism, pointing to modern day imperialism, asserting that *'while colonialism has been formally dismantled, imperialism still survives in many forms'* (Sardar & Van Loon, 1997, p. 106). One of those forms is the discourse of Orientalism which is very much related to the operation of power relations. Orientalism is a style of thought based on the ontological and epistemological distinction made between the Orient and the Occident. Said (1978) who first employed the term maintains that *'Orientalism is more a sign of European Atlantic power over the Orient than simply a discourse'* (Said, 1978, p.90). Said further emphasises this point with his assertion that,

*'All cultures tend to make representations of foreign cultures the better to master or in some way control them. Yet not all cultures make representations of foreign cultures and in fact master or in some way control them. This is the distinction of modern Western cultures'* (Said, 1993, p. 120).



Certainly, this combination of representation and control structures imperialism and colonialism. Loomba (1998) discusses Orientalism and its links to colonialism and underlines the creation of a dichotomy between Western and Eastern ideologies and cultures that connects with issues relating to capitalism, difference, identity definition and power:

*'Representations of the Orient in European literary texts, travelogues and other writings contributed to the creation of a dichotomy between Europe and its 'Others', a dichotomy that was central to the creation of European culture as well as to the maintenance and extension of European hegemony over other lands' (Loomba, 1998, p. 44).*

In discussion of Said's theory of Orientalism, Brown (1999) considers the effects of internal Orientalism by the West, underlining the perpetuating of power imbalances of the West versus the Other, where the West often seeks to control the Other with a series of stereotyped binary oppositions. Noticeably, Brown (1999) argues that internal Orientalism is apparent in the postcolonial state suggesting that it:

*'Exists in a postcolonial frame, in which colonial control has been prolonged through the process of post-war labour migration to Western Europe...rather than distant territories being colonised, the life world of the Orient, or of the migrant communities is colonized. And the form of this colonization centres on cultural practices and symbols, where there is an alleged incompatibility between Western values and the values of the Other within. Concomitantly, internal Orientalism may involve an element of differentialist racism, asserting or supposing that ethnically defined groups are naturally different and unable to mix with each other' (Brown, 1999, p. 185).*

Furthermore, Brown (1999) discuss how some reactions to the Salman Rushdie affair and the affaire du foulard in France could be considered as examples of western internal Orientalism and he evidences this with Said's argument. In reference to some of the reactions surrounding the Salman Rushdie affair which sought to homogenise and stereotype Islam, Said (1993) emphasises that;

*'The space between the bashing of other religions and cultures and deeply-conservative self-praise has not been filled with edifying analysis or discussion. In the reams of print about Salman Rushdie's The Satanic Verses, only a tiny proportion discussed the book itself' (Said, 1993, p. 397).*

Markedly, Brown stresses how, Said (1993) implies that *'the Rushdie affair can be analysed as an expression of internal Orientalism, looking at it as an example of that*

*the West has been capable of knowing Islam only in a demeaning way*' (Brown, 1999, p. 185). Brown (1999) further points out that the strong reactions to Rushdie's novel centres around Muslims' search for spatial identity in Britain and the West which in the story is portrayed as *'the characters' search for their roots in London*' (Brown, 1999, p. 186). Brown further argues that fixations on religious differences meant that *'an imagined (though not imaginary) polarization between the West and Islam'* became attached to discussions about the Salman Rushdie affair (Brown, 1999, p. 186). Here we can see how constructions and perpetuations of homogenous manichean binary oppositions arise. Further, issues of power and identity definition can be perceived, where in order to further define, affirm and maintain identities, binary oppositions are enacted where identities are homogenized and polarized into dichotomies of belonging and exclusion. In the study of this thesis dichotomies of belonging and exclusion are apparent in some participants' discourses where there is a sharp definition of who belongs and who does not which suggests a fixed, narrow definition of identities.

Notably Anderson's (1991) thesis on imagined communities has been criticised for projecting an Orientalist perspective. Chatterjee (1993) criticises Anderson for adhering to what he perceives is an imperialist perspective, specifically, for being part of *'the conventional histories in which the story of nationalism begins with the contest for political power'* (Chatterjee, 1993, pp. 6-7);

*'If nationalisms in the rest of the world have to choose the imagined community from certain 'modular' forms already made available to them by Europe and the Americas, what do they have left to imagine? History, it would seem, has decreed that we in the postcolonial world shall only be perpetual consumers of modernity. Europe and the Americas, the only true subjects of history, have thought out on our behalf not only the script of colonial enlightenment and exploitation, but also that of our anticolonial resistance and postcolonial misery. Even our imaginations must remain forever colonised'* (Chatterjee, 1993, p. 5).

Chatterjee argues that Anderson's perspective is suggestive of an imperialist post-colonial view which attempts to dominate the colonial other with the suggestion that Indian nationalism was an imitation of the nationalism of their European colonizers. In discussion of Chatterjee's criticism of Anderson's perspective on nationalism, Loomba asserts that Chatterjee's thesis *'helps us in thinking about the centrality of culture, and of gender to nationalist discourse'* (Loomba, 1998, p. 192). Markedly, culture is a very important part of defining identities and whilst there may be an element of imagining in all local, national and international identities, this imagining helps to form a sense of

belonging. Further, for people who have been oppressed under colonial rule or a dictatorship, building a sense of collective belonging and membership through a variety of pathways is often especially important to reassert national identity and cultural identity within that, which are defined independently of colonial rule.

### **6.3: Nationalism, Racism, Power & Politics**

Back and Solomos (2000) point to the shifting discourses about racism in Britain and underline that the growth in power the political right had in Britain during the 1980s and the consequent socio-political crisis acted as a catalyst for identifying a new racism which Fanon has described as cultural racism. In particular, the authors underscore the presence of cultural racism which suggested the necessity for *'the defence of the mythic British/English way of life in the face of challenges posed by the incursion of 'foreign influences'* (Solomos & Back, 2000, p. 20). Furthermore, they point out that from this socio-political context racist discourses concerning minority groups abounded: *'In this environment it has become all too easy for new forms of racial discourse to achieve common currency in everyday debates about the role and position of minorities in British society'* (p. 20).

Additionally, Solomos points to the irony in the presence of right wing attitudes held by both Conservative and New Labour governments towards immigration and asylum issues noting that: *'Ironically, since 1997 New Labour has proved as keen to be seen as tough on immigration and asylum issues as were the conservatives.'* (Solomos, 2003, p. 253). Further Solomos emphasises the *'tragic missed opportunity for all sections of British society, especially the established minority communities and new arrivals'* as the New Labour government failed to effectively address race relations and migration through its' policies, (p. 254). The author also points out that the terrorist attacks in the United States on the 11<sup>th</sup> September 2001 and the interventions which followed meant that issues connected to immigration and multiculturalism became increasingly politicised:

*'The terrorist attacks in the United States on 11 September 2001 and the consequent allied actions in Afghanistan further politicised the issues of immigration and multiculturalism and led to a higher-profile debate on the future of race relations in British society'* (Solomos, 2003, p. 255).

Markedly, Solomos points to the political capital seized from this context by the British National Party and the platform this context gave to the party: *'More worryingly it also*

allowed the British National Party to portray itself as having national interests at heart and as defending British society from attacks within as well as without' (Solomos, 2003, p. 255).

In discussion of Islamophobia Bhui (2009) emphasises the growing number of studies on UK prisons which reveal the 'dissatisfaction amongst and discrimination against Muslim prisoners' (Weller at al., 2001; Spalek and Wilson, 2002; HMIP, 2005a, 2006a) (Bhui, 2009, p. 90). Further, Edgar (2007) cited in Bhui (2009) draws attention to the fact that there are a disproportionate number of black and ethnic minority people who are in the prison system;

*'The over-representation of black and minority ethnic people, particularly black African Caribbeans, at earlier stages of the criminal justice process (Ministry of Justice 2007a) makes it virtually inevitable that they will figure disproportionately in the prison system' (Edgar 2007 cited in Bhui 2009).*

Bhui (2009) further highlights Cheliotis and Liebling's (2006) study and the Inspectorate of prisons (2005b) thematic review which both showed that minority ethnic prisoners rated prison race relations more poorly than white prisoners (Bhui, 2007, p. 86).

### **Euro-racism**

In discussion of contemporary racism in Europe Sivanandan firmly links Euro-racism to 'prosperity' and the imperialist white, western European's prosperity:

*'Racism is no longer about racial or cultural superiority. No race is held to be biologically superior to another, other cultures do not necessarily 'swamp' one's own. Racism is about prosperity, and prosperity is white, western, European. The asylum-seeker, refugee, immigrant is invariably non-white, or, if white, non-prosperous, unsettled, an itinerant from Eastern Europe.... And if the legal argument does not work, there is always the economic: they are not coming here for asylum, but to take our jobs, our homes, our wealth' (Fekete & Webber, 1994, p. Iii).*

Further Sivanandan points to institutional racism in EU law emphatically stating that: 'the new Euro-racism, institutionalised in the laws of the European Union and broadcast by the popular press, maims and kills its victims, disfigures the victimiser and contorts our civilisation' (Fekete & Webber, 1994, p. Iii). In discussion of what Fekete and Webber (1994) call 'state and popular racism' (p. 17), the authors point to how 'pan-European racism' has been a catalyst for politicised cliches and argue that;

*'If the upsurge in racism and fascism across Europe is not placed in its proper*

*context of state and popular racism, it is inevitable that a 'blaming the victim' syndrome emerges. As each country has brought in asylum and immigration legislation, in accordance with the dictates of pan-European racism, politicians have sought to debate the refugee issue in terms of numbers and not need. Standard cliches are that 'the boat is full' or we have reached 'the threshold of tolerance'; refugees are labelled as economic migrants and 'Euro-scroungers' (1994, p. 17).*

In consideration of the state's apparent placating of 'fascist violence' (1994, p. 18) the authors highlight that in debate about numbers of immigrants and asylum seekers, John Major who was the UK prime minister in 1991 'told the Luxembourg Summit that "if we fail in our control efforts we risk fuelling the far Right"' (1994, p. 18). This statement suggests a danger, perhaps seeking to polarize and to scare in order to present a problem where there is not a significant threat, in order to justify control efforts in relation to immigrants and asylum-seekers coming to the UK. Additionally, Fekete and Webber further suggest that states are only really trying to restrict the '*rise of racism and fascism*' because '*neo-Nazi parties are, if nothing else, a threat to law and order and disruptive of the political status quo*' (1994, p. 17). Furthermore, the authors point out that;

*'At the same time as clamping down on fascist organisations, the state uses the violence that the fascists engender to justify calls for legislative change to tighten refugee and immigration procedure. Thus, by being seen to be in agreement with the far-Right claim that immigration is the root cause of Europe's social problems, the state fuels the Nazi violence further.'* (Fekete & Webber, 1994, p. 17).

The authors warning about states 'being seen to be in agreement with the far-Right' because this will increase 'Nazi violence further' is important to recognise and interrogate because of the potential increase in racism that the legitimization of racist attitudes and behaviour of extreme right parties and their voters by other political parties could cause. Certainly the tightening and the being seen to tighten legislation on refugee and immigration procedure is popular with some right wing voters and is frequently exploited by political parties. The British National Party (BNP) uses a racist and xenophobic platform to gain more support from voters. Williams et al(2003) highlight the stereotyping and prejudice towards asylum seeking people in England and Wales and points to the increase in the BNP's activity in Wales underlining a manipulation of public attitudes;

*'As yet, there is no evidence that the debate about asylum seeking has shaken off its narrow, negative and reactive tone either in England or Wales. Increasing street activity by the British National Party in Wales also suggests that they too, realize that public attitudes are in a state of flux and can be manipulated' (Williams et al, 2003, pp. 197-198).*

The British National Party's platform is a racist and xenophobic one which they manipulate to perpetuate a dichotomy of belonging and exclusion, of insider versus outsider. It is useful to consider the racist ideology of the BNP as it provides an insight into the mechanisms and processes which some people use to exclude others through racism. Particularly noticeable is the way in which the BNP entrench themselves within an ethnocentric position, presenting their discourse in a highly dramatized and emotive manner where the immigrant is presented as a significant threat to British identity in order to try and establish a greater sense of power and justification for the British National Party. Consider the following excerpt from a webpage entitled Immigration on the British National Party's website:

*'The vast majority of these foreign-born residents are of Third World extraction. According to figures released by the Office for National Statistics, at least eleven percent of all people living in Britain today were born overseas. This figure does not include their second or third generation children. All these facts point inexorably to the overwhelming and extinguishing of Britain and British identity under a tsunami of immigration' (BNP, 2010).*

The highlighting of British identity and the emotive and dramatic rhetoric used here of 'overwhelming and extinguishing' and 'tsunami' are very much central to the BNP's aim, to convince their audience that immigration presents a significant threat to Britain and British identity. This rhetoric is continued in the following excerpt where the BNP outline their solution to the threat of the other:

*'To ensure that this does not happen, and that the British people retain their homeland and identity, we call for an immediate halt to all further immigration, the immediate deportation of criminal and illegal immigrants, and the introduction of a system of voluntary resettlement whereby those immigrants who are legally here will be afforded the opportunity to return to their lands of ethnic origin assisted by a generous financial incentives both for individuals and for the countries in question. We will abolish the 'positive discrimination' schemes that have made white Britons second-class citizens. We will also clamp down on the flood of 'asylum seekers', all of whom are either bogus or can find refuge much nearer their home countries' (BNP, 2010).*

Again one can observe the emotive language and the imagery conveyed by the rhetoric of retaining 'homeland' and 'identity.' The use of 'homeland' here is designed to

signify a place of belonging, of security, of familiarity and the conflation with identity attempts to suggest the two are somehow inextricably linked with the aim of perpetuating ethnocentricity. Furthermore, the BNP's emphasis is very much on playing upon people's fears and insecurities and establishing the immigrant as a deviant, as 'criminal,' 'illegal,' and the asylum seeker as 'bogus.' The mention of white Britons being made to feel like second-class citizens because of positive discrimination schemes, again is designed to play upon people's fears, and clearly tries to define the Other as anyone else who is not white and not considered to fit their narrow and immutable definition of Britishness.

Discrimination and racism against migrants persists in countries around the world. Those who are deemed to be outsiders, are represented as being Others who do not belong and are represented as threats on many different levels whether it be on economic, cultural or religious grounds. Jean Marie Le Pen a former leader of the national front party in France would commonly use the immigrant as a political platform trying to present the immigrant as a scapegoat for socio-economic problems to appeal to voters. Markedly, he declared *'the immigrant will sleep with your wife, rape your daughter and steal your job.'* Governments in the U.K. and the U.S. where data was collected for this thesis have both been criticised for unfair immigration and asylum policies that are draconian evidenced by many including Crawley in the UK (2009) and Haydek (2006) in the U.S. Crawley (2009) points to the hostility, negative attitudes and racism that immigrants and asylum seekers face in the U.K. and she draws our attention to the problems with immigration policies in the U.K. that increase refugees and asylum seekers' social and economic exclusion: *'The difficulties that refugees and asylum seekers experience have raised concerns about the way immigration policies in the United Kingdom may undermine long-term social and economic inclusion'*(v). Certainly, the social and political exclusion of immigrants from society is largely related to discrimination and exclusion from equal participation in society and politics. Haydek (2006) discusses the political exclusion of immigrants in the U.S. and highlights a range of exclusionary immigration policies including the USA PATRIOT Act enacted after the terrorist attacks in New York City on September the 11<sup>th</sup> 2001:

*'One of the consequences of the Immigration Reform and Control Act of 1986 (IRCA) was that more immigrants became eligible for citizenship. In the mid 1990s a host of anti-immigrant legislation at the federal and state levels led to an unprecedented number of applications for citizenship, because the legislation denied immigrants a range of public benefits from education to health care to*

*public assistance. Sparked by Proposition 187 in California in 1994, several federal anti-immigrants measures ensued, including the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act of 1996 (the federal welfare reform law) and the Illegal Immigration Reform and Immigrant Responsibility Act of 1996. The latter allowed the federal government to deport legal immigrants for minor offences, even if they were committed decades ago. By naturalizing, immigrants could retain access to social programs and be safer to respond to anti-immigrant sentiments and policy. Over a four year period – between 1996 and 2000- the number of new adult citizens rose by 30 percent.. The post September 11 antiterrorist legislation- such as the USA PATRIOT Act- further stripped immigrants of due process and led to detainment and deportation of tens of thousands of immigrants (p. 49).*

Further, Haydek (2006) emphasises the imperative to challenge discrimination linked with anti-immigrant legislation in order to enable citizenship and provide immigrants living in the U.S. with voting rights. Markedly, Haydek draws attention to the lack of voting rights owing to a lack of citizenship that many Latino, Asian and African American people living in the U.S. contend with pointing to the under-representation of ethnic minority people in voting and the over-representation of white people in voting in relation to the percentage of the population they represent. Haydek questions the commitment to democracy in the U.S. underlining that, ‘in many places, a quarter to a half of the population is excluded from selecting representatives who make the policies that affect daily life’ (p. 8). Additionally, Haydek asks, ‘what do these conditions mean for such basic democratic principles as “one person, one vote,” “government rests on the consent of the governed,” and “no taxation without representation”?’ Clearly, in the face of anti-immigrant legislation which furthers political as well as social and economic exclusion these democratic tenants are very much contradicted and undermined. Notably, Haydek argues that, ‘Immigrant political exclusion challenges the ideals of a modern democracy, cutting to the heart of our political practice’ (p. 8). In discussion of xenophobic policies, discrimination by governments in France like in the U.K. and the U.S. have meant that many immigrants have been excluded socially, economically and politically. The former French president Sarkozy and his party the Union pour un Mouvement Populaire (UMP), had on various occasions issued what has been described by many critics as xenophobic policies. One such occasion was in the summer of 2010 when it was argued by a number of opponents that Sarkozy and his conservative UMP government were persecuting members of the Roma and immigrant populations in France taking measures to try and force members of the Roma and immigrant populations to leave France. Understandably, these actions have caused



uproar amongst Sarkozy's critics some of whom include human rights groups, the Catholic Church and the United Nations who have declared Sarkozy's course of action to be xenophobic. It is ironic that while arguably France was the birthplace for the construct of social exclusion, the current French government led by Sarkozy have assisted in trying to exclude the Roma population. In the New York times Saltmarsh (2010) suggests that in targeting Roma and immigrant people, Sarkozy is making a populist appeal to voter's prejudices in society, trying to appeal to anti-immigrant and anti-Roma sentiment in France: "Pouria Amirshari, the Socialists' national secretary for human rights, told the *Nouvel Observateur* that the president was "following a xenophobic logic." He described Mr. Sarkozy's intervention as "populist and demagogic" Saltmarsh (2010). Sarkozy and other party members declared that this eviction was justified because it was targeted at people who had been committing public order offences. However, arguably, this justification appears like an excuse for the state's intolerance and a way for the state to try and dissolve itself of its responsibility for taking care of and meeting the human rights of Roma and immigrant people living in camps in France, including providing access to good quality education, health and social care services that meet the needs of Roma and immigrant people. The European commission heavily criticised Sarkozy for what appears like persecution of particular ethnic groups and the infringement of the free movement of people under EU law. Markedly, the European Commission chose to suspend a human rights complaint against France for its eviction of Roma people if the government made changes to domestic law to harmonize with European law. Notably, Samuel (2011) highlights the European Commissioner Viviane Reding's denouncement of Sarkozy and his government's treatment of Roma and immigrant people:

*'The European commissioner for justice and fundamental rights, Viviane Reding, accused the French government of duplicity and threatened to take France to court. She also called the country's conduct a disgrace, and, most controversially, raised the spectre of Vichy France and the wartime persecution of Jews as a parallel with the treatment of Gypsies.'*

As Reding has pointed out in view of the persecution and genocide of Roma people instigated by Hitler and the Third Reich in the second world war, any targeted persecution of a particular people group is a cause for concern. Perhaps Sarkozy and his party do not want to give the impression that they are targeting specific ethnic groups, indeed, Sarkozy's mother who he is close to is half Jewish and may well have experienced persecution, however, this is how it appears from the course of action his

government has taken in expelling members of the Roma and immigrant populations from France. Certainly whether intentional or not, the message that is being sent out by Sarkozy's party's actions appears to be a discriminatory one, that homogenizes and stereotypes. The Guardian (2010) highlights this pointing to the targeting of ethnic minorities and the homogenisation that commentators are concerned about: 'critics have pointed out that French authorities are unfairly targeting ethnic minorities and lumping together entire communities, instead of handling the expulsions on a case-by-case basis.' Arguably, the UMP have taken this action against members of the Roma and immigrant population in order to secure more popularity with extreme right wing voters. Unfortunately, this action may well have increased support for the extreme right wing National Front party as well as for the UMP from xenophobic voters. In 2008, the National Front Party led by Jean Marie Le Pen's daughter achieved a significant proportion of votes in comparison with 2008 when they only achieved 5% of votes, whereas in 2011, their share of the vote increased to just 2 % less than Sarkozy's party the UMP who achieved 17% of votes (Samuel, the Guardian, 2011). Markedly, a socialist opponent of Sarkozy heavily criticises him for using the discriminatory political platform of the extreme right on the mainstream political stage which may have had the effect of encouraging and legitimising xenophobic attitudes at the same time as an increase in support and power for the UMP and the FN: 'Claude Bartolone, Socialist head of the Seine-Saint-Denis department north of Paris, said the far-Right gains were the fault of Mr Sarkozy, who "has reinstated the themes of the extreme Right" in mainstream politics' (Samuel, 2011, the Guardian). Further Samuel (2011) highlights the heavy criticism of Jose Manuel Barroso, president of the European commission who reportedly told Sarkozy that 'the French had a case to answer and that it was the commission's job to investigate that. Additionally, Samuel draws attention to how Barroso reportedly accused Sarkozy of:

*'Raising a fuss in order to divert attention from the real issue – whether the French authorities were guilty of racist discrimination and breaking European rules on freedom of movement for EU citizens. He categorically denied that France was breaking any laws or singling out Roma people for harassment' (Samuel, the Guardian, 2011).*

In Britain, Solomos has criticised both Conservative and Labour governments for racialising their political debates in connection with anxiety about the arrival of refugees and asylum seekers to Britain:

*'Despite claims by the Major administration and the post-1997 Blair administrations that they are interested in developing a non-racial response to concern about asylum seekers and refugees, political debates about them remain heavily racialised' (Solomos, 2003, p. 251).*

Markedly, earlier in the literature review the role and influence of the media was considered in relation to the production and reproduction of racist ideologies in society, where at times the mass media construct and represent racialized discourses and so are responsible for perpetuating racist ideologies and practices in society. Similarly in the political sphere we have considered how in order to secure public support and more power at particular times for political gain, politicians play upon people's fears, constructing and representing racialized discourses.

## **7: Making Dreams a Reality:**

### **Moving towards Social Justice and Social Equality: Pathways to Social and Institutional change through Social Movements, Education, and the Law**

#### **7.1: Racism, social movements, education and the Law**

Williams (1991) discusses how some colleagues suggested that she was giving too much power to the '*voices of racism*' (Williams, 1991, p. 421) and asserts; '*I see the problem at hand not as one of my giving racism too much power, but of how we may all give more power to the voices that racism suppresses*' (Williams, 1991, p. 422). Along with other measures, the implementation of anti-discriminatory and human rights law is essential to give more power to those who experience racism. Markedly, Blum (2002) asserts that the attainment of greater racial equality diminishes racial consciousness pointing to the common reliance of racial consciousness upon other inequalities, and also to segregation which he suggests is a consequence and cause of racial inequalities. Williams highlights the Welsh Assembly Government's commitment to promoting equality and notes that '*within a European context the Welsh government stands out for it is bound by a unique statutory duty that effectively requires it to promote equality of opportunity for all people in the exercise of all its functions*' (2003, p. 141).

Whilst the creation and implementation of laws which can help to address racism and other forms of discrimination is vital, it should be emphasised that law on its own does not equate to the creation of a more egalitarian society. Indeed, legal argument is not independent of political argument and social movements. Implementation of the law which will address racial and other forms of discrimination and help drive equality very much depends on the political and social will and surrounding social circumstances; however that does not negate the need for the use of the law to tackle discrimination and racism. A 2004 report by the Youth Justice Board investigated how minority ethnic young people are treated in the youth justice process, compared with white young people and they highlight '*differences that were consistent with discriminatory treatment*' (p. 21). In particular, they underline the overrepresentation of Black and



Asian young people in the youth justice process noting;

*The higher rate of prosecution and conviction of mixed-parentage young males, the higher proportion of prosecutions involving black young males, the greater proportion of black and Asian males that had been remanded in custody before sentence, especially the greater proportion of black males remanded whose proceedings had not resulted in a conviction and the slightly greater use of custody for Asian males (YJB, 2004, p. 21).*

Van Boven (2001) points to the denial of racism at state level in responding to human rights law and notes how 16 out of 30 states affirmed that racism, racial discrimination, and xenophobia did not exist in their territory in response to a UN report;

*'The denial of the existence of racism, racial discrimination, and related phenomena and practices is prevalent in many quarters. It is often argued that racism and racial discrimination- and for that matter serious violations of human rights- have been overcome or that they are taking place in foreign lands' (Van Boven, 2001, p. 111).*

Further, Van Dijk underlines the individual and social dimensions of the denial of racism pointing to how;

*'Denials of racism, and similar forms of positive self-presentation, have both an individual and a social dimension. Not only do most white speakers individually resent being perceived as racists, also, and even more importantly, such strategies may at the same time aim at defending the in-group as a whole: 'We are not racists', 'We are not a racist society' (Van Dijk, 1992, p. 89).*

Van Dijk's argument here highlights the denial of racism and the link to maintaining the power of the dominant group. Furthermore, the author also points to the social discourse of denial and its repercussions;

*'Whereas the first, individual, form of denial is characteristic of informal everyday conversations, the second is typical for public discourse, for instance in politics, the media, education, corporations and other organizations. Since public discourse potentially reaches a large audience, it is this latter, social form of denial that is most influential and, therefore, also most damaging: it is the social discourse of denial that persuasively helps construct the dominant white consensus. Few white group members would have reason or interest, to doubt let alone to oppose such a claim. (Van Dijk, 1992, p. 89).*

In her discussion of the normalisation of racism in society, Siraj-Blatchford (1994) highlights the subtlety of cultural racism. Notably, the author distinguishes between what she calls interpersonal racism and cultural racism pointing to the subtlety of cultural racism emphasising how;

*'We find it difficult to accept that our everyday lives could be affected by racism*

*because we have become so accustomed to our culture and it is difficult to see its workings. It has become normal to our way of life, and we do not question our everyday experiences' (Siraj-Blatchford, 1994, p. 23).*

In the lead up to the 2010 general election in Britain, in both similar and different ways all political parties used the issue of immigration as a platform in an effort to win voters and gain more power. In discussion of the politics of race and immigration in Britain, Solomos (2003) points to the poor treatment of asylum seekers and refugees:

*'The treatment of asylum seekers and refugees had become a major cause of political conflict across Europe during the 1990s, and by the time Labour returned to power it was perhaps the most controversial item on the agenda of both right-wing and left-wing parties' (pp. 69-70).*

Furthermore, Solomos points to how New Labour policy on immigration positioned itself between two main issues relating to complaints from minority organisations and pressure groups about the lack of protection of the human rights of immigrants on the one hand and discourses relating to those advocated by the former conservative government on the other:

*'Since New Labour came to power in 1997 its policy on immigration has been linked to two key issues: the complaints made by pressure groups and minority organisations about the impact of immigration policies on human rights and families (Travers, 1999); and the issues that had so preoccupied the previous Conservative administration, namely asylum seekers and refugees (Home Office, 1999a; Immigration Law Practitioners' Association, 1999; Audit Commission, 2000).*

Additionally, Solomos (2003) argues that New Labour policies on immigration and asylum brought in after New Labour came to power 'were contradictory' (p. 70), and further asserts that New Labour and the Conservatives were not so dissimilar in their response to immigration and asylum issues;

*'In some ways the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act can be seen as a continuation of Conservative policies in the area of pre-entry controls and welfare support for asylum-seekers, but it also stepped up the practice of detention, with a consequent increase in the number of places of detention, especially prisons' (Solomos, 2003, p. 73).*

This points to an abuse of asylum seekers' human rights in the U.K. and underlines how the establishment and implementation of laws which tackle racial and other forms of discrimination in a meaningful way which is not tokenistic is essential and this is impeded by socio-political power-struggles.

Vertovec (2007) suggests that 'Britain can now be characterized by super-diversity' (p. 1024), which he considers is 'distinguished by a dynamic interplay of variables among an increased number of new, small and scattered, multiple-origin, transnationally connected, socio-economically differentiated and legally stratified immigrants who have arrived over the last decade' (p. 1024). Furthermore, Vertovec argues that;

*'the concept of super-diversity points to the necessity of considering multi-dimensional conditions and processes affecting immigrants in contemporary society and that its recognition will hopefully lead to public policies better suited to the needs and conditions of immigrants, ethnic minorities and the wider population of which they are inherently part' (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1050).*

Vertovec's suggestion that the state needs to take a more multi-dimensional approach in terms of policy has similarities with analysis of the multidimensional character of exclusion (De Haan, 1998; Sen, 2000). In his examination of the role of relational features of poverty and deprivation Sen (2000) points to the '*Aristotelian framework of freedoms and capabilities*' (p. 4) where the individual is said to '*live an inescapably social life*' (p. 47). Certainly an individual's freedom and capabilities may be hampered because of a variety of factors. These factors may include exclusion because of issues surrounding those of class, gender, ethnicity, religion or sexuality. Furthermore, exclusion often persists because of a lack of provision and enforcement of laws of protection and a lack of suitable provision of services.

Foucault (1994) discusses the importance of human rights and duties in international citizenship and argues that this citizenship obliges one to protest against abuse of power;

*'There exists an international citizenship that has its rights and its duties, and that obliges one to speak out against every abuse of power, whoever its author, whoever its victims. After all, we are all members of the community of the governed, and thereby obliged to show mutual solidarity' (Foucault, 1994, p. 474).*

Importantly, Foucault underlines the need for greater power sharing between society and the state and points to a monopoly of state power and the need for society to arrest this power imbalance. Foucault's emphasis on the state's monopoly of power suggests the need for greater participation from society in politics in order to achieve greater power and representation and less monopoly of power for the state. However, whilst Foucault recognises the need to challenge state monopolies he also highlights the

inequalities of power which persist in the 'whole social body' owing the sizeable impact of dominant powers to the fact that these powers are often deeply woven in societies;

*'But what makes the domination of a group, caste, or a class, together with the resistance and revolts that domination comes up against a central phenomenon in the history of societies is that they manifest in a massive and global form, at the level of the whole social body, the locking-together of power relations with relations of strategy and the results proceeding from their interaction' (Foucault, 1994, p. 348).*

### **Anti-discrimination law: Avoiding homogenous approaches in implementation**

In her discussion of using the law in education to counter discrimination Brown (1998) points out how the law can help to tackle direct and indirect discrimination underscoring how;

*'Everyone involved with the care and education of young-children needs to know how the law may be affecting their practice-whether, in fact, they are complying with the law. Knowledge of the law can also be used to persuade people to change their direct or indirect discriminatory practice' (Brown, 1998, p. 135).*

Certainly, implementation of laws in education which tackle racial and other forms of discrimination is essential. Acts which have been designed to address racial discrimination include the Race Relations Act (1976), the UNCRC (1989), the Human Rights Act (1998), the Racial and Religious Hatred Act (2006) and the Equality Act (2010). Markedly, Lane (2008) notes how local authorities in Britain must have a race equality scheme and address it in order to comply with the statutory requirements of the amended Race Relations Act 1976 (Lane, 2008, p. 165).

In October 2010, the Equality Act 2010 came into force (EHRC, 2010). The Equality and Human Rights Commission (2010) (EHRC) suggest that this act has been designed to streamline legislation and thus make implementation easier and reduce public spending arguing that its design will help in;

*'Making the law easier to understand and implement by simplifying 116 pieces of equality legislation into a single Act for individuals, public authorities and private organisations. For public bodies, simplifying the currently complex legislation into one single duty will make it easier to tailor public services to meet their communities' needs. The simplified approach and improved targeting should increase the effectiveness and efficiency of public spending' (EHRC, 2010).*



In particular, the EHRC emphasise the challenge in changing attitudes and underline the role of systemic bias in furthering inequalities, arguing that the Equality Act will help to challenge these inequalities in the system;

*'We have made good progress in tackling the most egregious examples of discrimination, because individuals and organisations now know that they can be brought to account. However, chronic disadvantage and inequality persist. Half of disabled people are out of work. A Bangladeshi woman is six times as likely to be unemployed as a white woman. A child's postcode at birth is a reasonable predictor for their lot in life as an adult. Our choices and chances in life are still, to a great extent, determined by our origins' (EHRC, 2010).*

Inequalities such as those of race, class and gender are often institutionalised. Indeed the EHRC argue that there is a systemic bias and that in order to address this bias; there needs to be a paradigm shift in societal attitudes; *'The real challenge is to achieve a wholesale shift in attitudes, looking at how to really improve our systems and structures in order to give everyone a fair chance. This is what the Equality Bill will enable us to do' (EHRC, 2010).* However, the 2010 Equality Act has been criticised for taking a homogenous approach to tackling inequalities which may impede social justice and social equality if it does not help establish appropriate, differentiated quality of services for the diversity of inequalities which people face.

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) (UNCRC) is an international convention which is used as a vehicle to assist in tackling inequalities which children and young people encounter. Markedly, The UNCRC can be divided up into three parts which relate to provision, protection and participation rights (Lansdown, 1994, p. 36). Unicef UK has created the Rights Respecting Schools Award to try and help with the implementation of the rights and responsibilities set out within the UNCRC, and has recently appointed an officer in Wales to help with running the programme. The authors of UNICEF UK's Rights Respecting School Award (RRSA) maintain that the award;

*'Helps schools to use the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) which enhances pupils' understanding of the consequences of individual and group actions on the rights of others locally and globally. It also serves as the basis for a shared vision which can enable positive environments, relationships and communities to develop' (Unicef, 2009, p. 1).*

Certainly, the Rights Respecting Schools Awards and other similar initiatives may aid in helping build more egalitarian communities, however one of the main criticisms and inherent difficulties of implementing the UNCRC lies in the conflict between universal

and local definitions of childhood. Thorne (2008) underlines this when he describes the enormity of the task the UNCRC undertakes;

*'the UNCRC effort to encompass all of the world's children; to ride the tension between cultural variation and more universalist ways of thinking; and to affirm children's rights of participation as well as attending to their needs for provisioning and protection'* (Thorne, 2008, p. 435).

### **Avoiding tokenistic ratification of the UNCRC**

With the exception of the United States and Somalia, all countries have ratified the UNCRC. However, ratification does not ensure a commitment to implementing children's rights. Indeed, White (2003) suggests that the convention is ratified by so many countries because it cannot be enforced and questions:

*'Do governments support agreements, such as the convention on the Rights of the Child, so quickly because they do not take them seriously, and therefore do not mind committing themselves to obligations which they do not intend to fulfil, and which cannot be enforced'* (White, 2003, p. 2).

This highlights the difficulties of law enforcement and those of implementing and monitoring international laws like the UNCRC which might encourage ratification but not a real commitment to ensuring equality of rights for all children. Another criticism surrounding the UNCRC is made by Alanen (2010) who discusses the children's rights movement which has evolved around the international framework of the UNCRC and argues that whilst focussing on children's rights there is a real danger of ignoring the fact that these rights are human rights; *'Children's rights are not just rights; they are human rights – they are rights that children are entitled to as human beings, equal to other (adult) human beings'* (Alanen, 2010, p. 7).

Creating awareness of human rights and a commitment to the implementation and monitoring of human rights is essential for tackling all forms of discrimination. Markedly, the Welsh Assembly underline their commitment to ensuring that children and young people in Wales *'are given access to the privileges, rights and entitlements enshrined in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the seven core aims for children and young people in Wales and Extending Entitlement'* (WAG and YJB, 2008, p. 27). Consequently interrogation and monitoring of the Welsh Assembly Government's commitment to these aims is essential.

In relation to evidence of racism and concern about it a 2008 report by MORI found that one in five (21%) of young people in mainstream education in Britain say they are concerned about racism (Mori, 2008, p. 38). Additionally, the authors find that

10% of pupils of 11 to 14 years old claim to be 'very worried' about racism and note that this same level of concern reduces slightly to 6% of pupils of 15–16 years old (Mori, 2008, p. 38). The authors state that this slightly higher level of concern about racism shown with 11 to 14 year olds fits with the younger age of pupils who report concern about other crimes (Mori, 2008, p. 38). Markedly, the authors report that;

*'Black and minority groups of young people are more concerned about racial abuse than are their White counterparts. Almost half (45%) of Black and minority ethnic pupils report being either 'fairly' or 'very' worried about racism, while only 16% of White pupils report the same levels of concern' (Mori, 2008, p. 38).*

In the study of this thesis, in the school based research, an asylum seeker's discourse suggests he feels like an outsider in the U.K. partly because of his ethnicity and the way some people react to him because of his ethnicity. Also some of the participants describe racist bullying they have witnessed in and out of school. While one participant suggests that anti-racism and anti-bullying policies in school have no real effect as no-one pays attention to the teachers in school, other participants state that they think teachers should do more to stop bullying in school.

#### **Inequalities in educational achievement: poverty and ethnicity**

Crawley (2009) suggests that studies have shown that *'native-born ethnic minorities are, with the exception of Blacks of Caribbean origin, more likely to obtain higher educational qualifications than are their native-born white peers'* (Crawley, 2009, p. 42). Whilst Drew and Demack (1998) point to evidence which shows that the educational achievements of Black and Asian young people *'have been considerable,'* the authors emphasise that there is also particular *'concern about the achievements of some African Caribbean, Pakistani and Bangladeshi pupils'* (Drew and Demack, 1998, p. 166). Furthermore, Drew and Demack continue by highlighting how poverty affects many working-class children and young people's achievement in school emphasising that *'the underachievement of working-class children in schools is a serious issue and this affects Black and Asian children coming from working-class backgrounds just as it affects white children'* (Drew and Demack, 1998, p. 166). Additionally, the authors underline how the *'qualifications of black and asian young people appear not to have the same value in the labour market as those of their white counterparts'* (Drew and Demack, 1998, p. 166). Similarly, Crawley (2009) highlights that *'there is strong evidence that ethnic minority graduates do less well in the labour market than white*

graduates,' noting that 'discrimination appears to be one factor' (Crawley, 2009, v). Certainly education is an important sphere in which human rights can be incorporated, encouraged and monitored. Modood and Acland (1998) argue for the need to develop a curriculum which is less ethnocentric and more international and multicultural, arguing that in higher education 'of all the developments attempted to improve the experience of ethnic minority students, transformation of the curriculum remains the area of least achievement' (Modood and Acland, 1998, p. 167). Furthermore, the authors argue for greater equality underscoring that 'it is now an important priority to ensure that the curriculum, in particular in core subject areas, includes equal opportunity, black studies, religious and ethnic minority issues wherever possible' (Modood and Acland, 1998, p. 167). The Parekh report points to the inequalities faced by many minority ethnic students in education and also underlines the insufficiency in monitoring noting that:

*'Monitoring by ethnicity is inadequate or non-existent; there are substantial inequalities affecting in particular students and pupils from African-Caribbean, Bangladeshi and Pakistani communities, there is insufficient official guidance curriculum content, teacher training- both initial and in-service- needs to be improved; and the inspection systems are insufficiently rigorous and authoritative' (Parekh, 2000, xviii).*

### **Multiculturalism, anti-racism and class issues**

In discussion of the complexities involved in multiculturalism and anti-racism in education there is a danger of reductionism. Further it should be recognised that opposition to these approaches by young people may be related to a variety of experiences. Markedly Rattansi criticises multiculturalists and antiracists who take 'a rationalist approach to education' (Rattansi, 1992, p. 33), observing that:

*'Like the multiculturalists, antiracists have often failed to confront the limitations of a rationalist approach to education. The rationalism of their educational project is contingent on the supposed irrationalism of the racist subject-often conceptualised as a collective, class subject. In the context of schooling one significant issue that is paradoxically neglected is the 'rationality' of the working-class students' resistance to antiracist curricula and classroom discussions in so far as this resistance is bound up with a more generalized opposition to the degrees of surveillance, discipline, authoritarianism and class domination involved in conventional forms of schooling' (Rattansi, 1992, p. 33).*

Similarly, Valentine (2000) underlines the idea that school is often perceived in terms of being part of a dominant system of power structures; 'Schools as institutions, represent

*power structures that are often seen as intimidating and therefore generate resistance and resentment which can develop into problems of authority' (p. 260).* This points to the need for a greater focus on encouraging a diversity of representations and on critiquing ideological structures. As Rattansi emphasises; *'a more democratic objective' (Rattansi, 1992, p. 34), is needed, which consists of; 'the search for mechanisms for giving voice to a range of representations, and for encouraging a critical dialogue and interrogation of all intellectual and political frameworks' (Rattansi, 1992, p. 34).* Similarly, Williams (2005) argues for the practice of multicultural strategies that deconstruct the idea of a fixed sense of group identities in favour of a fluid, diverse understanding of identities which are worked out in informal and formal spaces and structures;

*'Multicultural strategies based on genuine 'politics of interrogation' engaging with processes that deconstruct the national story and welcome the transruptions generated by diversity within will ultimately produce a more progressive society. Such an emergent multiculturalism will necessarily engage with a range of strategies, political, cultural and social, some well beyond the reach of the state and formal infrastructures for debate and deliberation. Literature, music, media representations, grassroots activism, the institutions of civil society and everyday encounters open up new sites of contestation. In these arenas challenges to the idea of Welshness and of Wales are underway' (Williams, 2005, p. 36).*

Markedly, Hesse emphasises a revisionism of anti-racism that has a radical orientation, going *'beyond anti-racism, extending policy commitment to it and broadening the range of social policy focus' (Hesse 1992, p. xx).*

### **The power of social movements and their vanguards in the battle against racial discrimination**

Social and institutional change necessitates the continual working together of social movements, the state and the law. Many participants in the study of this thesis highlight the importance of encouraging grassroots social movements for effecting social and institutional change. For example in the school research, a number of students underline the value in using social media in the anti-racist movement which addresses an equality agenda. Additionally, from the organizational research for example a number of participants underline the value in grassroots organising in pursuit of social and institutional change for greater equality. For example Emily in the context of the U.K. and elsewhere emphasises the worth of *'tackling inequality in everyday interactions,*

*shaping, reshaping and negotiating them in society.*’ Also, Emily highlights the need for more recourse to help mobilise and give support to the voices of minority communities. Further, Summer, Luke and Dana point to the links between institutional neo-liberalism and racial discrimination in North America and underscore the importance of grassroots community organising and development in challenging undemocratic systems of governance and the resulting inequalities. For example, Luke emphasises the anti-jail coalition in one of the most deprived areas of New York city which has a number of jails and one of the lowest rates of open park space per resident of any area in the city. In particular, all these participants point towards the pathways that organisations can take in helping young people to perceive themselves as being able to shape their own future, supporting the formation of more coalitions led by young people and the development of young people’s social capital within them which helps support young people in the process of being agents of change in their communities.

An example of the power of social movements and their vanguards in the battle against racial discrimination can be found in the African-American civil rights movement in the context of North America which paved the way for law reforms such as the civil rights act of 1964 which illegalised discrimination on the basis of ethnicity, colour, religion or national origin in employment practices and other public areas and established the voting rights act of 1965 which ensured all people’s voting rights. Alongside many others, key to taking the civil rights movement forward and mobilising others in the pursuit of racial equality was Martin Luther King who had a dream and was not afraid to speak out against those who wished he would be silent: *"I have a dream, that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today!"* (King, 1963).

Eva Parkes was another individual whose action in not giving her seat up for a white person on a bus one day made a stand for all those who had been discriminated against. Certainly, Eva Parkes and her refusal to give up her seat became a powerful symbol of resistance in the civil rights movement, acting as a catalyst for many people to feel more supported and to have more confidence in the fight against discrimination and oppression instead of conforming to discrimination and keeping silent. Of course, alongside the vanguards King and Parkes many other less well known took part in daily struggles, fighting against racial discrimination and the significant inequalities established with that discrimination, in the face of much opposition.

If Martin Luther King had not been assassinated, undoubtedly forty six years after King's I have a dream speech he would have considered the election of Barack Obama, America's first black president in 2009 as a milestone in the pursuit of equality. For the experience and collective memory of significant inequalities connected with serious discrimination that many people faced and face on the basis of their skin colour in North America, Barack Obama's election represented the embodiment of hopes and dreams for a better future, a future with greater equality. Obama's inauguration ceremony attracted many people from across North America and indeed from people in diverse spaces across the world. In remembering the journey for equality and the many battles fought along the way, the Abraham Lincoln war memorial became a hub for crowds of people in Washington on that day. In his article on Obama's inauguration ceremony, Freedland underlines the significance of the historical context and history in the making in the battle against racism and suggests that the attraction of so many people to the Lincoln memorial was related to the *'desire to witness history in a historical context-close to the monument to the president who ended slavery and the site where Martin Luther King declared his dream of equality (Freedland, 2009, p. 1).'* In addition, Freedland illustrates the significance Obama's inauguration ceremony held for so many people giving the example of one family who he spoke to who had travelled to Washington from Alabama and had come across bad icy driving conditions along the way: *'The adults had wanted to turn back, but nine-year old Kaleb said no: they had to reach Washington. "That's all he ever talks about, is Obama" said his mother' (Freedland, 2009, p. 1).* This perhaps indicates how for Kaleb, Obama's election as the first black president in North America gave the young African-American boy hope for the future. It also shows the importance of having aspirational role models in children and young people's lives indeed also in adult's lives and points to the serious responsibility that presidents like Obama and other leaders in governments around the world have in governing in a democratic way that pursues social justice and social equality for all people. Further, this demonstrates how we the people have a responsibility to remind those in power of their responsibility to govern in a democratic way.

The power of social movements to effect change is significant and combined with commitment from society and the state to reform, implement and monitor anti-discriminatory and human rights law effectively have the capacity to help respond to the need for addressing racism, other forms of discrimination and their inequalities of

power. Indeed, Fredman (2001) argues that the principle of equality in law *'must impose responsibilities on the state'* (Fredman, 2001, p. 44) to address racial discrimination. Fredman also recognises the limitations of the law to effect change alone, maintaining that *'deep seated social and institutional change is the ultimate key to a truly egalitarian future'* (Fredman, 2001, p. 44) and as Williams emphasises *'a politics of interrogation' must be made* (Williams, 2005, p. 36). Whilst Obama emphasised the importance of continuing to interrogate inequalities in addressing an equality agenda in his inauguration ceremony speech he also pointed out that he is not a miracle worker or a magician. Indeed, we must not forget that the journey to equality is a long one that is not over yet and must be fought everyday in a diversity of spaces, both institutional and non institutional. For society and the state both share responsibility for committing to the implementation of the human right for inclusion, belonging and equality so that all people are free from discrimination. In order to make more progress in working towards this ideal, as Foucault reminds us *'the will of individuals must make a place for itself in a reality of which governments have attempted to reserve a monopoly for themselves, that monopoly which we need to wrest from them little by little, day by day'* (Foucault, 1994, p. 474). Furthermore, the social, cultural, political and economic contexts must be continually interrogated in order that the human right and need for belonging and equality is satisfied. For in deconstructing national identity, ethnicity, ethnocentrism, nationalism and racism, if it is recognised that these are not constructed in isolation but are positioned and produced within a specific social, economic, cultural and political context, then this may assist in interrogating the processes and mechanisms that work to include some whilst excluding others.



## Chapter 2: Methodology

### 2.1: The research study

The methodology this research study has taken is a postmodern one perceiving a multiplicity of relationships between hegemonies of power connected with practices of inclusion and exclusion. Thus, given the diverse data collection methods and the data collection process itself the researcher sought to ensure that these took into account the diversity of connections between hegemonies of power.

Within this framework, a critical action research philosophy was followed, combining a number of different data collection techniques. This philosophy is relevant to the thesis as the essence of critical theory is found in its focus on exposing and interrogating inequalities of power which in interrogating inequalities of class and ethnicity in addressing an equality agenda this thesis seeks to do. Further, as many hierarchical forms of knowledge production perpetuate dominant ideologies in order to oppress people, the aim of action research is to destabilise these hierarchical ideologies and focus on building a more democratic community which in the study of this thesis the researcher has sought to do together with the individuals who participated in the research. Markedly, in discussion of how action research seeks to resist inequalities, Rahman underlines the inequalities of class at work which produce social oppression and emphasises the need for the empire to strike back against monopolies of power with new forms of knowledge production:

*'Participatory action research works from the belief that social oppression is rooted not only in material conditions but in the means of knowledge production.' And further asserted that in order 'to challenge the ways knowledge is currently used to justify domination, oppressed people need to develop their own processes of knowledge generation and acquire the means to assert this knowledge vis-à-vis the knowledge of the dominant class' (Rahman, 1993, cited in Fraser et al, 2004 p. 210).*

The main thesis of the study emerged from themes apparent in the data. In particular, patterns in participants' discourses point to contestation between fixed and fluid identity discourses. From this context, the dichotomy between belonging and unbelonging, between inclusion and exclusion is visible and the human need for greater

belonging/inclusion and the human right (UDHR, 1948) to have this human need satisfied is apparent.

The data for the study includes data collected from South Wales, North England and New York City. Markedly, there are significant differences as well as similarities between Britain and North America's approaches to education, race and rights. In terms of distinctions between approaches to rights between Britain and North America, one participant argues that historically, civil political rights have a greater resonance in North America whereas economic and social rights have a greater resonance in Europe. These differences are further discussed in the findings and discussion chapter in the sections titled '*A human rights discourse is crucial for interrogating inequalities*' and '*Social exclusion and rights based approaches.*'

Data collected sought to identify the barriers to and facilitators of communities' and in particular children and young people's access to education, health and social care services. In the study the dichotomy between discourses of belonging and unbelonging, inclusion and exclusion, and between fluid and fixed discourses in identity construction were explored. Inclusivity was analysed through an investigation of facilitators of service provision taking a multiple identities philosophy pursuing equality and cultural diversity for all. Exclusivity was analysed through an investigation of barriers to service provision connected with the notion of fixed identities which may manifest in one or a combination of exclusive perspectives such as ethnocentrism, nationalism, racism, institutional racism and xenophobia and may be related to a variety of conditions of which capitalism and the inherent unequalizing character of it is a strong relation. Further exploration of this dichotomy and the social construction and representation of identities informed the focus of the research.

This chapter discusses the philosophy which has influenced the data collection methods and also discusses how the data has been analysed and points to the challenges and limitations of the research. Further, it discusses the sampling processes used and describes the participants, the design and the enaction of methods. Additionally, it considers the ethical issues connected with representation and the issues connected to carrying out research with young people.

## **2.2: Data Analysis: thematic and critical discourse analysis**

Thematic/content analysis (Bryman, 2008, p. 281, Berg, 2001, p. 241) and critical discourse analysis (Van Dijk, 2003, p. 352; Bryman, 2008, p. 508) formed the main methods of analysis of the data set. From participants' discourses in the study and from analysis of literature related to discrimination based on ethnicity and class, and the resulting inequalities, it was considered that a thematic analysis combined with critical discourse analysis would be best suited to analysing participants' discourses in the research study because this type of analysis provides a way of exposing, interrogating, and challenging inequalities of power that may be present. Markedly, Van Dijk (2008) describes critical discourse analysis as;

*'A type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. Thus critical discourse analysts want to understand, expose, and ultimately resist social inequality' (Van Dijk, p. 352).*

The analysis strategy used within the study of this thesis involved an exploration of participants' experiences across the different data collected. Data sets were analysed both individually and holistically, individually in terms of analysing distinctions between data and holistically in terms of analysing the core shared discourses and other connections between data. Then in data analysis where themes in participants' discourses were delineated, explanation and theorising from these discourses was made. Nvivo software was used as a tool to structure analysis. It was particularly helpful in having a visual tool to store all the data and help work out a coding structure where comparisons could easily be made and individual and shared discourses could be drawn out. Further, these discourses were further refined into core themes using the Nvivo tree node structure where hierarchies of themes within themes and relationships connecting themes can be structured. For example, shared discourses which appeared in places across the data collected included discourses of belonging and unbelonging, of a fear of difference, institutional monopolies of power and in terms of addressing an equality agenda, rights based and community organising approaches.

The researcher has tried to pursue a resistance to social inequality in the research process and considers critical discourse analysis to be a valuable method for the study. Van Dijk underlines the utility of using critical discourse analysis for analysing ethnocentrism, anti-Semitism, nationalism and racism and emphasises how in addition

to the critical discourse analysis of images of the Others, the use of this method of analysis has also *'probed more deeply into the linguistic, semiotic, and other discursive properties of text and talk to and about minorities, immigrants and Other peoples'* (Van Dijk, 2008, p. 361). Notably, the author points out how 'dominance' may often be connected to ethnocentrism and racism; *'intercultural and interethnic relations may also take the form of dominance: people may engage in the reproduction of ethnocentrism and racism through prejudiced talk about ethnic or 'racial' minorities and (other) immigrants (Van Dijk, 1997, pp. 20-21).*

In relation to the philosophy of critical discourse analysts Van Dijk underlines that in this field it is argued that;

*'One can no less study racist discourse without a moral position about racism than a medical researcher can study cancer or AIDS without taking a position about the devastating nature of such diseases, or a sociologist can study the uprising of exploited peasants without being aware of the nature of their oppression and the legitimacy of their resistance'* (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 23).

The researcher of this study has tried to interrogate appearances of discourses of inequality and equality in the study in order to resist inequality and pursue equality as Van Dijk points out; *'discourse is an inherent part of society and partakes in all society's injustices, as well as in the struggle against them'* (Van Dijk, 1997, p. 23).

### **2.3: Critical theory and Participatory Action Research**

Following the studying of research methods modules during the first year of the research degree and an examination of action research case studies the researcher decided to pursue a critical action research philosophy which stems from critical theory. Case studies in action research demonstrate how the pursuit of more reciprocal and participative research relationships in the research process may provide a platform for people whose opinions may well be marginalized (Ataov and Haider, 2006; Skivenes and Strandbu, 2006). However, as discussed in the choices, challenges and limitations of the research section, whilst the action research approach in the critical theory paradigm was pursued, due to the institutional setting of the school part of the research and the politics involved in particular, the approach was challenged. Indeed, within the social research community there exists both support and criticism of action research which revolves around its democratic precepts. Fitting with the action research philosophy, the researcher adopted an iterative and interactional approach to the data

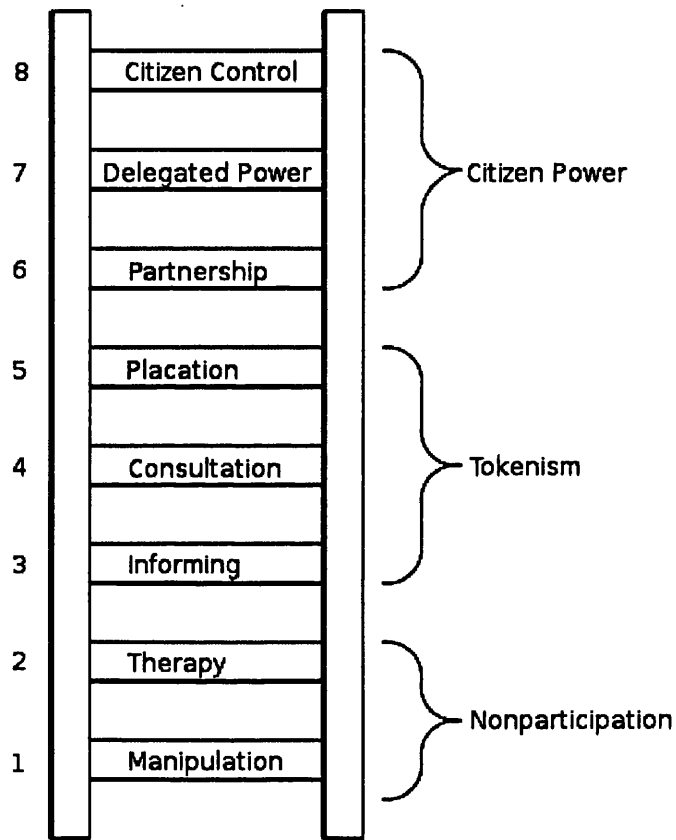
collection where the researcher aimed to avoid overly guiding the research. In particular, variations of what is named the '*ladder of participation*' were considered in order to try and foster a research process which was more democratic and less positivistic. The research was carried out with participants in a democratic way so their was a co-construction of meaning. In the semi-structured interviews and in the school research the researcher tried to ensure participants' voices were heard in the way they wanted them to be heard and with the stories they wanted to share as opposed to taking a highly prescriptive approach to research where scope for a democratic style of participative research is made difficult. The ladder of participation Arnstein (1969) created demonstrates the discourses of power involved between communities and organizations. Arnstein's model shows how more power can be transferred from organizations to service users over service provision as the ladder is ascended. In discussion of types of participation and non-participation Arnstein represents this with the ladder metaphor and explains that; '*for illustrative purposes the eight types are arranged in a ladder pattern with each rung corresponding to the extent of citizens' power in determining the end product*' (p. 2). Importantly, Arnstein also highlights the limitations of the typology and points out that;

*'The ladder juxtaposes powerless citizens with the powerful in order to highlight the fundamental divisions between them. In actuality, neither the have-nots nor the powerholders are homogeneous blocs. Each group encompasses a host of divergent points of view, significant cleavages, competing vested interests, and splintered subgroups. The justification for using such simplistic abstractions is that in most cases the have-nots really do perceive the powerful as a monolithic "system," and powerholders actually do view the have-nots as a sea of "those people," with little comprehension of the class and caste differences among them'* (Arnstein, p. 3).

Similarly Bermingham and Porter note that Arnstein's typology has limitations in that '*it presents a 'snapshot' view of the relationship between communities and organisations, glossing over the dynamic nature of the processes of engagement. However, the authors also assert its value arguing 'it is useful because it throws into relief two issues at the heart of engagement, namely power and control*' (2007, p. 123).

Figure 1 below shows Arnstein's typology:

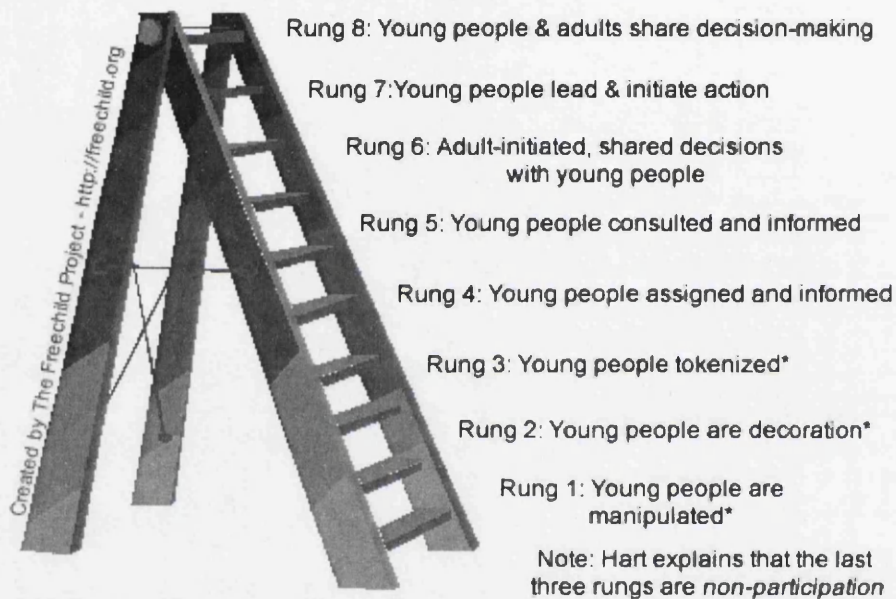
**Figure 1: 'A ladder of citizen participation' Arnstein, S. R. (1969), p. 2**



Similarly Hart's ladder of participation (1992) which can be seen in Figure 2 below shows the metaphorical transferral of power and control from adults to children as the ladder is ascended, moving upwards from tokenism to citizenship:

**Figure: 2: Roger Hart's ladder of participation (Hart notes that the metaphor is borrowed from Arnstein)**

## Roger Hart's Ladder of Young People's Participation



Adapted from Hart, R. (1992). *Children's Participation from Tokenism to Citizenship*. Florence: UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre.

Notably, Hart discusses the need for schools to move away from presenting closed linear and fixed narratives in education and argues that the creation of an environment that fosters critical reflection and political self determination is essential.

Critical action research was worked out in the study in terms of implementing a democratic style of research where there was a focus on exploring and emphasising participants' experiences in order that their voices are heard. The following section will seek to critique the action research model which has developed out of the critical theory paradigm. Chambers insists that action research is '*an approach which goes beyond attempts to involve people in plans made for them, but is radical in its intention to empower them*' (Allen & Thomas, 2000, pp. 530, 531). Whilst there is considerable support for the democratic philosophy of action research there is also a certain amount of scepticism with questions surrounding the philosophical and ethical assumptions the

action research perspective tends to make about the relationship between researcher and research subject in particular in relationship to the crisis of representation. Adelman (1989) criticises action research arguing that its democratic philosophy is 'overbearing;' *'The aims of action research as an 'alternative research paradigm, as a democratising force and means of achieving informed, practical change arising from issues at grass roots' are 'overbearing' (Adelman, 1989, p. 179).* Conversely McNiff (2002) argues in favour of action research and its democratic aims. McNiff highlights the historical influences and observes how the emergence of action research was influenced by critical theory which grew as a systematic approach that offered a more democratic alternative that challenged dominating influences. Furthermore McNiff notes how critical theoretic research emerged most prominently during the 1930s with influential theorists such as Habermas who was part of what later came to be known as The Frankfurt School of critical theorists who argued that methodologies were inadequate for social scientific enquiry because they failed to recognise the historical, cultural and social situatedness of researchers (McNiff, 2002, p. 33). Habermas rejected the view that knowledge generation is a neutral activity done by an external 'mind' somewhere, resulting in the production of 'pure' knowledge. Instead he suggested that knowledge is an activity undertaken by a real person who is driven by particular desires and interests (McNiff, 2002, p. 29). Similarly, McNiff argues that *'action research leads to the generation of I-theories of knowledge, theories which are already located within the practitioner's tacit forms of knowing, and which emerge in practice as personal forms of acting and knowing' (McNiff, 2002, p. 22).* Likewise, McNiff points to Schon who contends that *'practitioners need to study their own practice and generate their own personal theories out of that practice and move away from traditional views that see theory as a body of knowledge which can be applied to practice' (McNiff, 2002, p. 37).* Decidedly, action research forms part of a paradigm shift away from the traditional, positivist, science paradigm which emerged to bring certainty and verifiability to research questions, to a post-positivistic position which recognizes and tries to address complex social problems. However, many social researchers see more value in the more positivist paradigm and criticise the action research model by questioning the value placed on experiential knowledge.



### **Positivism versus Post-positivism**

The French philosopher Auguste Comte is considered the founder of positivism which emerged in the mid-19<sup>th</sup> century. Positivism recognizes only observable phenomena and empirically verifiable scientific facts and laws, and rejects inquiry into ultimate causes or origins as belonging to outmoded metaphysical or theological stages of thought. Thus, from the positivist perspective it is considered fruitless to value individual knowledge and experience if it cannot be scientifically proven or measured to fit within a universal scale, which undermines action research's value of the experiential knowledge research participants can offer to the research facilitator, thereby dismissing the idea that researcher facilitators can be co-learners with other research participants. However, action researchers taking the post-positivist stance embrace the subjectivity inherent in social research as they argue that the process of experiential learning can help to address social problems. Indeed, they insist that experience is a valid way of knowing and consider people to be intellectuals, whether either experienced researchers or children. Moreover they contend that people develop unique philosophies through lived experience and have a vital part to play in creating a better understanding of social processes and thus through participation in action research have an opportunity to effect social change.

In support of this viewpoint we can consider the philosophy of the liberationist writer Gramsci in early 20<sup>th</sup> century Italy who argued that all people are intellectuals and philosophers and described people who take their local knowledge from life experiences, and use that knowledge to address changes and problems in society as organic intellectuals (Gramsci, 1949, pp. 3-23). Indeed, it could be argued that because action research values this knowledge generated through life experience, the relationship between researcher and research participants is not characterised by an inequality or hierarchy of knowledge but by equality through a sense of shared knowledge and understanding. Therefore, the researcher no longer regards him or herself as having a monopoly on knowledge in the exchange or perceives the research participants as unable to contribute valuable knowledge equally but rather endeavours to reverse this unsatisfactory relationship with an emphasis on a process of shared learning where gaining a greater understanding of one another is the primary objective. Recognition of understanding is a prominent feature of Max Weber's definition of sociology in which Weber describes it as a '*science which attempts the interpretative understanding of social action in order to arrive at a causal explanation of its course*

and effects.' (1947: 88 in Bryman, 2000, p. 13). In this statement Weber acknowledges the crux of the positivist approach in recognizing *erklaren*; the explanation of behaviour, however his argument also embraces the concept of *verstehen* which subscribes to the interpretivist approach which like action research emphasises the importance of applying an interpretative understanding of social action rather than assuming that an objective reality can be understood. Indeed, in his work on making social science matter, Flyvberg proposes how social research should be and also focuses on *verstehen*, the how question in addition to *erklaren*, the explanatory questions and points to Foucault's argument concerning relationships of power which warns that 'our understanding will suffer if we do not start our analyses with a how' (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 136). Flyvbjerg further recommends that as opposed to trying to emulate positivism, social science should be practiced as '*phronesis, a practical wisdom that focuses on four value-rational questions which are answered for specific cases of social action: Where are we going? Who gains and who loses, by which mechanisms of power? And, is this development desirable? What should we do about it?*' (Flyvbjerg, 2001, p. 168). Indeed, it could be argued that the philosophy of praxis is central to the action research approach in the sense that there is a need for a constant cycle of conceptualizing and re-conceptualizing the meanings of what can be learned from experience in order to reframe theory. And so an iterative process develops where theory and practice are in a constant state of refining one another. Thus we can see how having an awareness of power relationships and working towards a phronesis in social research can facilitate a greater understanding. So whilst some argue that it is not at all possible for a researcher to gain a practical wisdom and obtain insight into another's influences and re-dress power imbalances, action research supporters contend that it is possible but only through a transformation of the traditional researcher and research subject relationship where there is more of an equal partnership. As Denscombe argues:

*'The participatory nature of action research is probably its most distinctive feature, since, in some ways, it hits at the heart of conventions associated with formal social research. Conventionally, research is the province of the expert; the outside authority who is a professional....Broadly speaking, the act of doing research is separated from the act of making changes. Action research, by contrast, insists that practitioners must be participants, not just in the sense of taking part in the research but in the sense of being a partner in the research..... Behind this shift in the relationship there rests a respect for the participants' knowledge..... democratizing the research process by challenging the separation of expert from lay person in research..... There is, of course still*

*a role for the outside expert, but that role shifts in the direction of mutual collaboration in the research process' (Denscombe, 2000, p. 61).*

In light of this, we see another aspect of action research that differs from more conventional forms of social research, that ownership of the research process becomes contestable within the framework of the partnership relationship between the researcher and research participant, as unlike more traditional forms of social research that define objectives before the research process takes place, with limited if any input from stakeholders, with action research, there is a strong emphasis on developing partnerships and encouraging participation so the research objectives are worked out with participants during the research process as opposed to beforehand in order that the process is a more shared, democratic one, where the research is consistently guided by the main stakeholders.

### **Action research and Lewin**

Another key influence of action research emerges from the group dynamic models developed by another member of the Frankfurt School, the psychologist Kurt Lewin in the early to mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. Lewin famously stated that 'research that produces nothing but books will not suffice' and proposed models to represent a cycle composed of planning, action and fact-finding about the result of the action where action research revolves around three sets of relationships; 'relations between individuals within communities and groups, relations between those communities and groups, and relations between people and their physical environment' (Lewin 1948, pp. 202, 203). Thus the emphasis on relationships and on ensuring research impacts real lives forms a significant part of the action research process. Cropper et al (2007) highlight the value of action research 'to inform and develop public policy and professional practice' and argue that 'action research has become well recognised as a method for learning and change' (p. 73). In particular, the authors emphasise that 'its roots can be found in a variety of intellectual traditions and practices' (p. 73);

*'In the analysis of conflict between social groups, where the method originated (Lewin, 1948), in industry, where programmes of work on industrial democracy and quality of working life were pursued by the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations (Rapoport, 1970), and in health and social care (Winter and Munn-Giddings, 2001), where Hart and Bond (1995) published a comprehensive account' (2007, p. 73).*

Whilst action research represents a radical departure away from traditional forms of social research, it perhaps forwards a more democratic way of researching. Whereas the traditional social research relationship is often characterised by hierarchies and inequality, the action research relationship aims to be characterised by greater equality. Furthermore as the aim of the action research process is to try and overcome inequalities, so the action research relationship is arguably more conscious of the power imbalances and underlying assumptions that affect it. In addition, as discussed, emphasis is placed on an iterative process of knowledge sharing within the relationship between researcher and research participant, where both theory and practice are equally valued and co-exist in a constant state of refining one another. As Nieuwenhuys notes; *'action research opens a dialogue where various ways of generating knowledge both academic and practical are given equal weight'* (Nieuwenhuys in Fraser et al, 2004, p. 219). Thus in epistemological terms from the action research perspective, knowledge is defined as a process, as an emergent property of the situation, rather than being defined in a positivistic manner as a concrete reality waiting to be discovered.

Wadsworth examines the process of participatory action research and suggests its potential for empowering beneficiaries through his assertion that it 'is research which involves all relevant parties in actively examining together current action (which they experience as problematic) in order to change and improve it.' And further points out that;

*'They do this by critically reflecting on the historical, political, cultural, economic, geographic and other contexts which make sense of it...' maintaining how 'participatory action research is not just research which is hoped will be followed by action, it is action which is researched, changed and re-researched, within the research process by participants. Instead it tries to be a genuinely democratic process whereby those to be helped, determine the purposes and outcomes of their own inquiry'* (Wadsworth, 1998).

Any assumptions made about the relationship between researcher and those being researched are a potentially damaging development for social research, however whilst it is hard, if not impossible to achieve the ideal conditions for carrying out action research in the way it was conceived, the shift away from the traditional research relationship to the action research dynamic of the research relationship has been proven to act as a catalyst for democratization. And whilst action research seems to make radical assumptions about the research relationship, they can be justified as the approach's aims are designed to revolve around the beneficiaries in working towards overcoming imbalances, empowering beneficiaries and effecting social change however

small this may be. Certainly, a challenge for the action research methodology lies in preventing these objectives from being used in a merely rhetorical way so that there is not a tendency towards tokenism but instead a greater ambition towards a phronesis, real participation, and democratization in the research process.

#### **2.4: Promoting the Agency of Children and Young People**

In the pursuit of research which is more participative and less hierarchical this research project has aimed to pursue a variety of data collection techniques aiming to encourage participation in relation to participants of all ages. Particular attention has been given to developing the agency of the younger people involved in the research. Indeed, a lack of agency is frequently apportioned to children and young people. In 'Critical issues in social research: power and prejudice,' Mayall points to the fact that children are positioned as a minority group in society:

*'Within families, schools and localities, children have little power to participate in decision making. They have no say in the political processes that affect their lives. Adults control children's lives- how their time is spent, and where it is spent- through the established customs and social policies that structure their access to social and physical worlds' (Mayall et al, 1999, p. 10).*

Furthermore Mayall advises:

*'Researchers cannot assume they share the world of experience of the researched, so they must try to address people's understandings of their own designated social position; what it means to be, and to act as, that designated person; and what it means to be an individual within and in tension with that social position' (Ibid, p. 14).*

As Ennew asserts, *'children and young people are capable, resourceful people whose individual histories, feelings and opinions must be respected. It follows that projects must be considered always as working with children rather than for them, encouraging and facilitating the fullest possible participation' (Ennew, 1997, p. 6).* Furthermore, Skivenes and Strandbu (2006) reflect on their research with children and young people and argue for greater recognition of children and young people's perspectives and participation in decision making, asserting that *'in relationships and interaction between adult and child, it is vital to understand the child's point of view and engage with his or her expressions to secure "real" participation for children' (Skivenes & Strandbu, p. 22).* Similarly a three year study carried out by Ataov and Haider (2006)

with street children in Turkey illuminates how the process of participatory action research acted as a platform for the street children, where the authors maintain that

*'Through participatory action research they sought to involve children as actors in public space... and children sought to become more empowered through taking initiative for challenging negative assumptions about them held by the general public... and by raising their voice through preparing posters, performing for the public, being hosted at TV programs and writing newspaper articles' (Ataov & Haider, p. 146).*

### **Rights-based approaches**

The field of research with children and young people is a vast one, as are the numerous philosophies and methods of best practice that are forwarded in policy and practice within it. What are the rights and interests of children and young people that need protecting, who determines those rights and how should a researcher protect those rights and interests? These questions have guided the research study in this thesis. Internationally, there has been a dramatic increase in research relating to improving children's rights in society, where the child is positioned as a social actor. This greater focus in research and practice on rights based approaches has a particular emphasis on listening to children which has undoubtedly been influenced by the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC, 1989), an international agreement designed to protect the rights of children across the world. Indeed, another significant catalyst was the 1989 Children Act for England and Wales which Thomas (2000) suggests, *'opened the way for principles to begin to be established that gave children an increasing influence on the outcome of decision-making' (SCIE, 2006, p. 9)*. As is the case with any social research, in order to protect the rights and interests of an individual or group, being aware of and knowing how to use the appropriate legislation is essential.

### **2.5: Ethics for research with young people**

Whilst Alderson (1995) advises; *'all children and young people have the right to participate' (Alderson, 1995 in Wright et al, 2006, p.32)*, the researcher was aware that issues of power, authority and influence in the adult-young person interaction can have a significant negative impact on the young person in the research process. With regard to potential risks to the students, the researcher was aware of the potential for arguments caused by differing opinions, peer pressure and general power imbalances. Indeed, the

researcher recognized that the research process was imbued with issues connected to power imbalances between participants and between researcher and participants at both points of design and interaction. Therefore, these power imbalances were addressed through efforts to maintain a democratic environment where all opinions could be expressed and considered whilst recognising the need to ensure that participants were aware of the importance of respecting each others' opinions. For example to encourage a more democratic environment for students, during the research sessions a teacher facilitated which was of particular help during periods of group work where myself and the teacher were able to spend more time with each group and deal with classroom management. Furthermore, the researcher and the teacher gave the students guidelines regarding what is acceptable and unacceptable behaviour. Additionally, students' concerns and behaviour was monitored with the help of a teacher and student team leaders.

In addition, the researcher was also aware that gaining informed consent for a young person's participation in a research project is not always a straightforward task and even with the attainment of informed consent it was recognized that a young person still has the right to privacy. As Bryman underlines; *'the research participant does not abrogate the right to privacy entirely by providing informed consent'* (2000, p. 513). Consent forms were given to students and parents, additionally the school sent consent forms out to parents. The Social Care Institute for Excellence (SCIE) recommend that in order for a child or young person to be able to give their informed consent they should be provided with information *regarding 'why they have been asked to participate, what they will have to do to participate, what information will be shared, with whom and how, and whether it will remain anonymous/confidential'* (Alderson, 1995 in Wright et al, 2006, p.32). These guidelines were followed by the researcher where the students were provided with a thorough explanation of the research study including what participation in the research sessions would involve. Furthermore, it was reiterated that participation was optional and through on-going verbal communication the students were made aware that any contribution to the study could be removed if desired. Also, students were made aware that no means of identifying any individual through name, or any other means has or will be recorded in writing or made accessible. Also, the researcher highlighted the school counsellor who could further help the students if needed and contact details of organisations external to the school were provided.

Debriefing sessions on the findings from the data were carried out implicitly as part of an ongoing process as the analysis of data progressed and explicitly with the students post the first survey and focus groups and before the second survey and visual mapping in order to discuss the findings and emergent theories being considered. Additionally, a final data collection debriefing session was carried out with the students post the second survey and visual mapping.

Another step that the researcher took in order to protect the rights and interests of the students in the research process was to avoid giving the students a sense of false hope by making sure they were aware of the study's aims and objectives, as Devine and Heath point out; it should be recognized that *'empowerment (however defined) and giving a voice are not necessarily synonymous'* (Devine & Heath, 1999, p. 36).

Furthermore, during the research sessions the researcher aimed to foster a suitable, non-threatening environment for the young people in order to protect the rights and interests of children in the research process. In relation to this, the SCIE (2006) report identifies, *'the physical nature of an organization and adults' attitudes towards children and young people can be intimidating'* (Wright et al, 2006, p. 34). In fact this was highlighted by all the young people who took part in the creation of the SCIE participation practice guide 06 *'who highlighted the importance of organizations creating a 'young person friendly' environment so that children and young people feel able to share their views and contribute to decision-making processes.'* (34)

## **2.6: The Crisis of Representation: Towards Reflexive Research**

Throughout the processes of data collection and analysis the researcher has aimed for research which is reflexive in both theory and practice. May (2001) contrasts the conditions of theory building between critical theory with traditional theory underlining the reflexivity of critical theory stressing that; *'for critical theory there is a constant interaction between theory and facts where the theorist seeks to recognize the relationship between the constitution of their propositions and the social context in which they find themselves'* (May, p. 39). In particular, in relation to the research carried out with the young people in this project the researcher has been guided by the UNCRC mandate that children and young people's views be sought and respected on issues affecting them (UNCRC, 1989, Article 12, no. 1). What does listening to children and young people mean? Furthermore, how do researchers guard against this emphasis on



listening to children becoming simply rhetorical? How does a researcher affect the interaction between the young person and him or herself in the research process? And what preconceptions might both parties bring to the research relationship? These questions have acted as guiding principles of this research project and the challenges faced in this project are further discussed in section 8.

The researcher has tried to be reflexive and sensitive to the needs of the students in the research. Komulainen (2007) discusses what listening to children in social research actually means and considers whether *'listening to children in social research is an empowering or a rhetorical device'* (p.26). Furthermore, she warns against using the concept simply in order to *'furnish young children with a western value of competence, while at the same time, paradoxically, purporting to undermine hegemonic notions of a skill'* (p.26). The author continues by drawing attention to the fact that *'merely replacing one essentialist argument (that children are incompetent) with another (that they are competent) appears unsatisfactory'* (p.26). Instead Komulainen points out that *'it is possible that children can be, at the same time, vulnerable and competent'* (p.26). Additionally she considers the impact of the adult on the child in research and highlights the ambiguity involved in the process of constructing and distinguishing between 'voices' in research urging researchers to *'reflect on not simply what one hears as a researcher, but on what one expects to hear, and how these expectations may frame the dynamics of adult-child interaction'* (p.26).

Indeed, it is important to underline that while some argue that it is better for researchers to keep a distance from research subjects to ensure more objective findings, others like critical theorists contend that it is vital to try and bridge the gap that separates the researcher from the research participants, being adaptive, reflexive and facilitative and being aware of the effect of the researcher's presence on other participants, of how the research is shaped by various ideologies and being flexible enough to challenge those ideologies or assumptions if necessary. Devine and Heath (1999) highlight the tension between positivist and post-positivist perspectives looking at the question of whether or not sociologists should allow their own values and beliefs to affect their research, noting how *'the classical positivist position has traditionally placed great emphasis on the desirability of achieving 'value freedom' within the research process, as part of the claim of social science to be a 'true science' on a par with the physical sciences'* (p. 27). However, they point out that, *'regardless of the desirability of maintaining a clear distinction between facts and values, critics of this position have questioned whether*

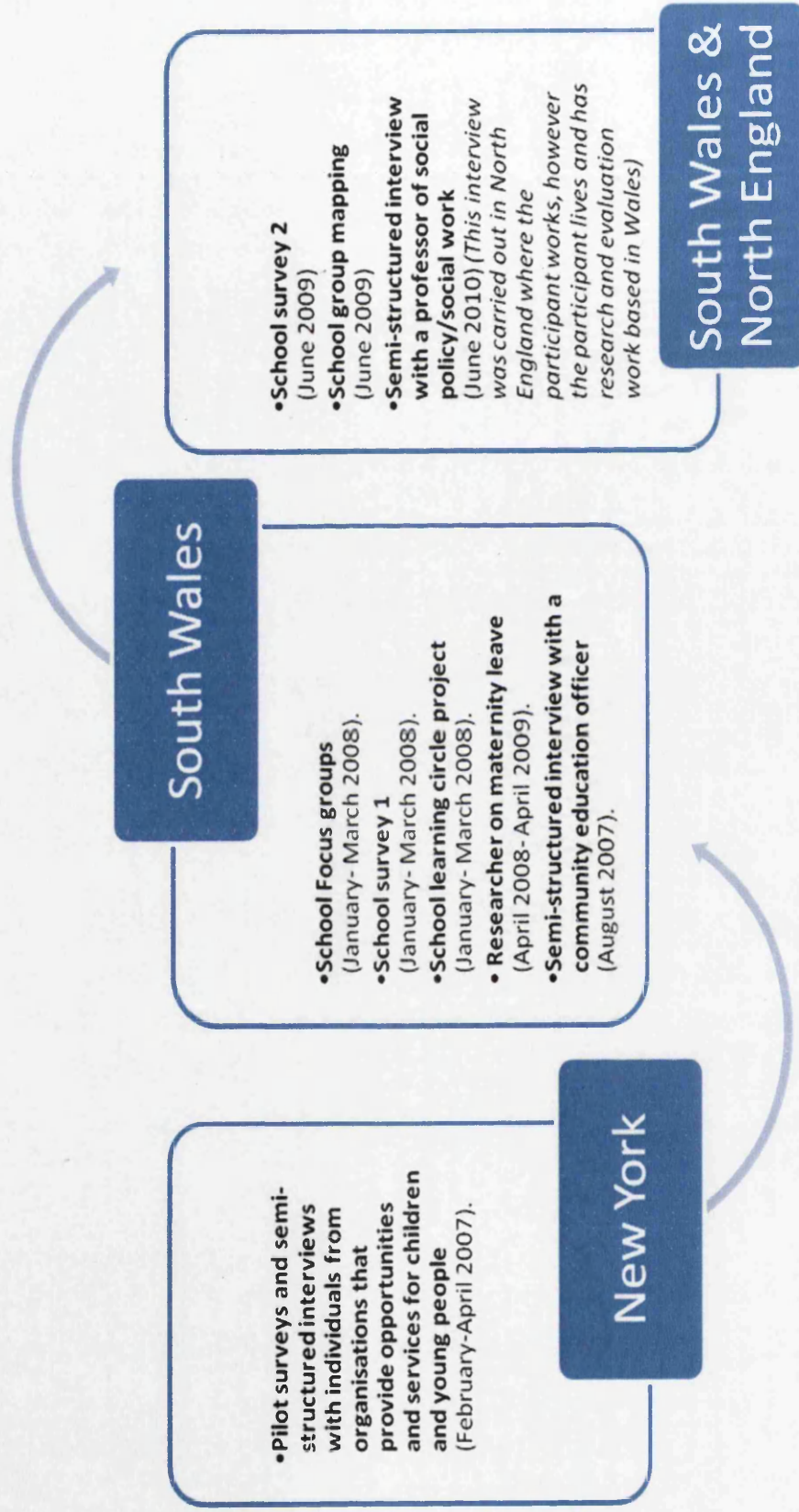
*this is actually possible to achieve*' (p. 27). And instead propose that *'the best way forward is not to pretend to be value neutral, but to be honest about one's own perspectives on any given research topic and to then seek to represent the data in as objective way as possible'*(p. 27). This is the approach taken by the researcher. Similarly, Davies argues that positivist claims to value freedom or greater objectivity are problematic with her assertion that;

*'Social surveys cannot lay unambiguous claims to objectivity, if by objectivity is meant the reduction of reflexive input by the researcher to as low a level as possible then from the ethnographic perspective any such exercise is by nature not really possible and is likely to affect the validity of the survey'* (Davies, 1999, p. 141).

Certainly, whilst striving for objectivity in representation of the data in this study the researcher is aware of her own subjectivities and therefore acknowledges the need to be reflexive.

Figure 3 outlines the data collected, where it was collected and the order in which it was collected:

**Figure 3: Data Collection**



## **2.7: Sampling**

A process of purposive sampling (Bryman, 2008, p. 215) was used for the exploratory surveys and the semi structured interviews in New York and the semi-structured interviews carried out in the U.K. with a view to selecting individuals from a variety of organizations whose work was connected with interrogating the barriers to, and facilitators of, equality of children and young people's access to education services.

Self-selection was the sampling method chosen to recruit a school in South Wales facilitated by a community education officer in the U.K. who also took part in an interview for the study. The community education officer e-mailed a variety of schools in the South Wales area to gauge interest. Following this, a meeting was arranged by the community education officer with staff from a school who indicated a keen interest to participate in the research project. At this meeting further details of the research project were discussed with a deputy head and a teacher from the school and arrangements for carrying out the research project with the school were made.

## **2.8: The participants and design of the structured exploratory survey (New York City)**

Using purposive sampling surveys were sent out by e-mail to eight individuals at a variety of organizations. Three structured surveys were completed by people (see table 1 below) who work with children and young people at two different organizations in New York City in 2007. Participants included one Hispanic female participant and one white female participant who were both working as 'youth asset coordinators' at a community service organization with young people in Manhattan and Brooklyn, and one white male participant who was working as a director of community development at a non-profit organization in the Bronx. The latter two respondents also participated in semi structured interviews. Feedback from one respondent who did not complete the survey but did participate in a semi-structured interview was that she preferred taking part in the research through the use of semi-structured interview as opposed to the more structured format of a survey.

**Table 1: Exploratory survey respondent's pseudo name, age range, ethnicity, gender and residence of participants who completed a exploratory survey:**

<b>Pseudo name of exploratory survey respondent:</b>	<b>Age range:</b>	<b>Ethnicity:</b>	<b>Gender:</b>	<b>Residence:</b>
Maria	19-29	Hispanic	Female	Queens
Summer	30-39	white	Female	Brooklyn
Luke	19-29	white	Male	Manhattan

The structured exploratory survey (see appendix 2) consists of 35 statements that were designed to test the strength of respondents' levels of agreement or disagreement to a variety of theories relating to determinants of equality of access. Operationalisation of concepts and the selection of measurable indicators of concepts was based on research into children and young people's equality of access to educational services which shows a number of barriers and facilitators. Barriers identified included; unequal state provision of services, poverty, a lack of children's participation in important decision making processes that affect them, non-ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of The Child, institutional and non-institutional racism, the high number of racially segregated neighbourhoods and schools, a lack of financial aid for families in poverty, a lack of state provision of good quality schools with good quality teachers in deprived areas, a lack of positive role models in communities, a lack of good quality recreational facilities for children in deprived areas, a lack of community participation in providing children with a variety of educational opportunities and a lack of community centres where children have access to a variety of educational sources. Facilitators identified included; equal state provision of services, increased children's participation in important decision making processes that affect them, non-tokenistic ratification and implementation of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of The Child, interrogation and addressing of institutional and non-institutional racism,

increased multicultural neighbourhoods and schools, increased financial aid for families in poverty, increased state provision of good quality schools with good quality teachers in deprived areas, support for highlighting positive role models in communities, increased good quality recreational facilities for children in deprived areas, increased community participation in providing children with a variety of educational opportunities and an increased number of community centres where children have access to a variety of educational sources.

The researcher sought to assess these determinants of equality of access by assessing attitudes towards the role of the community and the state in relation to developing children and young people's educational opportunities. A summative rating tool was used with a 7 point Likert scale where levels of agreement and disagreement could be measured where with a positive statement 1 = strongly disagree and 7 = strongly agree and at the midpoint of the scale 4= undecided. Conversely with a negative statement 7 = strongly disagree and 1 = strongly agree. A 7 point scale was chosen as the greater the number of points on a scale the more sensitive a scale is to detect change. An odd number of 7 allows a 'neutral mid-point' for respondents to select if desired (Robson, 2002, p. 294). Statements in the survey were constructed in groups around the determinants discussed above. Testing for consistency of attitudes was sought with duplication of statements into positive and negative constructions. Positivity of statements was delineated by evidence which shows these determinants can act as facilitators of equality of access and negativity of statements was delineated by evidence which shows these determinants can act as barriers to equality of access (Lansdown, 1994); (Siraj-Blatchford, 1994); (Modood and Acland, 1998); (Petrova, 2001); (Williams et al, 2003); (Lemos and Crane, 2005).

**2.9: The participants and design of the semi-structured interviews (New York City, South Wales and North England).**

**3.0: The participants of the interviews in New York City**

There were 5 people who participated in the semi-structured interviews in New York City. 3 white females, 1 Asian male and 1 white male. The institutions that the participants were working for at the time of the interviews were a non-profit community development organization in New York City, a university in New York City, a non-profit group and short-term psychotherapy centre in New York City, an international non-profit development organization in New York City and a community service organization in New York City. See table 2 below:

**Table 2: Interviewee, ethnicity, gender, occupation and workplace of participants who took part in semi-structured interviews in New York City**

<b>Interviewee pseudonym:</b>	<b>Ethnicity:</b>	<b>Gender:</b>	<b>Occupation and workplace:</b>
Summer	white	female	Youth assets coordinator at a community service organisation, Manhattan
Arnav	Asian	male	Senior strategic policy officer at an international development organisation, Manhattan.
Luke	white	male	Director of community development at a non-profit community development organisation, the Bronx
Dana	white	female	Director of a non-profit group and short-term psychotherapy centre, Manhattan
Amelia	white	female	Professor at a university in a school of social work, Manhattan

### **3.1: The participants of the interviews in South Wales and North England**

There were two people who participated in the semi-structured interviews in South Wales and North England. One black female and one white female. The institutions that the participants were working for at the time of the interviews were a university in England and a council education department in Wales. See table 3 below:

**Table 3: Interviewee, ethnicity, gender, occupation and workplace of participants who took part in semi-structured interviews in England and Wales, U.K.**

<b>Interviewee pseudo name:</b>	<b>Ethnicity:</b>	<b>Gender:</b>	<b>Occupation and workplace:</b>
Emily	Black	female	Professor of social policy and social work at a university in England
Rebecca	white	female	Community education officer in an education department in a Welsh council

### **3.2: The design of the semi-structured Interviews**

The semi structured interviews were a substantial part of the focus of data collection in New York City and formed a less substantial part in the U.K. as the fieldwork undertaken with the students in South Wales formed the main focus. All interviews were carried out face to face and were recorded and transcribed.

A main issue which guided the design of the questions for the interviews concerned an exploration of attitudes towards alterity, equality, plurality and diversity and an exploration of attitudes towards what different organizations may or may not do to interrogate the barriers and encourage the facilitators of children and young people's access to equality of education services. Purposive sampling was used to invite a variety of organizations and institutions to participate in the interviews. No notes were taken during the interviews. Additionally, the researcher tried to follow an '*interactive relational*' approach (Chirban, 1996, p. xii) for the semi structured interviews which emphasized the influence of dynamics to help foster a more relaxed relationship between researcher and participant rather than a more positivistic approach which perhaps produces more of '*a cold and calculating style of interviewing that reinforces a gulf between the researcher and the informant, and does little to help or empower the*



*informant' (Denscombe, 2000, p. 117). Also, the researcher tried to ensure that the interviews were as flexible as possible in order to encourage more of an interactive relational approach. This approach can be evidenced by Beardsworth and Keil who point out that in their study the interviews were not focused on a set of rigid pre-determined questions but that 'the open ended, discursive nature of the interviews permitted an iterative process of refinement' (Bryman, 2004, p. 321).*

### **3.3: The School (South Wales)**

The following details were noted by a 2007 Estyn report from an inspection carried out at the school in November 2006 and are helpful in contextualising this research:

*'The school is an 11–16 mixed comprehensive school which plays an important role in the community it serves. The school currently has approximately 1,000 pupils on roll and this figure has been stable for some years. Twenty one point eight per cent of pupils are in receipt of free school meals. For the past two years admissions into Y7 have exceeded projected numbers. The pupils are drawn mainly from established communities all of which are within three miles of the school. The majority of pupils walk to school. The areas served are of predominantly terraced housing some two miles north of the city centre. The school population contains almost 10% of ethnic minority pupils, many of whom are supported by the Ethnic Minority Language and Achievement Service. The school also has 13 asylum seeker pupils on roll at the time of writing. Designated areas of the school catchment are eligible for Community Regeneration Initiatives, Communities First Funding and/or Objective One priority three areas, and constitute some of the more socially deprived in Wales, based on six criteria, (income and child poverty; unemployment; health deprivation and disability; education, skills and training; housing; geographical access to services). The Multiple Deprivation Index for the school catchment is around 30. The ability of pupils is broadly below average with 39% of the pupils in the current Y7 have a reading age of less than 10 years. Furthermore, 32% of Y7 have a reading age of less than nine years, while 19% have a reading age of less than eight years. This trend is replicated throughout the other year groups within the school with approximately 35% of pupils on average having a reading age of less than 10 years. In addition, standardised test results for each year confirm that, on entry, the pupil profile is below average, while the number of pupils identified as being above average is relatively low, around 7.25%. Thirty three pupils are in receipt of a statement of SEN. 235 pupils are listed on the SEN register. 177 pupils are currently on School Action, 25 pupils are on School Action Plus' (Estyn, 2007, p. 1).*

### **3.4: The School participants (South Wales)**

The participants who took part in the school research were pre-selected by the school in 2008 and 2009.

In 2008, in the first stage of school research, the participants selected were a mixed gender group of 30<sup>5</sup> British students, with one Asian student and 29 white students. The participants were in year 9 and were between the ages of 13 and 14.

It should be noted that in 2009 (following a year of maternity leave taken by the researcher) the group selected by the school was not identical to the previous group selected by the school; 10 students were new to the school and/ or the group, however 18 of the students who participated in the first stage of the research in 2008 also participated in the second stage of research in 2009.

In 2009, in the second stage of school research, the group pre-selected by the school were in year 10 and were a mixed gender group of 28 students and were between the ages of 14 and 15 years old, with one Polish male migrant student, one Afghan male asylum seeker student and 26 male and female students with British citizenship.

### **3.5: The school research sessions ( South Wales)**

The research carried out in the school consisted of 18 hours with students in research stages 1 and 2. The research sessions were carried during school hours by the researcher. Apart from the focus groups a teacher was present at all the research sessions which facilitated classroom management. Teaching experience helped the researcher to engage the students with the research in eliciting discussions and opinions where the design of an interactional style of research sessions aimed to encourage a greater freedom of expression. The process was assisted by the use of documentary and film clips relating to the research area. Access in the school to and the use of power point, white board, television with DVD player and computers for the students was particularly helpful.

The participants were given the choice whether or not to participate in the research study and informed consent was sought from students and parents. Importantly,

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<sup>5</sup> The number of participants fluctuated throughout the research period consequently some weeks there were either more or less students who participated in the research sessions.

participants and parents were informed that participation was optional and that any contribution made could be removed if desired.

The students were organized into groups by a teacher who nominated team leaders and material for the research was worked on collaboratively as a whole class and also in groups where feedback was sought from groups to the whole class. The group structure helped to increase the discussion of issues and facilitated greater engagement of the students in the research process.

### **3.6: The participants and design of the Learning circle project**

#### **3.6a: The participants of the Learning circle project**

The students who participated in survey 1 and the focus groups in 2008 also participated in a learning circle in 2008 organised by the *international education and resource network* iEARN<sup>6</sup> which involved collaboration with partner schools located in countries around the world. Partner schools were chosen by iEARN organizers to form a learning circle including one school in Belarus, one school in Nigeria, two schools in North America, one school in Pakistan, one home school in South Africa and one school in South Wales. The ages of the students in the learning circle include a 9 year old and a 12 year old (both being home-schooled together and 13 and 14 years olds from year groups in 6 secondary/middle schools.

In this first stage of school research, the South Wales participants pre-selected by the school were a mixed gender group of 30<sup>7</sup> British students who were in year 9 and were between the ages of 13 and 14. See table 3 below:

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<sup>6</sup> IEARN state that the learning circle model 'evolved out of a research project at the University of California, San Diego in the mid eighties' (iEARN 2010).

<sup>7</sup> The number of participants fluctuated throughout the research period consequently some weeks there were either more or less students who participated in the research sessions.

**Table 4: South Wales participants' ethnicities and the number of participants who took part in the iEARN learning circle project:**

Ethnicity:	Number:	Number of participants in the iEARN learning circle project:
Asian	1	30 <sup>8</sup>
white	29	

**3.6b: The design of the iEARN learning circle project**

The learning circle was managed by the International Education and Resource Network (iEARN) which is a non-profit international network that facilitates ‘teachers and young people to collaborate on projects that enhance learning through using the internet and other technologies’ (International Education and Resource Network, 2010). Notably the development of community is suggested by iEARN to be an important part of the Learning Circle framework developed by iEARN.

To establish a learning circle initially involves applying to iEARN with a project idea. iEARN organisers attempt to match ages of students and various project themes to form a learning circle. An introduction to iEARN was offered by an iEARN U.K. officer to the researcher and the school’s participating staff and was provided in school. The iEARN learning circle theme for the group was Places and Perspectives and this framework provided the means to gain insight into any significant social, cultural, political and economic influences on Wales and Welsh national identity that may be apparent.

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<sup>8</sup> The number of participants fluctuated throughout the research period consequently some weeks there were either more or less students who participated in the research sessions.

### **3.7: The participants and design of school survey 1 (South Wales)**

#### **3.7a: The participants of school survey 1**

The first survey (see Appendix 19) was carried out in 2008 in a school in South Wales at the end of 15 1-hour research sessions which allowed an evaluation of students' attitudes. Survey 1 was completed by a mixed gender group of 21 white British students in year 9 who were between the ages of 13 and 14. See table 4 below:

**Table 5: Age range, ethnicity, number of participants with British citizenship status and number of participants who completed survey 1**

<b>Age range:</b>	<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Number of participants with British citizenship status who completed Survey 1:</b>	<b>Number of participants who completed Survey 1:</b>
13-14	white	21	21

#### **3.7b: The design of school survey 1**

In particular the survey sought to evaluate students' attitudes to an anti-racist approach and to a multiculturalist approach connected with the learning circle project (for description of the learning circle see 2.5). The questions in the first half of the survey sought to explore and evaluate participants' understanding of racism, their attitudes towards racism and anti-racism and to explore pathways for dealing with racism. The questions in the second half of the survey sought to explore and evaluate the participants' experience of the multiculturalist approach of the learning circle.

### **3.8: The participants and design of the focus groups South Wales)**

#### **3.8a: The participants of the focus groups**

Three focus groups (see appendix 22) were carried out in school with some of the participants who participated in Surveys 1 and 2, the learning circle and the concept mapping. Focus groups were participated in by 15 white British students in year 9 between the ages of 13 and 14. For variations in the focus groups see table 5 below:

**Table 6: Focus group number, gender, number of participants in each focus group and the total number of participants in all three focus groups.**

<b>Focus Group Number:</b>	<b>Number of females:</b>	<b>Number of males:</b>	<b>Number of participants in each focus group:</b>	<b>Total number of participants in focus groups</b>
1	2	2	4	15
2	2	3	5	
3	2	4	6	

**3.8b: The design of the focus groups**

The focus groups were recorded and were carried out soon after administering the first survey to further explore the findings of survey 1. Not all participants who participated in other parts of the research took part in the focus group. Focus group participants were selected by the teacher involved in facilitating the research and formed into three groups. An interactive relational approach was adopted whereby the researcher took a semi-structured approach, trying to moderate her own involvement in the discussion in order to facilitate further exploration of the participants' perspectives. Focus groups were also considered to be a useful tool for analyzing group interaction. As Morgan points out; *'the hallmark of focus groups is the explicit use of group interaction to produce data and insights that would be less accessible without the interaction found in a group'* (Johnson, 1996, p.523). The focus group discussions centered on exploring Survey 1 themes further and the themes apparent in participants' responses to survey 1. Themes included further analysis of issues connected with identity, ethnocentrism, racism and possibilities for tackling racism.

### **3.9: The participants and design of school survey 2 South Wales)**

#### **3.9a: The participants of school survey 2**

The second survey (see Appendix 23) was carried out in 2009 in the same school in South Wales (there was a 12 month interval between the first and second school surveys due to maternity leave). This survey built upon participants' answers as a group from the first survey.

Survey 2 was completed by a mixed gender group of 20 participants including 1 Afghan participant and 19 white participants. 1 participant was an Afghan asylum-seeker, 1 participant was a Polish EU migrant and 18 participants were British. The participants were in year 10 and were between the ages of 14 and 15. Tables 6 and 7 below shows the variations in participants' ethnicities, numbers of participants with asylum seeker status, EU migrant status and British citizenship status:

**Table 7: Participants' ethnicities and the number of participants who completed survey 2**

<b>Ethnicity:</b>	<b>Number:</b>	<b>Total number of participants who completed survey 2:</b>
Afghan	1	20
white	19	

**Table 8: Numbers of participants with asylum seeker status, EU migrant status, British citizenship status and the number of participants who completed survey 2**

<b>Number of participants with asylum seeker status:</b>	<b>Number of participants with EU migrant status:</b>	<b>Number of participants with British citizenship status:</b>	<b>Total number of participants who completed survey 2:</b>
1	1	18	20

### **3.9b: The design of school survey 2**

There were four sections in survey 2: The first and second sections of the survey were semi-structured. The first section in the survey explored the significance of nationality and the concept of belonging. The second section explored participant's attitudes and possible influences on attitudes in relation to ethnocentrism and racism including those of parents or guardians, friends, a fear of difference, politics, religion, newspapers and bullying. The third and fourth sections were both structured and semi-structured. The third section further explored the impact of the media on attitudes using newspaper headlines with a 7 point Likert scale and provided a space for elaborating on Likert scale responses. The fourth section further explored attitudes explored in section 2 using a 7 point Likert scale and also provided a space for elaborating on their responses.

### **4.0: The participants and design of the school group mapping (South Wales)**

#### **4.0a: The participants of the school group mapping**

The visual method of a group mapping exercise was carried out in school soon after completing survey 2 with a mixed gender group of 25 participants including 1 Afghan participant and 24 white participants. 1 participant was an Afghan asylum-seeker, 1 participant was a Polish EU migrant and 23 participants were British nationals. The participants were in year 10 and were between the ages of 14 and 15. See tables 9 and 10 which follow.

**Table 9: Participants' ethnicities and the number of participants who participated in the group mapping**

<b>Ethnicity:</b>	<b>Number:</b>	<b>Total number of participants who participated in group mapping:</b>
Afghan	1	25
white	24	



**Table 10: Numbers of participants with asylum seeker status, EU migrant status, British citizenship status and the number of participants who participated in the group mapping**

<b>Number of participants with asylum seeker status:</b>	<b>Number of participants with EU migrant status:</b>	<b>Number of participants with British citizenship status:</b>	<b>Total number of participants who participated in group mapping:</b>
1	1	23	25

**4.0b: The design of the school group mapping**

Mapping (See Appendices 25-30 )was carried out in five groups of five students in each that were pre-selected at the start of the second stage of school research by the facilitating teacher. The Afghan student was in group 4 and the Polish student was in group 5. The students were asked to work in groups to create posters with an anti-racism theme which presented a deconstruction of racism. This provided a way to further explore the students’ experiences, understanding and deconstruction of racism.

**4.1: Choices, Challenges and Limitations of Research**

**‘On the edge in the Empire State’ (NCCP, 2006)**

In terms of analysing the barriers of ethnic and class inequalities and the facilitators of children and young people’s equality of access to educational services which include a diversity of approaches that can be taken to resist these inequalities, New York City provides a very deep scope for this study. The depth of scope for analysing identity politics and inequalities of class and ethnicity in New York City is significant as due to large scale immigration, New York City is one of the world's most ethnically diverse and multicultural cities. More than twelve million immigrants came into North America between 1892 and 1954 through the gateway of Ellis island (The Statue of Liberty Ellis Island Foundation, 2010). Markedly, the New York City subway along with a significant amount of buildings and other infrastructure was built by immigrants who came in significant numbers through Ellis Island in search of a better life. Certainly, there is a great conflict between the achievement of the elusive American dream and the

reality of living in a highly capitalistic system where inequalities of class and ethnicity are at work. The search for pathways to interrogate and overcome discrimination based on ethnicity and class and the resulting inequalities is crucial and this is a key aim that this research study focuses on.

### **Contextualising the research study in South Wales, Britain and New York City, North America**

\*\*\* in South Wales and New York City have many differences in terms of a number of aspects including demographics, physical size, political systems, approaches to education and welfare systems but nonetheless they both share similarities and so through the data analysis the shared as well as individual discourses are discussed. In terms of shared discourses, participants' discourses from both contexts hold similarities in addressing an equality agenda linked to interrogating inequalities relating to class and ethnicity with a rights based, community organising approach. Communities in \*\*\* in Wales (Rhys Davies et al, 2011) and New York City in North America both share a significant divergence in terms of income, where there is a stark contrast between the conditions of communities living in significantly deprived areas and communities living in significantly affluent areas. The large size of this income gap, between those living in poverty and those living in wealth suggests significant inequalities are persisting and that the local and national government in Wales and New York state and the federal government in North America need to take much more responsibility for initiating measures that work towards lifting people out of poverty and closing this gap rather than increasing the gap.

In relation to the income gap in New York City, the NCCP point to the high poverty rates in New York State and New York City noting how it is the largest divergence in North America:

*'In New York State, one of the most populous states in the nation, more than two out of every five children live in low-income families. Recent research indicates that the income gap in this state between the wealthiest families and the lowest-income families is the largest in the nation. Nearly half of all New York State residents live in New York City, where the cost of living is especially high' (NCCP, 2006, p. 1).*

In his case study on homelessness in New York City, Nunez (2001) contrasts the findings of a survey carried out by The Institute for Children and Poverty and describes

them in terms of *'a story of two children, one with a prosperous and bright future, the other with poor health, sporadic education and little social stability'* (p. 367). In addition, Capps et al (2002) underline that a family's non US citizenship status frequently reduces their children's access to educational services (Cited in Capps, Hagan, and Rodriguez 2004, pp. 14-15).

Similarly, in the context of the U.K., poverty is also a significant problem. In a report by the group End child poverty (2012) underlines that currently in Britain four million children or one in three children are living in poverty which is one of the highest rates in the industrialised world (End child poverty, 2012). Markedly, in the study of this thesis, the discourse of Rebecca a community education officer in \*\*\*, South Wales, points to the significant divergence in affluence in the city where part of the research was carried out. Notably, the participating school in the research is located in one of the most deprived areas in Wales (End child poverty, 2012, excel file). Further, throughout her discourse Rebecca points to a variety of factors connected with education being *'less likely to be taken up by disadvantaged sectors than others,'* and she underlines a diversity of approaches that are taken to tackle a range of barriers to access and experience of educational services in \*\*\*, South Wales. Markedly, 23% of children in families in \*\*\*, South Wales are on out of work benefits (End child poverty, 2012, p. 40) and 33% of children are living in poverty in the area where the school research was carried out (End child poverty, 2012, excel file). In particular, in Wales, Croke and Crowley stress that *'children of asylum seekers and migrant workers, disabled parents, single parents and large families, and children living in some Black Minority Ethnic groups are the children who are most at risk of poverty'* (Croke, R. and Crowley A., 2007, p. 41).

### **Small-scale research**

The relatively small scale of the study is due to the limitations of being a lone researcher, a larger scale study would allow for a larger sample and greater verification of trends. Additionally, in a larger scale study it may have been possible to carry out research with a comparable school in New York and carry out more semi-structured interviews in South Wales with various organizations of a comparable nature so that there would be more scope for a comparative evaluation between South Wales and New York.

### **Language and concepts used**

The language used was English and one of the challenges of designing the surveys and semi-structured interviews was trying to ensure as far as possible that the vocabulary and the concepts behind it used in the surveys, interviews and focus groups were understood by the participants. Notably, the asylum-seeker student who participated in survey 2 had a translator who accompanied him for the survey which helped the student with any language barriers.

### **Limitations of the more structured approach of exploratory survey**

The researcher found the formulation of statements for this exploratory survey problematic in terms of the one dimensional nature of the statements. Certainly, it is necessary to remember the limitations of structured research in and of itself alone in terms of exploring attitudes in depth. Markedly, Dana (one of the participants who preferred to take part in the semi-structured interview in New York City) was more comfortable with the less structured nature of data collection of the semi structured interviews as opposed to the structured nature of this survey. In contrast, participants who took part in the semi-structured surveys, focus groups and group mapping in a South Wales school were keener to contribute in a group context as opposed to contributing individually through interviews.

### **Institutional Research**

The researcher found that carrying out action research in the way it was conceived in terms of being a more democratic way of researching was problematised in the context of the school research particularly in terms of working out the balance between the researcher's aim of exploring the experiences and attitudes of the school students and the participation of the students within an institutional context. Whilst the school, researcher and students were working in partnership, working within the school context there existed a desire to protect the school's reputation. This challenge also applied to the semi-structured interviews carried out with representatives of various organizations. Therefore, a key difficulty for the researcher lay in how to gain 'genuine' responses from participants. In the context of the school, this challenge seemed more apparent where the researcher sought to gain 'genuine' responses from the students as opposed to what students may have thought the researcher and/or teacher wanted to hear. In school, apart from during the focus groups, a teacher was present at all the research sessions

which whilst facilitating classroom management also probably had had an impact on the degree of openness of the students' responses in some cases. Notably, a white student joked a few times in the sessions saying 'there is no racism at \*\*\* school.' Thus whilst the researcher emphasized that the students data and the school were anonymised in the research, to some extent the students' attitudes were influenced by the researcher, the teacher and the institutional setting where school rules are in place and behaviour is often monitored. Indeed, there was potential for bias in terms of the school's involvement in selecting students to take part in the research. The school preselected the students who would take part in the research in 2008 and 2009 and also selected and grouped students together for the focus groups, iEARN learning circle project and concept mapping. Evidence of potential bias was also apparent in some of the semi-structured interviews where some respondents respond in a defensive way to questions concerning equality measures in their organizations. Indeed, one participant in the semi-structured interviews asked if the researcher was asking what the participant personally thought or what she could say as a representative of her institution. Certainly, overcoming barriers to genuine responses appears a common challenge in carrying out social research in an institutional setting. Additionally, resistance to anti-racism and multiculturalism seems apparent with some students' discourses where this resistance is perhaps linked with a more generalised resistance to what institutions represent for these students, as Rattansi highlights '*this resistance is bound up with a more generalized opposition to the degrees of surveillance, discipline, authoritarianism and class domination involved in conventional forms of schooling*' (Rattansi, 1992, p. 33).

### **Impact of researcher's identity**

The researcher is 'female', 'middle class' and 'white' and was aware of the potential impact of her gender, social class, age and ethnicity, on participants' answers in the interviews, surveys and focus groups and this is highlighted in the findings of the research. Wilkinson underlines that the facilitator and other participants have the potential to interfere with '*the 'pure' expression of an individual point of view*' (Wilkinson, 1998, p. 120) as individuals are sometimes reluctant to share personal stories within the group context and disagreements that interaction invariably produce '*may also result in distortion and bias*' where '*individual opinions may be 'contaminated' by the group context so that 'people simply conform to majority*

*opinions or express socially desirable ideas' (Wilkinson, 1998, p. 119). There is thus a danger that individual ideas become subsumed within majority views.*

In particular, the researcher tried to limit this impact and negotiate any affect her identity may have had upon participants' responses by trying to encourage a sensitive, interactional style of research.

## Chapter Three: Key Findings and Discussion

This chapter provides a rounded discussion of the key themes that derive from the data collected which highlights a thesis of belonging, the human need for belonging and the human right to have this need satisfied. Notably, the themes discussed here are not mutually exclusive as there are many connections and inter-connections between the themes which are discussed.

**Part one** focuses on theorizing the relevance of the findings to social identity theory where a thesis of belonging seems relevant to interrogating nationalism and racism and forwarding an equality agenda. Additionally, this section theorizes the study's findings from the context of identity definition and difference where amongst other factors a fear of difference connected with a desire for greater definition of identity in the identity construction process seem relevant. **Part two** discusses the theme of the media's legitimising of myths and consensually shared social ideologies where findings from the data indicate a link between discrimination in society being furthered by nationalism and racism presented in the media where ethnic minority communities are stereotyped and represented as a threat and as scapegoats for socio-economic problems. **Part three, *'Imperialism: The Highest State of Capitalism' (Lenin): Institutions, Capitalism and Discrimination***, theorizes a marxist understanding of discrimination in connection with the findings from data analysis, indicating a significant relationship between capitalism and discrimination based on nationality and ethnicity, from colonial imperialism and the exploitation of indigenous communities to present day imperialism and institutional racism where minority ethnic groups are discriminated against. Further, relevance of relative deprivation theory and discrimination are apparent. In particular, part three underlines the institutional barriers highlighted by participants and emphasises the imperative to challenge them, with a particular focus on institutional racism and the need to interrogate and redress institutional racism and the significant deficiencies in equality of provision of state services for all people. Further, a habitus of racism, Western imperialism and complacency is discussed in relation to the findings of the research. Additionally, institutional failures to raise awareness about services available to ethnic minority communities is discussed, as well as institutional failings to provide appropriate services for ethnic minority communities. Concerns over the homogenisation of inequalities in the 2010 Equality Act recently introduced in Britain

and the migration and immigration policies of Britain and North America are also discussed in relation to how these are perceived by many as representing significant barriers to the pursuit of equality of access to and experience of services for all people. **Part four** theorizes on the research findings that discusses the need for society and the state to move towards a more performative approach to identity in order to challenge prejudice and better address an equality agenda with the aim of developing an expansive and inclusive citizenship, where narrow, exclusive, perceptions of nationality and ethnicity and other forms of identity are interrogated and moved away from and a fluid, vibrant, hybrid and a performative understanding of nationality and ethnicity and other identities is pursued instead. Markedly, Vygotsky's thesis on how children learn through performance is specifically highlighted by one participant and this is discussed in relation to forwarding a performative approach to identity. Also this part of the chapter focuses on discussing the need to move away from tokenistic multiculturalism and towards real, non tokenistic multiculturalism. In particular this section theorizes on the hybridity of multiculturalism and how grass roots multiculturalism has the potential to disrupt and investigate notions of a fixed national identity, challenging narrow definitions of what it means to be British. **Part five** the final section of this chapter discusses a rights based approach and community organising in tackling inequalities. It focuses on emphasising the importance of community organising in addressing an equality agenda in all arenas with a variety of examples of community organising given by participants from both North America and Britain. And as part of that it also seeks to emphasise the value in forwarding a non tokenistic, genuine rights based discourse for tackling inequalities in all realms which is highlighted by participants in both countries where the research took place. Importantly, increasing equality of decision making between the state and society is argued to be a key driver of equality as well as non-tokenistic ratification and implementation of laws connected with pursuing equality such as the UNCRC. Also discussed in this section and underlined both implicitly and explicitly by participants throughout is the importance of emphasising the civil and political and economic and social rights of all people in addressing an equality agenda. (For a disaggregated presentation of the findings individualised by data collection method please see appendix 31.)



## **Part 1: Identity definition: Social identity theory, difference, discrimination and a thesis of belonging**

Findings from participants' discourses across the data suggest the significance of social identity theory in understanding intergroup relations. Further, findings indicate a relationship between a fear of difference and discrimination, as difference, contestation over it and fear of it appears to be a significant issue relating to discrimination based on nationality and ethnicity as well as other exclusions based on visible identities, where for a variety of reasons and from diverse social and economic contexts whether included in the 'in-group' or excluded in the 'out-group', whether in poverty, or in wealth, contestation over difference appears to have a critical impact on relationships between people, and in the context of discriminations made on the basis of class, nationality or ethnicity and indeed other forms of exclusion, this fear of difference often translates into the development and definition of in-groups and out-groups.

In theorizing about in-groups and out-groups, certainly belonging and exclusion have a central place in connection with inequalities of class, nationalism, racism and other forms of discrimination because the desire to belong, to feel accepted in a social context for self-esteem needs appears a fundamental emotion in the human psyche (Maslow, 1943). Additionally, a sense of belonging in group identity seems to provide a feeling of self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Breakwell, 1986, West, 1993, Aboud, 2008). Markedly, Aboud's theorization of a societal-social-cognitive-motivational theory (SSCMT) in relation to intergroup attitudes emphasises potential motivations of which she suggests may include; 'needs for a sense of belonging, of distinctiveness, of self-efficacy, of continuity, and of purpose and meaning (Aboud, 2008, pp. 98).

Further, the thesis belonging seems relevant because the process of discrimination involves constructing a dichotomy between a sense of belonging and unbelonging, of inclusion and exclusion, between insiders and outsiders. Findings from this research study clearly suggest the importance of group membership and a sense of belonging and acceptance in a social identity underlining the relevance of Tajfel and Turner's theory (1979). In theorizing from these findings, part 1 of this chapter will focus on discussing some of the research questions of this thesis, in particular: Does group membership identity hold an appeal for individuals? And if so what is it about group membership that is appealing? Also, why does a collective identity sometimes become exclusive?

What are the economic and social circumstances that may act as a catalyst for discrimination made on the basis of nationality and ethnicity? In analysis of how the findings of this study relate to these questions, it will be useful to return again to Tajfel and Turner's social identity theory (1979). In particular, the authors contend that people identify with groups in such a way as to increase positive distinctiveness and self-esteem, arguing that humans have an innate tendency to categorize themselves into one or more in-groups, constructing a part of their identity on the basis of membership of that group and enforcing boundaries to enable separation from other groups. This enforcement of boundaries and the process of furthering isolation from other groups points to ethnocentrism and group closure where a deep defining of borders is made. In particular, Tajfel underlines the importance of considering the social and social psychological conditions which determine the creation of the social-cognitive consensus about group membership, the development of positive or negative evaluations of the group and of one's membership in it, and the corresponding investment of emotion' (1981, p. 230). Further, Tajfel emphasises the importance of interrogating the *'effects of all this on social behaviour towards the relevant in-group and the relevant out-group'* (1981, p. 230). In considering the economic and social psychological conditions which impact on the construction of a consensus about group membership, the next section will discuss the findings in relation to the experiences of participants connected with inclusion and exclusion based on their nationality and ethnicity.

## **Contestation over difference, belonging, exclusion and emotional significance attached to nationality**

Findings from across the data show experiences and awareness of patterns of inclusion and exclusion in society and participants provide a variety of approaches from the local, national and international community that seek to challenge discrimination and address an equality agenda. Emily, a professor of social policy and social work in Britain who has a dual heritage, her mother being white and from Wales and her father being Black and from Guyana, points to the need for greater emphasis given to grass roots multiculturalism and underlines how growing up in North Wales she experienced a significant sense of unbelonging connected with contestation over difference and discrimination based on her black skin colour and she emphasises this commenting on how what she was trying to describe in one particular book she has written was *'a profound sense of unbelonging, of lack of fit, of the fact that there wasn't a perception of you as being part of the national collective, but you were somehow an outsider and would always be an outsider simply by virtue of the colour of your skin.'* Emily's discourse here and elsewhere in the interview points to the struggle over difference and some people's difficulties in seeing past difference to our shared humanity. Further, Emily highlights the importance of belonging and acceptance for ethnic minority individuals in society as feeling accepted and part of the national collective and underlines the damaging impact discrimination and exclusion can have on people in terms of experiencing a sense of unbelonging. In addition, here we can perceive the relevance of Tajfel and Turner's social identity theory, of the ingroup, outgroup dichotomy. Emily wanted to be accepted as part of the national collective in North Wales but was discriminated against and excluded in many senses by a culture of ethnocentrism that exerted a narrow and discriminatory definition of what it means to be Welsh and British. Markedly, Emily emphasises an inclusive understanding of national identity pointing out that there are lots of different ways of being Welsh and she is one of them arguing that a narrow defining of national identity and exclusion of anyone who does not fit that conception *'doesn't make sense, this kind of experience should not be in contemporary Wales.'* Clearly, as Emily argues, in Wales and Britain today, an interrogation of the national collective and narrow definitions of what it means to be Welsh or British which pervade must be made. Emily's thesis here will be further

explored in other parts of this chapter including part five which discusses multiculturalism.

Findings from the school research also indicate experiences of belonging and exclusion in terms of being included and excluded from certain social identities. Markedly, the majority of participants who took part in the school research in South Wales had British citizenship apart from respondent A who was an asylum seeker from Afghanistan and respondent C who was an economic migrant from Poland at the time of data collection. For a large proportion of participants, nationality is probably less problematised in the sense that it is equated with security, having citizenship without persecution or exclusion from belonging to the national collective, having not experienced life as an asylum seeker or a migrant and all the insecurity and instability experienced in escaping from a homeland as well as experienced in the country refuge is sought in.

In response to question 2 of survey 2 which asked: *'what does your nationality mean to you?'*, respondent A, who at the time of data collection was an asylum seeker from Afghanistan and specifies an Afghan nationality, associates his nationality with exclusion from belonging in particular contexts and answers: *'My nationality means exclusion.'* Whereas, respondent B who specifies a British nationality links nationality with a sense of belonging and in response answers *'It is where you belong.'* Additionally, respondent C, who specifies a Polish nationality answers *'nothing.'* However, in response to question 4 which asked *do you feel your nationality gives you a sense of belonging*, respondent C's answer is *'yes'* so working out what degree of value if any respondent C places on nationality is unclear.

### **Exclusion and inclusion are not mutually exclusive of one another**

What is clear, is that whilst discourses of the students are diverse, coming from diverse social contexts and experiences and are distinct from one another, they also hold similarities in sharing experiences of contestation over difference and experiences of belonging and unbelonging. For a sense of exclusion experienced in one context perhaps drives some individuals to search for a sense of greater belonging and inclusion in other contexts. For example, respondent O who specifies a British nationality points to contestation over difference and an experience of unbelonging in the context of being away from home in another country and not feeling a sense of belonging to the national

collective when in response to question 4: *do you feel your nationality gives you a sense of belonging* she answers: *'Sometimes when in other countries, being surrounded by a different nationality feels very intimidating and makes you feel like you don't belong.'* Similarly, and yet differently, (because respondent O was describing an experience as a tourist and respondent A is describing an experience as an asylum seeker) respondent A's discourse given in response to the same question is: *'Yes, my nationality means to me that I belong to a different country compared to the U.K. E.g. every single moment, language, education system, culture and so on.'* These discourses here, in particular Respondent A's response is perhaps suggestive of a deeper sense of belonging being sought in a familiar social world when confronted with a different social context, culture and language where there is a struggle over differences between two worlds. Respondent A's reaction here perhaps indicates his experience of culture shock in Britain as well as a deeper sense of belonging being sought in his Afghan nationality because of the culture shock experienced and perhaps a sense of identity crisis because of the severe distress linked with experiencing exclusion from belonging in his home country.

Equally, a sense of belonging and inclusion experienced in one context may motivate some individuals in specific contexts to demarcate boundaries around a particular social identity, in an effort to exclude some people from sharing in this belonging, to protect what might be perceived as a threat to what that social identity represents. Markedly, ethnocentrism and group closure occur where boundaries are constructed by an array of exclusion strategies, which sharpen the divisions between one ethnic group and another (Barthes, 1969). So, in short, we see how inclusion and exclusion are not mutually exclusive.

## **Need for much greater socio-political commitment to ensure the human rights of asylum seekers are being met**

As well as experiencing exclusion from his home country Afghanistan, indicated by respondent A's response to question 2: *'My nationality means exclusion,'* respondent A's responses to further questions suggests he has experienced exclusion in Britain also. For example, in response to question 3, respondent A states: *'I am aware of my nationality all the time. E.g. walking in the street with different colour everybody look at me, because of my nationality.'* Similarly, in response to question 4, respondent A states: *'Yes, my nationality means to me that I belong to a different country compared to the U.K. E.g. every single moment, language, education system, culture and so on.'* Respondent A's responses to questions 3 and 4 suggest how the exclusion he has experienced living in Britain may be related to issues surrounding a struggle over difference, discrimination and the experience of culture shock. In his response to question 3 respondent A says he is aware of his nationality *'all the time'* in Britain and explains this by underlining that he feels that because of his *'different colour'* *'everybody'* notices him. Further, in response to question 4, respondent A emphasises the difficulties he has experienced connected with linguistic, social and cultural differences between Afghanistan and the U.K. pointing to how he feels a sense of belonging is problematised for him through his encounter with cultural, linguistic and institutional differences in the U.K. Respondent A's discourse points towards a struggle surrounding difference (Hall, 1992) and the dichotomy between inclusion and exclusion, of insider and outsider connected with intergroup relations (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). A sense of belonging in a social context affords an affinity and membership in, and acceptance by, a group which respondent A has been denied in his home country Afghanistan and has struggled to find in the U.K. Markedly, in a 2008 survey Crawley and Crimes report that of the 123 refugees who took part in the survey *'half of all refugees experienced negative public attitudes and racism whilst living in Wales'* (2009, p. 5).

Certainly, in the struggle for survival amidst conflict, facing exclusion and extradition from a country and a home, the need for finding a place of refuge is of vital importance and the UK's commitment to the human rights of asylum seekers outlined in the UNDHR (1948) must be thoroughly implemented without reservations. From this basis,

political and social commitment to the building of an inclusive society is essential, and this necessitates interrogating and addressing discrimination and human rights violations of all forms.

### **Hierarchies of power, Racism and Contestation over Difference:** **Interrogating Inequalities of Class and Race**

Findings from across all the data collected underlines a struggle over difference. Indeed, contestation over difference is highlighted by participants' discourses in terms of discrimination made on the basis of colour, religion and culture. For example one of the interviewees, Arnav who works for an international development organisation underlined the importance of finding out who is being excluded and redressing that exclusion. Further, Arnav highlights the caste system in India where in certain dominant communities children who are considered of a lower caste are excluded from eating school meals with other children of higher castes. Arnav's example here of the inequalities of the caste system in India illustrates how hierarchies of power are established through racial discrimination and other forms of discrimination where discrimination is enacted in order that some are given much and others are marginalised, dispossessed and given much less. Here we can perceive a marxist understanding of racism showing the strong relationship between inequalities of race and those of class.

Contestation over difference is also in evidence across the data collected with the students. For example in defining racism in Survey 1 respondent Q states that; *'Racism is when you abuse people that are different. E.g. skin colour.'* In addition, in survey 2 evidence of contestation over and fear of difference (as well as other factors discussed further on in part 3 which theorises the findings through analysing capitalism and discrimination) is perhaps indicated by respondent B's response: *'They behave in a racist way because people from other countries won't stay in their own countries.'* Respondent B's discourse here indicates a racist and xenophobic attitude which attempts to divert responsibility away from the majority ethnic group onto minority ethnic groups for the racism they experience. Respondent B's reference to *'other'* and *'their own'* suggests a process of Othering which involves dominance and differentiation and may in part be reflective of a fear of difference and other factors. Certainly, the individual and the social construction of identities involves a process of

differentiation but it is in particular contexts where discrimination develops in constructing identities where a dichotomy of inclusion and exclusion and a process of Othering is practiced. So, in addressing an equality agenda, the challenge lies in disrupting fixed, discriminatory notions of identities at individual and collective levels through a diversity of ways within education, community organising and the law and other spheres, emphasising a performative approach to identities where inclusion instead of discrimination and exclusion are practiced.

### **Contestation over Visible Differences- Skin Colour and Racism- 'Seeing a Colour-blind Future' (Williams, 1997).**

The framework of identity building is often an oppositional one, in the encounter with difference where we define ourselves individually and collectively by what we are not. In response to question 1, survey 1, seventy-five per cent of respondents made references to skin colour in their responses. Further, all three focus groups highlight skin colour in response to being asked "What is racism?" In defining racism FG1M2 points to prejudice, skin colour and discrimination based on nationality stating: "*Racism is being prejudiced against somebody just because of their skin colour or nationality.*" As apparent in responses to survey 1 this response underlines the visibility of identities such as skin colour and points towards a struggle with difference which sometimes lies beneath manifestations of racism (Alcoff, 2006). Clearly, for some the visibility of and encounter with difference is problematic. Alcoff underlines the manifestness of some more obvious identities and the difficulties often encountered in relation to different identities when she underlines how people often base preconceptions on these visible identities: '*the reality of identities often comes from the fact that they are visibly marked on the body itself, guiding if not determining the way we perceive and judge others and are perceived and judged by them*' (Alcoff, 2006, p. 5). Undeniably, whilst it is not an easy task to challenge peoples' perceptions and judgements of others and the cultures of discrimination which are produced and reproduced, it is an essential one in addressing an equality agenda, working towards '*seeing a colour-blind future*' (Williams, 1997) and must be continually interrogated and addressed through a variety of pathways including education, community organising and the law (obviously education, community organising and the law are obviously not independent of one another).



## Cultural racism: Contestation over religious differences

Religious or cultural racism is underlined by participants across all the data collected. For example, one interviewee Emily, a professor of social policy and social work in Britain points to the need to interrogate narrow definitions of national identity in Wales and in Britain that try to exclude ethnic minority groups and underlines frustrations with public services where for example Muslim communities had to struggle over gaining support for having religiously appropriate burial grounds.

In response to question 1 of survey 1, in addition to colour racism just over one third of respondents make references to religion in defining racism. Further, six of those eight respondents refer to skin colour and religion in connection with racism. Notably respondent P refers specifically to Muslims and black people stating: *'Racism is wrong and it's about black people and Muslims.'* Why does respondent P single out Black people and Muslims? It may be that respondent P considers that a significant amount of racism is inflicted upon black people and Muslims, which in the context of the U.K. may be the case, however because of how the response is phrased, respondent P does not convey that racism can be connected with people of all ethnicities. Further, in conjunction with respondent P's xenophobic or racist response to question 4: *'I still think that they shouldn't be here,'* it may be that the response to question 1 here indicates a racist attitude towards Black people and Muslims. Markedly, sections of the media often contribute towards discrimination of minority ethnic groups in Britain. In discussion of racism and the press Van Dijk considers the impact of media headlines and points out the *'villains' of the day in the press in 1985 were the 'rioting blacks' and parallels this with his suggestion that in 1989 the 'fundamentalist Muslims' were the new 'threat' to British Society (and the Christian West in general) (Van Dijk, 1991, p. 68).* Further, contestation over difference in relation to religious racism is underlined in the focus groups as well. For example, when asked what causes racism FG3M6 states *"different religions"* pointing to a differentialist religious racism. Members also suggest that some people express racism because of contestation over difference in terms of religious clothing like: *"Turbans and stuff, people wear"* (FG3M1), and FG3M6 suggests *"cos women wear the face things."* These discourses perhaps point towards a conflict over difference and the creation of a dichotomy between Europe and its others,

between the Christian West and the Muslim East, tied to identity definition and the gaining of power over the Other (Said, 1978; Loomba, 1998).

### **'When you like the person who is the same as you': Difference, the Self, the Other and Social Discourses**

As Hall (1993) has underlined people's ability to live in harmony with difference is a critical challenge that the world faces. Similarly, in response to a media headline which stated *'racism is learned behaviour and we have to unlearn it'*, respondent N, a student who participated in the study agreed with the headline and elaborated by commenting: *'Otherwise there will be many wars in the future'* (Question 20, Survey 2). In the school research as well as the non-school research, a relationship between a fear of difference and racism is suggested across the data collected. In the focus groups of the school research, for example, FG3M1 defines racism as: *'When you like the person who is the same as you.'* Similarly, FG3M5 emphasizes how racism relates to difference highlighting how: *'Some people don't like different people because they are different.'* Further, in the group mapping exercise four out of five groups highlight difference in relation to racism pointing to conflict over it. Group two underlines that racism is connected with *'singling people out because they are different.'* Markedly, the students responses here point to how identity is often defined in relation to apparent differences between the self and the Other (Hegel, 1977). This identity construction and negotiation around identity sometimes equates to an exaggeration of differences, which is demonstrated in the process of stereotyping. In negotiating identity, stereotyping is a tool which is used in constructing a dichotomy between belongingness and otherness (Hall, 1992). Decidedly, there are a plethora of motivations that lie beneath discrimination of all kinds and in certain specific contexts where discrimination is manifest, the desire for a greater sense of belonging, positive distinctiveness and self esteem gained from affiliation and acceptance in a social group appears to be a significant motivation, as well as individual's *'innate tendency to categorize themselves into one or more in-groups, constructing a part of their identity on the basis of membership of that group and enforcing boundaries to enable separation from other groups'* (Tajfel and Turner, 1979). So we can perceive how in certain specific contexts where racism thrives some people may assert group closure in an effort to increase self-

esteem and foster an experience of belonging whilst trying to exclude others from belonging.

Hegel's theory on dialectics underlines how to an extent the self and the other are inextricably linked in terms of the search for recognition of the self with the other in identity making, where self consciousness only exists because of the other. In this relationship between the self and the other, a Lacanian thesis on desire seems to have relevance in analysing discrimination where there is a fascination and exoticisation of the other related to a lack. As Žižek points out from the racist perspective, in the relationship between the self and other, hatred seems connected to a perceived theft of enjoyment:

*'The Lacanian thesis that enjoyment is ultimately always enjoyment of the Other, i.e., enjoyment supposed, imputed to the Other, and that, conversely, the hatred of the Other's enjoyment, is always the hatred of one's own enjoyment, is perfectly exemplified by this logic of the "theft of enjoyment." What are fantasies about the Other's special excessive enjoyment-about the black's superior sexual potency and appetite, about the Jew's or Japanese's special relationship toward money and work- if not precisely so many ways, for us to organize our own enjoyment?...Does not the Other's enjoyment exert such a powerful fascination because in it we represent to ourselves our own innermost relationship towards enjoyment?'* (Žižek 1993, cited in Back and Solomos, 2000).

Arguably therefore, from a Lacanian perspective in cases where an individual exhibits ethnocentrism, xenophobia or racism this perhaps indicates that an individual is experiencing a lack of something in terms of security, love and belonging needs. Importantly, and very much related to xenophobic and racist discourses from this research study, appears the lack of security and belonging needs associated with social and economic deprivation.

## Self Esteem, Individual and Group Representations, Peer Group Pressure, Bullying and Racism

A sense of belonging derived from peer group membership is evident in a number of places across the research. For example, as will be discussed in more detail later on, one interviewee, Dana, a director of a non profit group and short-term psychotherapy centre based in New York city points to the search for belonging and acceptance in a group context and underlines the problems connected with perceiving individuals purely in terms of group representation. In particular, she draws attention to the limits that young people often place on themselves and others and underlines the negative impact of an internalization of societal identities and the need to relate to young people as performers and improvisers in their own lives.

Throughout the school data collection process students emphasise the importance of perceiving racism in terms of a specific type of bullying and point to the peer group pressure they experience to conform to the in-group's behaviour underlining Tajfel and Turner's thesis (1979) on in-group identification. Students who participated in all three focus groups, as well as in the two surveys and group mapping underline the links between peer pressure, bullying and racism highlighting the importance of fitting in with in-group behaviour in order to be accepted by the dominant in-group and gain popularity which underlines Tajfel and Turner's thesis (1979) on the significance of in-group identification. For example, FG1M3 points to peer pressure from the in-group to be racist stating: *'Yeah so you fit in and don't feel left out so that's the same with racism, if all your friends are racist and then they're all screaming at somebody being racist and you are sitting there and you don't want to be left out so you join in.'* Similarly, FG2M3 underlines the approval gained for racist behaviour from the in-group and the sense of pride attached to this showing the confidence the group context provides to exert racist behaviour: *'Cos it makes them feel better. In front of their friends it makes them feel bigger and they think ah I'll say something to this person.'* Further, in response to questions 12 and 31, respondents M and N underline peer pressure and the need *'to fit in'* with their peer group. For example respondent N maintains *'they may be racist to fit into a group.'* Markedly, in the create your own headline sections of survey 2, two students highlight bullying in schools arguing that school's need to improve at dealing with bullying: *'teachers don't do enough to stop*

*bullying.*' Four out of five groups in the group mapping exercise underline the relationship between racism and bullying which emphasises the perceived power relations at work in connection with racism. Respondent A who was an asylum seeker at the time of data collection indicates that he considers bullying is connected with racism, drawing attention to anti-Semitism and the Holocaust: 'I think the relation to racism could be influenced by bullying. For example, Hitler influenced Germans to bully Jews.' Clearly, as respondent A's discourse and others suggest, issues of power within bullying are also connected with discriminatory attitudes and behaviour. For within paradigms of prejudice and discrimination there are often many connections with bullying and the hierarchies of power and inequalities of power involved. Certainly, bullying and peer pressure to fit in with the behaviour of the in-group can be significant. Clearly, schools, school councils and other bodies, must continually assess their anti-bullying strategies and find new ways of challenging bullying and be well supported to do this in diverse ways by society and the state.

### **Evolving Conceptions of Identity: Individuals, Groups and Nations: from Modernity to Postmodernity and Beyond**

Undeniably, the self is largely formed from discourses that are social such as language and culture. As Sen (2000) emphasises '*the individual lives an inescapably social life*' (p. 47). Indeed as discussed in the literature review, to a significant extent, the self is constructed in conjunction with as well as in opposition to the other. In defining an identity in the social paradigm, encounters with difference are a regular occurrence, for alterity, or otherness is the entity in juxtaposition to which an identity is crafted. In this dialectical relationship the self receives recognition from the other and vice versa. Arguably, in terms of identity individuals and nations have been bound up with early modernity from the 15<sup>th</sup> century on into industrial capitalism. Markedly, late modernity and postmodernity have focused on an unfixing of identities, both individual and national, so instead identity is viewed as a provisional, performative entity which is continually evolving. Certainly, impacts of globalisation, migration and feminism amongst other mass movements have facilitated in a hybridisation of identity. So from this context, identity can be viewed as a performance or masquerade, therefore identity as performance is thus de-essentialised and can be seen for what it is, liberating, or

bound up with power or both. Arguably, If there are no essences, but differences with identity, then what is and what isn't operates entirely on difference, being male/female, black/white, British/foreigner and so on. However, equally arguably, is the premise that whilst difference is a key part of identity construction each individual does have a number of core features which could be considered as essences in a fluid sense which make up their identity and which make each individual unique both visible and invisible, including physical features, personality and soul. However, this argument does not mean that people do not have the capacity to alter their identity or that identity is static and can never be changed if essences are conceived of in a more fluid sense. Certainly, issues relating to social constructions, conventions, power and significant inequalities circle around the identity dialectics of what it means to be black or white, female or male, Scottish or Welsh and so on. Thus, in order to challenge these inequalities through addressing the work of equality that helps to build a more inclusive society, we must perceive identity in a more fluid, transformative sense, where discrimination is continually challenged and diversity is celebrated.

**Analysing social identities: The power of a collective remembering in the construction of identities- 'Shared experiences, memories and myths' (Smith, 1999)**

How do we often imagine the nation, ethnicity and national or ethnic identities? Often it seems through difference and through what we are not as well as through a variety of social practices, through language and history, through cultural artefacts and practices, whether it be music, food, clothes, sense of humour or through the media and many other forms of expression, practices and institutions also. Indeed, findings from this research study show the importance a significant number of participants place on the practice and celebration of cultural events, especially at a group level, whether members of an ethnic minority group or members of an ethnic majority group. This collective celebration of a group identity seems to be very much a core part of a collective defining, enjoyment and sharing in something connected with a group identity, like for example a football match where national teams are playing.

In response to question 3 (which asked participants '*Can you describe or provide any examples of any times when you have felt particularly aware of your nationality?*') a

significant proportion of participants emphasise how sporting and cultural events increase a sense of awareness of nationality. Markedly, thirteen out of twenty respondents link being particularly aware of their nationality in connection with their national team playing at sports events. Further eight out of twenty respondents highlight St David's day as being when they are especially aware of their nationality. Of those eight respondents, six stated a Welsh nationality, 1 a British-Welsh nationality and 1 a British nationality in response to question 1.

Findings from the iEARN research project suggest the importance some participants' place on a celebration of culture also. As well as information about well-known cultural practices found in celebration of St David's day in Wales, the students' iEARN contribution displays the national symbols of Wales, the daffodil and the leek and the Welsh text 'Hwyl Fawr Ar Ddydd Gwyl Dewi' which can be translated as Big Fun on St David's day. Further, in the iEARN findings, the participants highlight the Eisteddfod as being a part of Welsh culture. (See appendix 20) Certainly, the Eisteddfod has become a tradition which provides an opportunity for a collective means of elevating and celebrating Welsh culture and national identity.

In addition, in response to question 3 of survey 2 which asked if the students could describe or provide any examples of any times when they have felt particularly aware of their nationality, forty per cent of students cite St David's day as being when they feel especially aware of their nationality, also hearing the Welsh language is highlighted by one student as being a significant factor in being especially aware of Welsh nationality. And in response to question 4 which specifically asked if the students felt their nationality afforded them a sense of belonging, three of those forty per cent of students cite that St David's day celebrations afford them a sense of belonging in their national identity.

In the focus groups, Welsh nationality is linked to Welsh language, pointing to *the 'cultural inheritance'* of the language of a nation (Grosby, 2005, p. 12). Here the importance of cultural events and language in defining, symbolising and affirming national identity for these students can be observed. In addition, sixty-five percent of students highlighted being particularly aware of their nationality in relation to watching a national sporting event suggesting an emotional significance attached to nationality at a collective level, where there is a communal sense of pride and a further defining and awareness of national identity. Evidence of students' emotional significance linked to Welsh nationality is also found in the focus groups where students indicate that being

Welsh gives them a sense of pride. Additionally, sporting events are also highlighted by a significant number of students in connection with having a greater awareness of and sense of pride in nationality. This indicates the power of shared collective national events like sporting events where the collective participation in these events appears to be a significant way of bolstering national identity for many people like these students which is also in evidence in other parts of the school research findings. Holt et al (1996, pp. 57-58) point towards the significance of sport for symbolising and sustaining cultural nationalism in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Further, Holt links this with discourses surrounding English imperialism.

Clearly, there is enjoyment found in collective celebrations in general. However, there is something quite distinct about certain collective celebrations associated with national identity such as a national rugby or football match, St David's day or St Andrew's day. For these seem to provide for some a platform to establish a sense of a shared identity which perhaps provides a sense of belonging, a feeling of security and increases self-esteem and positive distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Breakwell, 1986 and West, 1993). Certainly, when national celebrations are viewed from the context of being celebrations that come from historically marginalised nations, like Wales and Scotland have been, perhaps for some there is a greater need to further define and celebrate national identity in the face of memories and fears of English oppression. However, celebration can also exclude others from sharing in a collective identity if it is hegemonic, homogenous and exclusive in nature. In discussing the myths and memories of nation, Smith points to the power of a collective remembering in the construction of identities underlining how they are *'forged out of shared experiences, memories and myths'* (Smith, 1998, p. 247). Additionally, Smith points to how these identities are forged in relation to the experiences, memories and myths of other collective identities. Further, relevance of opposition to the significant Other, which in the context of Wales is England is apparent in some of the students' discourses, as Smith underlines how identities are *'often forged through opposition to the identities of significant others, as the history of paired conflict so often demonstrates'* (Smith, 1998, p. 247). Markedly, this is reminiscent of the dialectical relationship between the self and the other underlined by Hegel (Hegel, 1977).

Ethnicities and nationalities are constructed through establishing a sense of community, a sense of sharing in something, through shared language, culture, history and heritage but also through what they're not. Markedly, one of the core aims of this research study



is to analyse the social and economic conditions which might lead to highly exclusive and discriminatory practices taking place. Extreme examples of highly exclusive practices include exclusions of minority groups from society where genocide has been carried out, for example the genocides in Yugoslavia, Rwanda and the Holocaust.

In response to question 4 of survey 2 which asks do you feel your nationality gives you a sense of belonging, respondent J's discourse *'Yes because I'd rather be from Wales than England'* reveals an emotional significance attached to nationality in the form of nationalism. The same respondent also displayed Welsh nationalism in the focus groups where in relation to English-Welsh relations stated: *'they took over our country so we'll always hate them.'* Here the 'they' the student highlights here is the English. This vehement assertion of hatred points to the power of memories of English oppression in the Welsh national consciousness.

In the process of developing a vibrant and inclusive understanding of British national identity, and indeed Welsh, Northern Irish, Scottish or English national identity, questions revolving around what and or who is included and what and or who gets excluded from participation and membership in the national collective must be asked. Questions must be asked about what constitutes 'British' culture and identity. And at a European level, questions must be asked about how Europe is being constructed. Indeed, does Britain's European identity in the European Union transcend national boundaries or reinforce them? For Eurosceptics in the current coalition government, Britain's relationship with the rest of Europe seems very much currently constructed in such a way as to reinforce boundaries around Britain, certainly this is apparent with the isolationist politics of the Eurosceptics in the coalition government whom arguably had a significant impact on David Cameron's recent veto on the decision to join together with other countries in Europe to support Europe's finances as a whole.

Similarly, and yet differently, findings from this research study reveal a reinforcement of identity boundaries as well as a dissolving of them, underlining both fixed and fluid understandings of identity. In connection with appearing strongly related to social and economic inequalities resulting from the inequalities of capitalism, a significant number of participants' fixed perceptions of identity presented in their discourses seem to be linked to a significant other, to alterity, where there appears a contestation over difference and so a greater definition of identity becomes more important to in some way compensate for feeling an identity is being challenged by a different identity and is

being de-legitimised and under threat in some way whether culturally or economically. This barricading around identities raises questions about the relationship between inequalities of class and discrimination and how elite sections of society and the state further these inequalities. Furthermore, this barricading around identities also raises questions about how society and the state conceive of national identity in a globalised world. Certainly to suggest that national identity is exclusive in the U.K. (a suggestion which appears in a number of spheres including the media and politics) is to deny pluralism in the UK risking fuelling more prejudice and conflict between people of different nationalities and ethnicities.

### **Tackling prejudice and supporting ethnic minority groups through local and national initiatives**

Rebecca, a community education officer who participated in an interview for the study emphasizes the relationship between a fear of difference and prejudice and underlines the need for more funding to tackle discrimination and prejudiced attitudes in education which she contends often derives from family background, involving ignorance and a fear of difference. In terms of tackling prejudice as a community education officer, Rebecca underlines a number of programmes that have been designed to challenge discrimination and help support ethnic minority communities and promote diversity. In particular, Rebecca points to the value in support for ethnic minority communities from the family learning programme and the Ethnic Minority Language Achievement Service in \*\*\*. Furthermore, Rebecca draws attention to the race awareness scheme and advisor in \*\*\* and points to the benefit of the community relations groups run by police in \*\*\*. Also, Rebecca highlights the Diversity and Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship programme which is a curriculum requirement in Wales and Rebecca contrasts it with the English version which she suggests does not have the same emphasis on developing global citizenship. Further Rebecca underlines international linking and exchanges between schools as a way to promote internationalism for students and cites a number of organisations who fund these links including the European Union, the Department for International Development and the British Council. Certainly, more funding for initiatives like the ethnic language achievement service should be a political imperative as should be support for

implementing the global citizenship programme in the education system in a non tokenistic way which has the potential to have a real impact on challenging prejudiced and discriminatory attitudes.

### **How difference is perceived as a political threat to political agendas that need majority support**

This recurring theme of difference across the study's findings indicates a relationship between a fear of difference and racism. Indeed in the construction and definition of identities in general, emphasising difference between the self and other is sometimes used as a way of further defining the self. Contestation over difference and racism between people of different identities often arises in conditions where there is high unemployment and significant social and economic deprivation, where there is a lack of state provision of good quality housing, services, amenities and jobs for all people. For example, to an extent, the riots which took place in August 2011 in London and a number of other British cities could be perceived as a result of inadequate state provision for communities in poverty. Undeniably, the promise of reform without change for communities where there is significant socio-economic deprivation and state service provision is non existent, deficient or of low quality is unacceptable. For example, purely symbolic or tokenistic implementation of policies connected with the Conservative-Lib dem coalition's 'Big Society' idea and helping fix 'Broken Britain' are unacceptable. In analysing the context surrounding the riots, a variety of factors seem to have been influential, including protest and mistrust of the police following the shooting of Mark Duggan who was Black combined with a general anti-government sentiment connected with inequalities of class and ethnicity worsened by inadequate state social and economic provision. Clearly, the government need to take much greater responsibility for improving relations between the police and the public and in helping to provide a variety of good quality services and good employment opportunities for people in marginalised positions living in poverty in deprived communities.

In addition to difference being analysed from the perspective of narrow, ethnocentric perspectives, it must also be understood from the context of the political world, and the manipulation of reality which often occurs in that realm, where power struggles abound and difference often poses a threat to the success of a particular political agenda.

Evidence of this from the study findings will be discussed later on with the necessity identified by a number of participants for a greater power sharing between the state and society where in many contexts the state often has far too much power. Markedly, Alcoff underlines how differences present a threat to peace noting how they; *'pose an a priori danger to alliance, unity, communication and true understanding. As such they are seen as a political threat for any political agenda that seeks majority support, given our increasingly diverse society'* (Alcoff, 2006, p. 5). Further Alcoff points to how differences can be exploited underlining how; *'differences can also be exaggerated, manipulated, and used opportunistically to coerce conformism and excuse corruption'* (2006, p. 5-6). Additionally Alcoff argues that underscoring difference in social identities is essential for achieving unity and does not lead to political relativism. Further Alcoff points out that in fully listening to and understanding one another and our differences stronger similarities rather than differences emerge. So in considering the research questions that ask what is it about group membership that is appealing, why does a collective identity become exclusive, what are the social circumstances that may act as a catalyst for discrimination made on the basis of class, nationality and ethnicity and how relevant is a marxist understanding of racism, it appears from across the findings of this research study that contestation over difference and racial discrimination is related to social and economic inequalities predominantly but not entirely caused by capitalism where ethnic minority people are often stereotyped, discriminated against and exploited. Indeed, contestation over difference and racism occurs in contexts of social and economic deprivation where greater resources, wealth and power are needed and also in those contexts of social and economic wealth where people with greater wealth and power wish to maintain their wealth and power and the status quo.

In conclusion of part 1 of the findings and discussion chapter, the core themes of the findings outlined in the introduction of this thesis are a marxist theory of racism and a social identity theory of racism which are connected. The marxist understanding of racism is visible where research findings indicate a strong relationship between inequalities of class and inequalities of ethnicity. And a social identity theory of racism is visible in participants' discourses across the data through discourses centering around belonging and unbelonging and in this many participants' responses point towards a relationship between social identity theory and a marxist theory of racism where participants' discourses indicate the need to interrogate the social and economic context of discrimination. In a synthesis of the two theories social identity theory adds another

dimension to a marxist theory of racism drawing our attention to how important national and ethnic identities and what they represent are for some people, particularly for those who are in minoritised positions. Clearly, in answering the research question what is it about group membership identity that is appealing, a significant part of the appeal seems very much connected to a sense of belonging derived from acceptance and inclusion within an in-group. From many participants' discourses across the research study findings the desire to belong, to feel accepted for self-esteem needs appears a fundamental emotion in the human psyche (Maslow, 1943). Further, participants' responses underline a dichotomy between belonging and unbelonging where on the belonging side of the dichotomy some participants' discourses suggest a sense of belonging is derived from inclusion and acceptance in in-group identities which seems to provide participants' with a feeling of self-esteem. And conversely, on the unbelonging side of the dichotomy some participants' discourses point towards the experience of a sense of unbelonging and exclusion from inclusion and acceptance in particular majority, in-group identities. Many participants' responses also indicate the importance of a collective sharing and celebration of national and ethnic identities in collective dimensions which helps to define and redefine, to forge and reforge a sense of shared identity, community, security and belonging in that identity as well as emphasising the inequalities of capitalism, an unequalizing system which often drives racism (Marx and Engels 1848; Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Breakwell, 1986, West, 1993 and Aboud, 2008).

## **Part 2: The Media's Legitimising of Myths and Consensually Shared Social Ideologies: Scapegoats and Stereotypes- Misrepresentation of Minority Groups**

Certainly, whilst sections of the media are not the only agents in society that are responsible for producing, reproducing and mediating myths and consensually shared social ideologies relating to narrow, exclusive conceptualisations of Britishness, it must be recognised that the media is a powerful agency, with a public discourse that potentially has a strong and broad influence. As Van Dijk underlines, the media's role is not passive but an active one, as '*they autonomously (re-)interpret, (re-) construct and (re-)present them, and therefore contribute themselves to their production, and hence to the construction of the ethnic consensus that underlies the racist ideologies and practices of our society*' (Van Dijk, 1989, p. 221). , In discussion of the power of the media to influence people's attitudes, *The Uncertain Futures* study (Hewett et al, 2005) points to negative attitudes held about asylum seeking children and young people in Wales. Markedly, in this study one young asylum seeker expressed surprise at how much British people appear to trust the media and indeed appear to trust the media's negative representations of asylum seekers.

Findings from the data indicate a link between anti-immigrant sentiment and discriminatory attitudes mediated by nationalism and racism presented by certain sections of the media where ethnic minority communities are stereotyped and represented as a threat to British society and as scapegoats for socio-economic problems. Also, evidence from the findings reveal denials of racism and attempts to legitimise racism which Van Dijk points out occurs at individual and social levels, underlining the relationship between denials of racism and desires to maintain the power of the dominant group (Van Dijk, 1992).

In contrast, other findings underline participants' fluid, dynamic, inclusive conceptualisations of nationality and ethnicity and in relation to how the media can effectively address an equality agenda participants' discourses suggest that media campaigns are an effective way of challenging prejudice and discrimination in society. For example, across the school research students highlight the kick racism out of football campaign.

## Denials of racism in society

Forty percent of students agree with media headline 21 of survey 2 that '*British society is dripping in racism, but no one is prepared to admit it*' underlining the students' perceptions of a culture of denials of racism in society. Markedly, respondent O indicates agreement highlighting that there is a tendency to disregard racism in society stating: '*People would rather ignore it.*' Indeed the normalisation of racism in society is a significant problem (Siraj-Blatchford, 1994) combined with a culture of denying racism which the institutional racism of the policeforce involved in the Stephen Lawrence case demonstrates.

Throughout, this part of the chapter, we will theorise the relevant findings in connection with specific research questions, namely: What role does the media play in constructing a sense of nation in the UK and is this construction of nation inclusive or exclusive and what influence does this have on intergroup attitudes? What are the economic and social circumstances that may act as a catalyst for discrimination made on the basis of nationality or ethnicity? How can the local, national and international community help to challenge the discrimination that people may face in terms of exclusions made on the basis of class, nationality or ethnicity?

To begin, let's consider the first research question highlighted above which asks what role the media plays in constructing a sense of nation in the UK and is this construction of nation inclusive or exclusive and what influence does this have on intergroup attitudes. A significant number of participants' discourses can be contrasted in terms of representing a dichotomy between belonging and unbelonging. Whilst some participants conceptualise nationality and ethnicity in terms of having a fluid, inclusive, diverse core, other participants perceive identity as having an inherently fixed unalterable state where some people belong and others do not. Pointedly, these narrow conceptualisations of nationality are often apparent in politics and the media where stereotypes about what it means to be British are represented.

Aboud (2008) and Munafu (2002) both underline the potential for a variety of influences on intergroup attitudes underlining amongst other influences the representations that are purveyed by the mass media. Further, in considering the media's involvement in constructing a sense of nation in the UK, the appeal for its audience perhaps lies in a sense of belonging derived from a sense of community, to a

large extent an imagined community in the sense that, apart from citizenship and what that brings what does it actually mean to be British? For, in a multicultural society like Britain's, any narrow, exclusive definitions of national identity clearly denies the diversity and pluralism in society and risks causing inter ethnic group tensions. Consideration of how the media address, represent and construct the nation is important in terms of analysing nationalist and racist media discourses. Certainly within these nationalistic and racist discourses a dichotomy is presented in terms of who is included and who is excluded from belonging to the narrowly defined national collective. As discussed in the literature review, negative attitudes towards refugees and asylum seekers in Britain are often encouraged by the media. Certainly, post the September 11th terrorist attacks in New York and the Anglo-American intervention and 'war on terror' in Iraq genuine fears relating to the threat of terror have been manipulated by sections of the media into hysteria, exaggeration and stereotyping of refugees, asylum seekers and other members of ethnic minority groups living in Britain particularly targeted at Muslims, which has fostered Islamophobia (Lemos and Crane, 2005). Clearly, the war on terror has created much division and polarization between the East and the West, as Gilroy puts it '*the Bush administration's "war on terror" might be thought of as having brought the slumbering civilizational giants of Christendom and the Orient back to life.*' (Gilroy, 2004, p. 21). Cooper (2009) underlines media coverage like this which he argues homogenises and stereotypes refugees and asylum seekers as representing a threat to Britain, in terms of burdening public services and threatening national security. Clearly, certain sections of the media profit financially from alarmist, sensationalist journalism which induces a certain moral panic (Cohen, 1972), attracts attention and sells more papers. Markedly Valentine et al (2009) points to the danger of ill defined notions of Britishness legitimising negative attitudes of the majority population towards the ethnic minority population. Certainly, the culture, practice and ethics of the press and any habitus of racism which may be present and may be produced and reproduced in the media must be interrogated.



## Participants' discriminatory discourses as echoes of nationalist and racist media discourses: Nationalism, Religious Racism, Terrorism, Homogenisation, Stereotyping and the Media.

To a significant degree anti-immigrant sentiment appears to have become normalised in certain sections of the media and it is this normalisation which is partly responsible for legitimising and perpetuating nationalist and racist discourses in society. For example, Hall (2010) in the Express writes 'British Jobs Pledge Shattered as 98% go to Immigrants' and Kavanagh (2009) in the Sun writes 'Open Door Labour has betrayed us all.' The links between capitalism and nationalistic and racist media discourses are very apparent as news editors want to sell papers and make more profit and so clearly the more shocking and polarised the portrayal of news the more readers are attracted to buy papers. As van Dijk argues in *Racism and the Press*, '*besides the communication of information and the formation of opinion the media are expected to entertain, if only to boost sales*' (Van Dijk, 1991, p. 42).

Interestingly, a number of participants highlight religion in relation to racism across the data. And in the school data as well as in the non school data, some respondents' answers seem to reflect a differentialist form of racism which Said conceptualises as Orientalism, the West's attempts to dominate the East and all it represents. Notably Said (1978) described Orientalism as 'a sign of European Atlantic power over the Orient' (p. 90).

Arguably, some of the students' attitudes connected with ethnic minority people could be interpreted as in part being a reflection of nationalistic and racist media discourses. For example in **survey 1**, in discourses related to defining racism, in addition to colour racism just over one third of respondents make references to religious racism. Further, six of those eight respondents refer to colour and religious racism. Notably respondent P refers specifically to Muslims and black people stating: '*Racism is wrong and it's about black people and Muslims.*' Why does respondent P single out Black people and Muslims here? It may be that respondent P considers that most racism is inflicted upon black people and Muslims, however because of how the response is phrased, respondent P does not convey that racism can be connected with people of all ethnicities. Further, in conjunction with respondent P's xenophobic or racist response to question 4 of survey 1 '*I still think that they shouldn't be here,*' it appears that the

response to question 1 here may indicate a racist attitude towards Black people and Muslims. In discussion of racism and the press Van Dijk considers the impact of media headlines and points to a paradigm of othering in the media, underlining a highly racialized discourse where the *'villains' of the day in the press in 1985 were the 'rioting blacks' and parallels this with his suggestion that in 1989 the 'fundamentalist Muslims' were the new 'threat' to British Society (and the Christian West in general) (Van Dijk, 1991, p. 68).*

Notably, in response to question 3 of survey 1, which asked students about possible anti-racism measures four respondents make reference to *'stop'/'get them off'* and *'our country'* which suggests discourses of dominance and differentiation in opposition to the other are in action, two methods that Van Dijk (1997) suggests are indications that someone is trying to rationalize prejudice. Further, the dichotomy of us versus them is clearly represented with the references to *'our country'* and to *'their country.'* For example respondent P suggests: *'Get them off our country then there will be no fights.'* Similarly respondent L makes reference to *'our country'*. Notably respondent L presents two conflicting ideologies where racist or xenophobic ideologies are suggested alongside anti-racism: *'Everyone get on with each other and stop coloured people coming into our country.'* Similarly respondents B and K also present contradictory statements. For example *respondent B's suggestion is: 'Stop people coming into our country and put posters around public places about racism.'* These responses could be interpreted as being intended to be ironical given the anti-racist theme of the question. Whilst irony may be inferred from these responses, there are other possible interpretations which may also have relevance here. For example respondents may not consider that the suggestion *'stop coloured people coming into our country'* is reflective of racist sentiment. Arguably, these responses could be interpreted in part as reflective of class issues as well as echoing xenophobia and racism presented in the British press. Noticeably the nationalistic and racist discourse that certain authors and sections of the press sometimes produce is that immigrants present a threat to British society in terms of Britain being swamped by immigrants, who are damaging British culture, taking over too many jobs and receiving benefits they do not deserve. Thus members of a majority group may feel xenophobic and racist attitudes towards minority groups are legitimised by xenophobic and racist attitudes presented in the media.

All three **focus groups** highlight racism in the media and the potential impact it has on legitimising and perpetuating racism. Notably two focus groups specifically underline

their awareness of media discrimination in the form of stereotyping of Middle Eastern people and Muslims, being represented as a terrorist threat. For example FG2M5 points to this media stereotyping and how the threat of terror instils fear: *"They always bring out Middle Eastern people to be terrorists and stuff so everyone kind of fears them."* Similarly, group 3 point towards connections between terrorism, stereotyping and racism. For example, FG3M6 underlines how stereotyping of some people furthers racism stating: *'it could be because they've heard of terrible terrorists and they could be getting stick because of what other people of their skin colour have done.'* Notably, politicians and the media are both responsible for creating a moral panic in society (Cohen, 1972), where in the pursuit of power, the threat of terror becomes used expediently as a convenient political platform or a news headline (Fekete and Webber, 1994). Markedly, also within the focus group discourses terrorism seems to be cited by some focus group members as a diversion tactic in an attempt to legitimise racism targeted at ethnic minority groups. For example, focus group 2's discourse suggests racism and stereotyping as the group discusses their dislike of Sikhs and Muslim women who wear hijabs. Further FG2M5 points to the use of the hijab in connection with terrorism arguing that they should be banned. Additionally FG2M2 's discourse shows resentment: *'They can be racist to us that's why there's been so many bombings.'* Undoubtedly, these discourses could be interpreted as attempts to rationalize prejudice, in an effort to divert attention and responsibility away from majority ethnic group members to minority ethnic group members for the racism they experience. Further, these discourses seem to echo anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim sentiment expressed by sections of the media as well as in the political arena.

## Areas of significant deprivation, nationalism, xenophobia, racism, relative deprivation theory and the media

What are the social circumstances that may act as a catalyst for discrimination made on the basis of nationality or ethnicity? Certainly, a lack of state provision of housing and services connected with a rolling back of the state's responsibility for and involvement in the welfare state. From this context the current coalition government's rhetoric about the Big Society seems a convenient way to dissolve itself of responsibility. Thus, it could be argued that the stereotyping and scapegoating of immigrants often represented by certain sections of the media reflects politicians, writers' and publishers' knowledge of frustration in society connected amongst other things with high unemployment and a lack of state provision and so the media plays upon these fears to sell papers and presents the immigrant as a threat and as a scapegoat for all social and economic problems in society.

In response to question 3 of survey 1, respondent L's response of: *'No because coloured people get free houses but homeless people don't'* and respondent P's response: *'Get them off our country then there will be no fights'* echoes certain media headlines and underlines the links between poverty, relative deprivation theory and xenophobia and racism (Tajfel, 1981; Crawley, 2009). The same themes also appear in parts of the focus group discourses. For example, when asked about anti-immigrant sentiment FG3M2 says: *'Because they're like taking the jobs and stuff like that because they think that people from different countries are coming here to steal their jobs.'* Additionally, FG3M1 points to a racist incident that he maintains was the result of the perception that immigrants *'were taking over most of the houses in the area.'* Further, in survey 2 the students answers represent a dichotomy, where some indicate inclusive attitudes and others indicate exclusive attitudes in relation to conceptualisations of British national identity and attitudes to immigrants. In terms of the presentation of exclusive attitudes, the relevance of relative deprivation theory in relation to xenophobia and racism is seen in places throughout the data from survey 2. For example in response to media headline 17 ***Get British or Get Out of the Country***, respondent N maintains: *'Because foreigners come to Britain and take our jobs.'* Similarly, respondent J argues: *'I think that certain companies may use foreign cheap labourers.'* Certainly, where the state reduces services and does not provide enough good quality housing, tensions between people

may rise. Thus, participants' responses here must be contextualised, as the catchment areas for the school are located in some of the most deprived areas of the city which in terms of deprivation are ranked high in the multiple deprivation index for Wales. Clearly, these discourses seem to denote a relationship between relative deprivation (Runciman, 1966; Crawley; 2009) and racism where it may be perceived that the immigrant represents an economic threat in a context of deprivation and may be perceived to be receiving unfair advantages in terms of employment and housing which in the context of deprivation in the school catchment area seems relevant. Certainly, these discourses here appear to echo anti-immigrant sentiments expressed in media discourses that homogenise and stereotype immigrants as being a social, cultural and economic threat (Hewett et al, 2005; Lemos & Crane, 2005; Threadgold et al, 2008). The students discourses here and throughout the school research and also throughout the non school research demonstrates how inequalities of class and race are often found to be linked. Further, this points to how the effectiveness of any anti-racism approach in challenging prejudice and discrimination in any context whether a more or less affluent one must in part take a marxist understanding of racism into consideration.

### **Challenging discrimination through the media**

In examining the findings in relation to one of the research questions which asks how can the local, national and international community help to challenge the discrimination that people may face in terms of exclusions made on the basis of nationality or ethnicity, a key finding from this research study highlights the importance of anti-racism campaigns and also the value in imaging diversity in society through the media. Additionally, Emily, a professor of social justice underlines the lack of ethnic diversity in many organisations and underscores the need to change discriminatory attitudes and provide role models through imaging society by powerful forms of media with representation from different minority backgrounds.

## **Anti-racism campaigns**

Across the school data, students point to the power of anti-racism campaigns such as the Kick Racism out of football campaign to challenge prejudice and discrimination in society. Certainly, the media has a powerful pervasive influence, through the internet, television, radio, magazines and so anti-racist campaigns such as the Kick Racism out of football campaign can be widely promoted and raise awareness of the need to pursue an equality agenda. Former England captain John Terry was recently acquitted of racially abusing Anton Ferdinand after calling Anton Ferdinand a “f\*\*\*\*\* black c\*\*\*” during a football match. The independent reports that in the case of John Terry’s charge:

*‘The district judge Howard Riddle ruled that the Chelsea captain could not be found guilty on the criminal standard of beyond reasonable doubt. The standard of proof on the FA charge is the civil standard of the balance of probability. Luis Suarez was found guilty of a racially aggravated public order offence which happened 8 days before the Ferdinand-Terry incident. The Liverpool striker was found guilty and given an eight-game ban and a £40,000 fine’ (Wallace, 2012).*

However, since then, on the opening day of the olympics the FA announced that they are bringing charges against John Terry. In terms of kicking racism out of football in addressing an equality agenda, certainly any racism on and off the pitch needs to be dealt with very seriously indeed by the criminal court and by the FA.

## **Tackling discrimination through imaging diversity in society in the media**

Markedly, Emily underlines the lack of ethnic diversity in many organisations and underscores the need to change discriminatory attitudes and provide role models through imaging society through powerful forms of media with representation of people from different minority backgrounds:

*‘I think in terms of the pursuit of equality I believe that imaging the society we want is important to equality so powerful media, television, radio, magazines, posters, outputs you know powerful media sending very strong messages about the portrait of a society is another big driver, because it becomes a norm you know because even if at first people think that it might be tokenistic, or what’s that black person doing reading the news was you know how it was when I was growing up.’*

Further Emily criticises what she describes as ‘the bland universalism of all arms of the state in 50s and 60s Wales’ where there was no emphasis on diversity and multiculturalism and underlines the need to raise awareness of multiculturalism, diversity and difference through the media. Certainly, raising awareness of diversity in society is crucial to an equality agenda.

In conclusion of part 2, we have analysed how the media plays a part in constructing a sense of nation in the UK and for certain sections of the media, we have seen how a narrow, exclusive conceptualisation of British identity is sold and bought by some. Undeniably, the power of the media to influence nationalistic and racist discourses in society should not be underestimated as evidenced by some participants’ discourses. Speers points to the potential positive and negative impacts the media in Wales has on attitudes towards asylum seekers and refugees underlines this highlighting how The Press Complaints Commission has cautioned editors about *‘the danger that inaccurate and misleading reporting may generate an atmosphere of fear and hostility which is not borne out by the facts’* (Speers, 2001, p. 57).

Certainly, also, in searching for ways that the local, national and international community can tackle discrimination, the power of the media to challenge prejudice and discrimination in society should not be underestimated and this is also suggested by participants’ discourses. Further, discussion here shows how crucial it is to contextualise attitudes, interrogating the social circumstances, analysing what other inequalities may lie beneath manifestations of nationalism and racism, and a very significant related inequality is that of deprivation which will be further discussed in the next part of this chapter.

### **Part 3: 'Imperialism: The Highest State of Capitalism'(Lenin):**

#### **Institutions, Capitalism and Discrimination**

From the paradigm of conflict theories of racism, Cox (1959) argues that racism is a product of capitalism, maintaining that the ruling classes employed slavery, colonization and racism as ways to exploit labour. However, neo-marxists argue that racism is not the product of capitalism alone but is a complex and multifaceted phenomenon. Nonetheless, in addressing an equality agenda, all too often, class issues and poverty are ignored. Whilst evidence from this research study indicates that racism is hybrid having many forms and cannot universally be explained by one factor alone, a class based understanding of racism and other forms of discriminations and exclusions appears to have a high degree of relevance. Indeed, findings from across the data collected point to inequalities of class and to a marxist understanding of discrimination. In particular, significant deficiencies in state support for people living in contexts of deprivation often combined with institutional racism are highlighted by participants in the study. Throughout this part of the chapter, the focus will be on analysing inequalities of class and within that interrogation will discuss the following research questions: What are the key barriers to and facilitators of children and young people's equality of access to and experience of educational services? What are the economic and social circumstances that may act as a catalyst for discrimination made on the basis of nationality and ethnicity? What other exclusions may be made that are closely related with those made in connection with nationality or ethnicity? And how relevant is a marxist understanding of racism?

#### **Inequalities in access to education: exclusions related to low-income and ethnicity**

All participants in the **exploratory survey** carried out in New York City strongly agreed that the state should aim to provide children and young people with equal educational opportunities and strongly disagreed that schools situated in the wealthiest areas should have the most funding from the state. Further, findings indicate that participants perceive that generally income level has an impact on a child or young



person's opportunities to access a variety of quality educational services and on the level of formal education a child or young person achieves, so the higher the income level, the greater the opportunities to access educational services and the higher the level of formal education achieved. Markedly, poverty rates are higher amongst immigrant children than native children in North America (Capps & Fortuny, 2006). However, whilst there do appear to be correlations between economic status, ethnicity and the level of education an individual achieves and it is clearly important to interrogate these inequalities, this is by no means always the reality and clearly it is deterministic to suggest that there is always a correlation.

### **De Facto Ethnic Segregation: Institutional Racism and Educational Apartheid**

Many participants draw attention to a variety of exclusions which participants perceive are related to class inequalities. For example, Summer underlines that inequalities relate to class, race and geography. Part of Summer's discourse interrogates racial segregation in North America where she suggests that there is an educational apartheid in existence, highlighting a book and performance installation by Fine et al (2004) concerning the legacy of Brown versus the Board of Education fifty years after the decision was made in a North American court. Importantly, Brown versus the Board of Education was a landmark case and a vanguard for the civil rights movement for it overturned the 1896 Plessy versus Fergusson decision of separate but equal and declared the separation of black and white students in public school to be unconstitutional integrating this decision into state law. Summer highlights the discourse of this work which aims at challenging present day segregation in the U.S and highlights that whilst de jure segregation is no longer legally allowed, de facto it still continues in many places in practice:

*'It was basically Challenging de jure segregation in this country, so the idea was 50 years later (since the Brown versus the Board of Education decision) really not much has changed I mean yes legally segregation is no longer allowed, de facto segregation is 100 % in effect all over the country. I mean you can see it.'*

Similarly, Dana points to institutional racism in North America in her discourse. For example, in response to a question about whether she considers the education system in

New York City and North America to be wittingly or unwittingly racist Dana underscores the barrier of institutional racism which she connects to inequalities of class and ethnicity evidenced by schools receiving more state funding in wealthier areas that generally have a higher white population:

*'The institutions of this country are racist there's no question about that and if you look at the figures on schools and the funding they get which is supposedly based on property taxes, is yeah the white areas the suburbs get more stuff and more money than the poor areas and they can hide the racism because they say it's property taxes.'*

Markedly, whilst North America is one of the richest nations in the world per capita wealth, significant inequalities in the distribution of wealth persist (GINI index, Human Development Report 2006, Table 15, p. 335). This divergence in wealth is especially apparent in New York State. In 2006, New York State had the largest income gap between high-income and low-income families in North America and just under half of the state's residents live in New York City where the cost of living is higher (Bernstein & McNichol 2006 cited in Chau et al 2006). The significant divergence between income levels and the large number of people living in New York City As Dana underlines funding for schools in New York City is in part based on property taxes and as there is a significant divergence in incomes, funding is strikingly lower for schools in more deprived areas of the city where property taxes are lower, and it is also these more deprived areas that generally have higher ethnic minority populations hence the allegation of institutional racism. This points to inequalities of and the relationship between inequalities of class and ethnicity where there is a significant inequality in funding and underlines the need for redressing the system. Indeed, deficiencies in state and federal funding to support equality of access to good quality services in education including a lack of state funding for schools, parks and community centres in more deprived areas are highlighted across the data collected from participants' semi-structured interviews. Certainly, greater investment from both state and federal levels is vital in order for both greater equality and for provision of good quality educational opportunities for all children and young people.

## **Lack of choices of homes and areas for people on low incomes to live in**

Further on in the discussion of institutional racism and de facto ethnic segregation in society, Dana points to the barrier of income poverty that many people contend with, and the resulting lack of freedom to choose from a variety of homes and areas to live in. This points towards a significant deficiency in state provision of choices of homes and to how inequalities of class often run through inequalities of race. Also, another related issue discussed further elsewhere by both Summer and Luke underlines a lack of state investment in deprived areas in terms of funding and resources for important community provisions such as community centres and parks. In discussion of ways to challenge inequalities and segregation Blum directs attention towards a rights based approach emphasising the need to advocate for racial justice as this weakens the racial consciousness that increases with a plethora of inequalities:

*'The achievement of racial justice itself weakens racial consciousness. Racial consciousness thrives on social, economic, political, educational, and civic inequality, and on the social, residential, and occupational segregation that is both a cause and a consequence of that inequality' (Blum, 2002, pp. 177-178).*

## **De facto segregation in neighbourhoods: Ethnocentrism and Deprivation**

Cultural diversity and limited group interaction is cited by Rex as one of a number of circumstances in which race relations become apparent (Rex, 1983). Whilst inter ethnic group issues may be prevalent whether communities are multicultural or not, arguably ethnically segregated enclaves in neighbourhoods are more conducive to ethnocentrism than cosmopolitanism. All participants in the **exploratory survey** indicate disagreement with statement 2 that children and young people who live in neighbourhoods with just members of their own ethnic group generally develop a greater respect and appreciation for people from different cultures than those living in multicultural neighbourhoods. Further, all participants agree that children and young people's cultural development is generally enriched by living in multicultural neighbourhoods (see statement 34). Markedly, in discussion of the most significant barriers to children and young people's

access of education services, **Luke** underlines a lack of money and resources in the public school system in New York City. Also, in discussion of institutional racism and de facto segregation in New York City as highlighted above **Dana** underlines the barrier of income poverty and points to how at a low income level there is not always a variety of choices in terms of selecting somewhere to live. So, arguably in any context where there is significant deprivation, whether multicultural or not, if resources are scarce and overburdened and access to services and job opportunities are limited, desperate competition for jobs and housing may well fuel conflict. Gimenez points to the imperative to interrogate inequalities of class which she contends are very related to inequalities of ethnicity, underlining how class issues have been de-emphasised in identity politics that focus on culture at the expense of class issues. Thus, in this paradigm Gimenez argues that class, the most significant barrier to the American Dream, becomes disguised:

*'The goals of identity politics and the effects of globalization, however, have been and continue to be defined in cultural terms, thus excluding any consideration of class as a key determinant of the failure of some and the success of others in the process of achieving the 'American Dream'. There is more scholarly interest in the exploration of 'hybrid identities', the effects of 'porous' borders, than in the analysis of the class determinants of the allocation of immigrants to the different levels of the United States occupational structure.'*

This is also a concern expressed in the context of identity politics in Britain. As underlined in the literature review, anti-racism and multiculturalism efforts without an interrogation of inequalities of class are significantly hampered in that they disregard exclusions and inequalities of class that are also often linked to a variety of exclusions including racism. Markedly, Rattansi criticises *'a rationalist approach to education'* (1992, p. 33), and points towards the need for an interrogation of class inequalities with anti-racism and multiculturalism. Similarly, Gimenez emphasises the need for *'a little class'* in institutions because of what they often represent in terms of being linked to hierarchies of power within a middle class paradigm:

*'In educational institutions and workplaces, diversity and multiculturalism are considered worthy institutional and educational goals, but the notion of 'diversity' seldom extends to include consideration of the problems that first generation working-class students, white collar and professional workers might experience in the context of middle-class institutions, workplaces and professional organizations. Bringing 'a little class' into the picture would be*

*important to develop better social science and more efficacious policies. Otherwise, the effects of class can be swept under the rug of culture and culture, in turn, can be used to stereotype and legitimate the differences that contribute to the exclusion of members of racial minorities from economic and educational opportunities.' (Gimenez, 2006, p. 436).*

## **Capitalism, Institutional Racism, Immigration policies and Citizenship**

### **Undocumented status as a barrier to accessing services**

In this discourse Luke highlights the fact that a lack of citizenship status often acts as a barrier to families accessing available services, because of deportation fears preventing undocumented people 'reaching out for help:'

*'Because they're afraid to put up red flags, using some of the services, public service that may be available but families that are undocumented don't want to draw attention to themselves so they are going to be less inclined to go for the mental health check-up or go to the outside expert to help their child, if they're afraid that maybe it'll register in the system that they're here.'*

Luke's discourse here is also reflected in his response to question 35 in the **exploratory survey** where Luke agrees that a family's non US citizenship status often diminishes their children's access to educational services compared to families who have gained US citizenship. Similarly, in discussion of the main challenges to children and young people's access of education services in New York City, Arnav emphasises that in part the migration and immigration policies of North America act as a barrier. Clearly, to address the barriers that prevent many undocumented families from seeking support, there is a need to adjust immigration policies in order to make it much simpler and speedier to gain citizenship in the first instance as well as finding ways of increasing undocumented families' access to services in addition to increasing and improving the actual services themselves. And in order to do this, if state services record the undocumented statuses of people and the information gets forwarded to immigration authorities, then there is clearly a need for a greater presence from non-governmental organisations to support undocumented families.

Due to large scale immigration, North America is one of the world's most ethnically diverse and multicultural nations. Given this diversity, there is a significant necessity

for the provision of sufficient, culturally suitable services in order to meet the needs of all people. Markedly, more than twelve million immigrants came into the United States between 1892 and 1954 through the gateway of Ellis island (The Statue of Liberty Ellis Island Foundation, 2010). And these immigrants like those after came in search of a better life for themselves and their families. Whilst the American dream is a reality for some, for many more people it is still a dream and this is very much connected with exclusions and institutional inequalities related to class and ethnicity. Notably Capps et al (2002) underline that a family's non US citizenship status frequently reduces their children's access to educational services (Cited in Capps, Hagan, and Rodriguez 2004, pp. 14-15). Further, they underline the barriers to immigrant families' access to welfare services, program participation and benefits in North America and consider that service use is lower in immigrant families than native families for two primary reasons. Firstly because a significant number of immigrants are undocumented and therefore ineligible for most public programs including Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC), Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF), food stamps, and Medicaid. And secondly they argue that service use is lower, because as Luke emphasises in his discourse above, although the children of undocumented parents are eligible for these programmes, children and parents may be unaware of this and further, may be fearful of drawing attention to themselves and being deported if they apply for benefits (Capps et al., 2002, pp. 14-15). Feld (2000) highlights the barriers of access to health care faced by immigrants who live in New York City, prominent amongst which were language, social stigma and racism. Additionally the author highlights how such barriers are caused by fears relating to whether claims may affect citizenship applications, concerns relating to welfare cuts or ineligibility and other related costs. (Feld, 2000, p.14). Again, this emphasises the importance of increasing access to services for people who may really need to access services but may choose not to because it may mean a giving up of something significant, whether that be citizenship or income, or because of the barriers to access of racism, stigmatisation or language issues that can also be serious factors in influencing the non take up of services.

## A Habitus of Racism, Western imperialism and Complacency

The following section points to the ways in which the concepts of unwitting racism or a 'habitus' of racism seem relevant to the thesis. Witting racism as well as unwitting racism and Western imperialism which is a form of racism can be analysed from the perspective of Bourdieu's work on 'habitus.' For in some public and private contexts racism becomes so entrenched in both institutional and non institutional spaces it reaches the level of unwitting racism, where a 'habitus' or a culture of racism becomes normalised for some and perceived as acceptable. Parts of Amelia's discourse which could be interpreted as being reflective of Western imperialism perhaps points towards a 'habitus' of unwitting racism where in some institutional and non institutional spaces Western imperialism is produced and reproduced and becomes normalised and so to a degree becomes unwitting. Institutional spaces that wield a certain degree of public influence where Western imperialism is exerted for example include the spheres of media, education, and politics.

In parts of Amelia's interview she appears to present a dichotomized discourse between North America and developing countries. For example, in discussion of the UNCRC, and its potential to assist in addressing an equality agenda, part of Amelia's discourse seems to suggest a 'habitus' of racism, Western imperialism and complacency. When asked about her attitude towards the UNCRC and North America's non-ratification of it, Amelia gives conflicting discourses. Firstly in her response it appears that Amelia is trying to undermine the benefits of implementing the particular rights based approach and philosophy of the UNCRC in the context of North America. Then secondly, Amelia maintains that she does perceive symbolic value in the UNCRC. Following that, Amelia argues that the UNCRC '*does not necessarily reflect the reality in our [North American] society*' and moves the focus away from the UNCRC, and North America's non-ratification of it and the related implications for an equality agenda in the context of North America, towards a discussion of achieving the millennium development goals in the context of developing countries instead:

*'I don't think there are either positives or negatives, I think most people in the United States have never heard of it and wouldn't pay too much attention to it, I think you know it has symbolic meaning and I for one wish we'd signed it but from a practical point of view some of the issues that the CRC addresses are issues that can't be addressed at the federal or national level they can only be*

*addressed at the state and local level and so there are also problems in a document that does not necessarily reflect the reality in our society. I think by the way the Millennium Development goals are a more interesting concrete measure that could be addressed and could get more attention.'*

Additionally, and significantly western imperialism could be interpreted here and in other sections further on in the interview where Amelia shows concern for the UNCRC not reflecting 'the reality' in North American society but doesn't show any concern for the fact that the UNCRC also in a number of ways does not reflect the reality in societies outside of North America.

Amelia's discourse on the symbolic power of the UNCRC is also reflected in Summer's discourse where she points out that without a legal foundation people lack recourse to fight for their rights. Interestingly, where Summer's discourse and Amelia's diverge quite considerably centres around their distinct approaches in addressing an equality agenda. While Summer's approach appears focused on a grassroots upwards community rights based approach to addressing inequalities, Amelia's approach could be interpreted as more of a top down, autocratic approach. Certainly, while there are similarities, their responses to the question about their attitude towards the benefits of implementing the UNCRC in North America and indeed other discourses they provide, reveal different priorities. For example while Amelia's first response appears to show indifference towards implementing a rights based discourse such as the UNCRC in North America: *'I don't think there are either positives or negatives, I think most people in the United States have never heard of it and wouldn't pay too much attention to it.'*

In contrast, Summer's response and a significant proportion of her discourse throughout the interview points to the need to take forward a rights based agenda in addressing inequalities in North America: *'Well rights mean everything and symbolism is crucial. It is meaningful, it gives you a grounded agenda, I mean look at healthcare in this country it's not considered a right so therefore look what happens, folks lack the vehicle to fight for something so I think it's crucial.'*

Further a 'habitus' of unwitting racism, Western imperialism and complacency could be inferred from Amelia's next discourse and while this may not have been intended, it does seem to be indicated from both the tone of her discourse as well as the content. For in relation to the overall aim of the MDGs in promoting child well-being, she maintains: *'We start so far beyond it that achieving the goals doesn't mean anything to us. We can talk about the MDG number 1 which has to do with reaching full primary school*



*enrolment; after all obviously we have all OECD countries done that quite a long time ago.*’ Indeed, in considering an overview of the whole interview, Amelia did not seem keen to discuss barriers to and facilitators of access to services from a North American context. Certainly, in North America, there has been considerable contestation between on the one hand those wishing to raise the profile of children’s rights, taking forwards a rights based agenda and on the other hand, those who are concerned that raising the profile of children’s rights and taking forward a rights based agenda would undermine parental rights. This discourse certainly appears tied to issues of power revolving around protecting certain national interests and the desire to protect parents’ rights reflecting the mistaken view that does not perceive children and young people as social actors with specific rights of their own. In discussion of this mistaken view and the need to emphasise the importance of realising all people’s human rights whatever age, Alanen reminds us that children’s rights are human rights and as children they are equally as entitled to their human rights as adults are: *‘Children’s rights are not just rights; they are human rights – they are rights that children are entitled to as human beings, equal to other (adult) human beings’* (Alanen, 2010, p. 7).

Also, in the school research, a habitus of unwitting racism could be interpreted from some of the students’ discourses. Arguably to an extent these discourses may have been influenced by a normalisation of racism produced and reproduced by sections of the media and other institutions like the British Nationalist. For example, in response to question 17’s media headline *‘Get British or Get out of the Country’* one student said: *‘If you aren’t British you don’t belong there’* (Respondent B, Survey 2, question 17). And in response to statement 28: *‘A person might behave in a racist way because of a fear of difference’* the same student somewhat disagreed and stated: *‘They behave in a racist way because people from other countries won’t stay in their own countries’* (Respondent B, Survey 2, question 28). Additionally, the relationship between inequalities of class and racism seems apparent with a significant number of students’ discourses across the data collected. For example, Respondent N somewhat agreed with question 19’s media headline *‘Britain’s betrayed white working classes believe immigrants receive better treatment’* stating *‘because they come into our country and get a house and money for nothing.’* Also, an awareness of a normalisation and acceptance of racism in some spaces in society could be interpreted from respondent O’s discourse who somewhat agrees with question 21’s media headline *‘British society is dripping in racism but no one is prepared to admit it’* stating *‘People would rather*

*ignore it' (racism). Markedly, from some of the students' responses in the school research a 'habitus' of racism seems very much connected with a strong sense of peer pressure to fit in and be accepted by the dominant members of a group, even if it means conforming to racist attitudes and behaviour. For example, in discussion of reasons as to why someone might express racism one student who participated in a focus group said 'So you fit in and don't feel left out so that's the same as racism, if all your friends are racist and they're all screaming at somebody being racist and you are sitting there and you don't want to be left out so you join in' (FG1M3).*

Markedly, part of Emily's discourse draws attention to the danger of a culture of complacency developing in terms of addressing an equality agenda with the new equality bill (2010). Emily suggests there is a lack of commitment in the legislative changes of the equality act (2010) which she warns could create a homogenisation and generic dealing of inequalities, and a reduction in state responsibility for tackling an equality agenda resulting in fewer and less appropriate services. Clearly, Emily's concerns here are very relevant in the current political climate where the liberal democrat/conservative coalition are rolling back the responsibility of the state, withdrawing its responsibility for provision of social services in many areas.

Also, in the context of North America, Summer highlights that whilst de jure segregation is no longer legally allowed, de facto it still continues in many places in practice: *'50 years later (since the Brown versus the Board of Education decision) really not much has changed I mean yes legally segregation is no longer allowed, de facto segregation is 100 % in effect all over the country. I mean you can see it.'* This points to the ramifications of racial discrimination in North America and how deeply entrenched a 'habitus of racism' can be in both witting and unwitting forms, exerted in overt and subtle ways in certain institutional and non institutional spaces in North American culture. For whilst much progress has been made from colonisation and the slave trade to the achievements of the civil rights movement and to the election of North America's first black president, much racial discrimination still persists, both witting and unwitting. Dana also points to institutional racism in North America in her discourse drawing attention to the strong relationship between inequalities of class and racial discrimination:

*'The institutions of this country are racist there's no question about that and if you look at the figures on schools and the funding they get which is supposedly based on property taxes, is yeah the white areas the suburbs get more stuff and*

*more money than the poor areas and they can hide the racism because they say it's property taxes.'*

In the context of addressing an equality agenda in Britain interviewee Emily emphasises the need for a politics of interrogation of the national majority. In particular, she criticises tokenistic multiculturalism and maintains that the core focus of multiculturalism should be on a politics of interrogation, asking *'those deep, searching questions of national identity.'* Further, Emily draws our attention to the need to evaluate institutional cultures, *'the way they operate, who they think their services are for and the kind of decisions that are made within them.'*

In terms of addressing a culture of institutional racism in the policeforce, the Macpherson report of the Stephen Lawrence inquiry underlined multifarious forms of racism and how more subtle forms of racism entrenched in culture must be interrogated and challenged. Indeed, Macpherson's highlighting of institutional racism in the policeforce was an indictment of the existence of a habitus of racism in the police, from canteen cultures of prejudice, stereotyping and racism to elite cultures of prejudice, stereotyping and racism, the Macpherson report challenged the policeforce's significant deficiencies in addressing an equality agenda. In analysing what unwitting racism means, Macpherson points to how cultures of unwitting racism can develop where there is prejudice, stereotyping and racist attitudes and behaviour towards ethnic minority group members:

*'Unwitting racism can arise because of lack of understanding, ignorance or mistaken beliefs. It can arise from well intentioned but patronising words or actions. It can arise from unfamiliarity with the behaviour or cultural traditions of people or families from minority ethnic communities. It can arise from racist stereotyping of black people as potential criminals or troublemakers. Often this arises out of uncritical self-understanding born out of an inflexible police ethos of the "traditional" way of doing things. Furthermore such attitudes can thrive in a tightly knit community, so that there can be a collective failure to detect and to outlaw this breed of racism. The police canteen can too easily be its breeding ground' (Macpherson, 1999, 6.17).*

Macpherson underlines how institutional racism is not a new concept drawing attention to the definition of institutional racism by two black activists Stokely Carmichael and Charles V Hamilton in 1967 in North America who underscored the covert and overt manifestations of institutional racism emphasising how it is often driven by

'established' and 'respected' institutions in society and how it pervades both public and private spheres:

*"Institutional racism originates in the operation of established and respected forces in the society. It relies on the active and pervasive operation of anti-black attitudes and practices. A sense of superior group position prevails: whites are 'better' than blacks and therefore blacks should be subordinated to whites. This is a racist attitude and it permeates society on both the individual and institutional level, covertly or overtly" (Carmichael, S. and Hamilton, C. V.1967 in Macpherson, 1999, 6.22).*

Markedly however, the Macpherson report has been described as a missed opportunity by some in not providing a strong enough equality policy agenda as could have been imparted. In particular, it has been criticised for not being specific enough, having too much of a cultural focus and not sufficiently emphasising the deep-seatedness of the institutional racism related to the police's failings in their handling of the Stephen Lawrence case. For example, Lea maintains that:

*'Macpherson's discussion of institutional racism fails to locate with sufficient precision its roots within the structure of operational policing and the relationship between police and minority communities. The result is that a major opportunity to spell out a policy agenda adequate to the task of eliminating racist policing has been missed' (Lea, 2000, p. 219). 'Even where Macpherson focuses more clearly on the police institution rather than the actions of individual officers he locates the source of racism in the social and cultural life of police officers rather than in the dynamics of operational policing itself' (Lea, 2000, p. 221).*

Further, Lea points to the disproportionate number of ethnic minority group members who the police stop and search and argues that in his report Macpherson fails to emphasise the need to interrogate prejudiced and racist policing practices which reproduce institutional racism:

*'Macpherson deploys a cultural explanation of institutional racism which is seen as grounded in the lack of contract between white police officers and black communities outside of the law enforcement relationship. This deflects from an understanding of the reproduction of institutional racism through the normal practices of operational policing, in particular 'stop and search' (Lea, 2000, p. 219).*

Undeniably, a crucial point Macpherson's makes in his report is that the police failed in their duty to administer justice in failing to identify Stephen Lawrence's murder as a racist crime. However, Lea maintains that whilst Macpherson emphasised this failure he did not emphasise the individual failings enough, focusing rather too much on collective

failings:

*'Macpherson's discussion of institutional racism suffers from crucial ambiguity concerning the precise location of the processes which sustain racial discrimination both in distinguishing individually from institutionally generated behaviour, and in specifying which institutional dynamics are conducive to racism' (Lea, 2000, p. 221)..... 'One of the indications of institutional racism used by Macpherson was the failure to characterise the Lawrence murder as a racist crime. Yet 50% of officers involved (19.35) including the senior investigating officers (19.38) characterised the incident precisely in such terms (Lea, 2000, p. 221).*

Lea stresses how the police have too much power and need to be held to account more. In particular Lea suggests that in order to address institutional racism more effectively in the policeforce, there needs to be law reform where an independent magistrate would have the power to monitor the police like a number of European countries already have or alternatively use a district attorney to monitor the police as is the practice in North America (Lea, 2000, p. 223).

Clearly, to a degree the disproportionate number of Black and Asian men who are stopped and searched by the police and who are in prison adds to the Macpherson findings that the police are institutionally racist and if stop and searches motivated by a habitus of racism and wrongful imprisonments of ethnic minority group members are left unchecked and are not challenged then institutional racism in the policeforce and the criminal justice system and many injustices will continue. However, it shouldn't be forgotten that as a result of the findings of institutional racism in the policeforce by the Macpherson inquiry all institutions whatever the size across the whole of Britain have to by law address an equality agenda so the report has had a significant impact in terms of law reform. Of course, the challenge lies in monitoring institutions to ensure that each institution is addressing an equality agenda in a genuine non tokenistic way.

Undeniably, in addressing an equality agenda, the challenge for both society and the state lies in interrogating and transforming structure as well as individual agency where cultures of witting and unwitting racism persist. Clearly, a significant number of the discourses above point towards the relationship between inequalities of class and racial discrimination. From elite racism within the context of Western imperialism to everyday racism, the link between the two appears in this study to be strongly related to inequalities of class. Thus, we can perceive how a marxist understanding of discrimination seems very relevant. In the inherently unequalizing state of neoliberal capitalism, the gap between the rich and the poor is a significant one and racial

discrimination and exploitation is exerted by some either as a means of maintaining wealth and the status quo from a position of wealth or gaining greater wealth from a position of poverty.

In conclusion of this section, from the research findings discussed here amongst other key factors such as inequalities of class, a culture or 'habitus' of racism whether witting or unwitting may well have had an impact on perspectives and behaviour. However, Bourdieu's theory of 'habitus' should not be viewed in an entirely deterministic way, but rather 'habitus' should be viewed as perceiving the influence of culture and how interactions with it can often either reinforce or modify attitudes or behaviour. As highlighted in a number of places throughout this thesis, individuals of course should not be perceived solely as passive victims but active agents working within whatever constraints they may experience to improve their position. As is the case with identities where a fluid conceptualisation is critical in addressing an equality agenda as opposed to a narrow, fixed conceptualisation.

### **Institutional Barriers: Tokenistic Ratification of the UNCRC**

With the exception of the United States and Somalia, all countries have ratified the UNCRC. However, clearly, ratification does not ensure a commitment to implementing children's rights. Markedly, White (2003) maintains that the convention is ratified by so many countries because it cannot be enforced and questions:

*'Do governments support agreements, such as the convention on the Rights of the Child, so quickly because they do not take them seriously, and therefore do not mind committing themselves to obligations which they do not intend to fulfil, and which cannot be enforced' (White, 2003, p. 2).*

In Britain, although ratification of the UNCRC and implementation of some parts are under way, there were a number of reservations placed against the UNCRC on ratification. Indeed, Sanders (2009) points to the dangers in taking an ambivalent, complacent view of the UK's compliance with and fulfilment of its commitment to the UNCRC pointing to significant areas of non-compliance:

*'The UK is a long way from adequately addressing children's rights to express views on matters concerning them. There are concerns about protection for asylum seeking children- the UK was singled out in a European report as providing poor services in this respect' (Sanders, 2009, p. 19).*

Clearly, ratification of the UNCRC does not in and of itself guarantee a thorough addressing of all the equality aims within it because it is situated at an international level and is not bound by domestic law. Certainly, in pursuit of equality, a thorough, non-tokenistic implementation of children and young people's rights through domestic law would help in the task of realising 'the provision, protection and participation rights' (Lansdown, 1994, p. 36) of children and young people delineated within this convention. In trying to work towards this goal, the Welsh Assembly have made a pledge to ensure that children and young people in Wales '*are given access to the privileges, rights and entitlements enshrined in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the seven core aims for children and young people in Wales and Extending Entitlement*' (WAG and YJB, 2008, p. 27). Therefore, in order to ensure that this pledge is kept, monitoring and evaluation of the Welsh Assembly Government's commitment to these aims, of how they are worked out in practice is crucial.

### **Institutional Barriers: Families' Alienation from the Education System**

Rebecca draws attention to the institutional barriers which impact upon children and young people's access to education and highlights failures in the education system which mean that some families completely disengage from education because of having negative experiences in the system which induce a feeling of alienation and detachment. In particular, Rebecca emphasises how a negative engagement with education experienced by family members may mean that this negative view of education is passed from one generation to another, where education is not perceived to be valuable:

*'If you come from a background where school actually failed your parents and your parents' parents lets say, they didn't have engagement with school and education and see it as a valuable way forward then you are less likely to be able to see it as a motivating factor.'*

In response to this, in discussion of ways of overcoming these barriers to access and re-engaging families with education, Rebecca underlines the value of supporting children and young people's engagement in education with a variety of initiatives and programmes including Sure Start, Language of Play and family learning.

Similarly, Bourdieu points to how education should be a valuable resource in terms of inspiring people and helping support people to reach their goals and argues that a significant part of social suffering is related to a disengagement with and an alienation from the education system: *'A large part of social suffering stems from the poverty of people's relationship to the education system, which not only shapes social destinies but also the image they have of their destiny'* (Bourdieu, 1998, p. 43). Certainly, in re-engaging children, young people, adults and their families who feel alienated from the education system and see no value in it for themselves, where necessary a transformation of the system must be made, especially where there are highly authoritarian, hierarchical, narrow educational structures in place which do not take into account the individual needs and aims of children and young people and are wholly inimical to the *raison d'être* of education. Certainly, much greater emphasis, resources and funds should be given to developing an education system and a curriculum within the system that is fluid and responsive to all the diverse individual needs of the individuals engaging in education and will give individuals support in all areas necessary to support retention in education and achievement of individuals' goals.

### **Capitalism, relative deprivation and racial discrimination**

Class issues appear closely related to racial discrimination right across the research study. In particular, in the school research, there appears a strong correlation between deprivation, xenophobia and racial discrimination. The context of the school research is certainly a very significant factor in this finding as the school and the surrounding catchment area are situated in some of the most deprived areas in Wales. Rebecca a community education officer in the city draws attention to how there are considerable barriers to access of education in areas of significant deprivation and underlines how there is a considerable divergence between the areas of deprivation and those of affluence in the city:

*'A number of different factors conspire together to make the universal provision for education we have in this country less likely to be taken up by certain sectors, disadvantaged sectors than others. Out of a 100 significant areas, micro wards as well in in in Wales, I think \*\*\*\* has about 10, and probably 2 or 3 of the top ten if you like in Wales. But also we have 2 or 3 of the wealthiest let's say um areas so quite a big difference, divergence in catchment.'*



Crucially, in terms of addressing these inequalities, Rebecca underlines the importance of increasing 'a frontloading of educational funding' with more programmes like Free School Meals, Flying Start, Sure Start, Language of Play and Family Learning in order to tackle the barriers that many children and young people face in education.

The relationship between inequalities of class and racial discrimination is evident across the school data. For example, in response to question 3 of **survey 1**, a number of respondents' discourses are reflective of xenophobia and racism which suggest a relationship with relative deprivation and class issues. As discussed in Part 2, they also seem to reflect a culture of legitimising xenophobic and racist attitudes towards immigrants that is fostered by sections of the media. Notably, four respondents make reference to 'stop'/'get them off' and 'our country' reflecting dominance and differentiation which Van Dijk (1997) points out indicates an attempt to rationalize prejudice. Further, contestation between the majority ethnic group and minority ethnic groups is represented with some students' references to 'our country' and to 'their country.' For example respondent P's response is: *'Get them off our country then there will be no fights.'* Further, in response to question 4 L's discourse is *'No because coloured people get free houses but homeless people don't.'* Certainly, these responses cannot be dissociated from their context. For, from a context of deprivation such as the location of the school and catchment area, where unemployment is high and competition for housing and jobs is fierce, these students discourses which seek to blame immigrants in terms of presenting immigrants as a social and economic threat to British society can be further understood.

Further relevance of inequalities of class and relative deprivation theory are also apparent in the **focus groups**. For example, group three's discourses point to a relationship between relative deprivation (Runciman, 1966; Crawley, 2009) and racism where it may be perceived that the immigrant represents an economic threat amidst fears of unemployment, and may be perceived to be receiving unfair advantages in terms of employment and housing. In discussion of anti-immigrant sentiment FG3M2 discourse underlines the significance of class issues in motivating xenophobia and racism: *'Because they're like taking the jobs and stuff like that because they think that people from different countries are coming here to steal their jobs.'*

Also, in response to headline 19 of **survey 2**: *'Britain's 'betrayed' white working classes believe immigrants receive better treatment,* 50% of students' discourses appear to

indicate the significance of relative deprivation theory (Runciman, 1966; Crawley; 2009) in relation to attitudes towards immigrants. For example respondent R strongly agrees with the headline, explaining: *'They are working in loads of shops'*, indicating the relevance of relative deprivation theory and a prejudiced attitude towards immigrants who respondent R refers to as 'they.' Additionally, respondent G's response indicates placing blame on immigrants, for taking jobs away from British nationals and blaming immigrants rather than their employers for exploiting them by paying lower salaries than they would pay for British nationals: *'I think they come over here for money by working cheaper than the original workers.'* Further respondent M states: *'Because they come into our country they get a house and money for nothing'* which suggests that the respondent considers that immigrants represent an economic threat highlighting the links between relative deprivation theory and prejudice. In joining up respondents G and M's discourses a contradiction is apparent as Zizek (1993) underlines where on the one hand there is a perception that immigrants represent an economic threat to British nationals because they are working and on the other hand the perception that immigrants pose a threat because they are not working and are getting benefits they do not deserve. Markedly, this paradox is often present in media publications that stereotype immigrants and represent immigrants as scapegoats for social and economic problems in society.

Further in the school data one discourse in the group mapping underlines the relevance of inequalities of class to xenophobia and racism. Markedly, while group 4 draws attention to immigrants in connection with being the victims of racism, in contrast, group 1 identify immigrants as being a cause of racism. In positioning immigrants as a cause of racism group 1 establish a process of Othering and employ a strategy of diversion, deflecting attention towards immigrants and away from non-immigrants aimed at rationalizing racism against immigrants. Notably as relative deprivation theory evidences (Runciman, 1966) from a context of deprivation, settled communities often feel resentment towards immigrants for receiving what they perceive as undeserving advantages and support from the state. Certainly, the state has to bear significant responsibility for xenophobia and racism in many contexts because it is complicit in furthering inequalities within the unequal system of capitalism. Elite racism is tied to an exploitation of immigrants' labour in the market, who are often in desperate need of work and are more vulnerable to being exploited in terms of being underpaid and working in poor conditions. As Cox conceives in his marxist understanding of racism,

prejudice based on ethnicity is *'a social attitude propagated...by an exploiting class for the purpose of stigmatising some group as inferior so that the exploitation of either the group itself or its resources or both may be justified'* (Cox1970, cited in Back and Solomos, 2000, p. 128). Undeniably, from this context, concerns over the current coalition government's policies to reduce its role in supporting the welfare state combined with service privatisation and other significant cuts to essential services have real implications for people most affected by these cuts.

## **Capitalism, Empires of Sugar and Slate, Exploitation and Racism**

Part of Dana's discourse in relation to working out the rights of the UNCRC in practice points to the entrenchment of capitalism in society where there is often a contradiction between what people say they want to invest in and believe and their commitment to those ideals in practice:

*'It seems to me there's a conflict between for example it must be a right that every child has a right to not be hungry, and I would imagine that every single person in this country or in the world would agree with that but there is a conflict between that and how people live their lives, how production is organised.'*

For in practice capitalism and all its unequalizing systems and processes interfere with those ideals. In discussion of the discrimination and exploitation that was an integral part of empire building during colonialism, Emily underlines the exploitation of people who were enslaved to help build Welsh colonial empires such as those of the sugar and slate industries. In her book Emily underlines how her mother *'came from a very well-known Welsh community, a community that had been largely oppressed by the massive global slate industry.'* In discussion of the title of her book \*\*\*, Emily underlines the industrialist Richard Pennant's exploitation of people who worked in the slate mining industry in Wales and his exploitation of people who were enslaved to work in colonial sugar plantations, emphasising how sugar and slate are *'both commodities of empire, they're both commodities of exploitation.'* Markedly Emily's discourse here points to the significant oppression and exploitation of people by the global sugar and slate industries in former colonies and in Wales. Llwyd stresses the fracture between the myth created by those in favour of the slave trade like the industrialist Richard Pennant

and the reality of life as a slave when he comments on the depiction of slave plantations in paintings found at Penrhyn castle, the home of the Pennant family; *'The paintings of idyllic plantations on the walls of Penrhyn castle are in complete contrast to the harsh reality of slave life. Justifying slavery, of course, was essential, if it was to continue'* (Llwyd, 2005, p. 20). This fracture between myth and reality can also be perceived in the civilising mission and biological racism inherent in colonialism where colonialists attempted to rationalise and justify their exploitation of people, their land and resources. Williams (2002) points to the exploitation instigated by industrialist Richard Pennant who owned Penrhyn castle in North Wales and underlines the relationship between the plantocracy and the slateocracy and the cruelty in his empire of exploitation; *The plantocracy sponsored the slateocracy in an intimate web of relationships where sugar and slate were the commodities and brute force and exploited labour were the building blocks of the Welsh Empire'* (Williams, 2002, p. 175). From this context, we can perceive the relevance of a marxist understanding of race relations and racism, as Cox underlines:

*"'Race relations' and 'race prejudice' arose from the historically specific processes of colonialism and imperialism that accompanied the development of capitalism as a world economic system. Racialisation and racism were thereby ideological forces which, in conjunction with economic and political relations of domination, located certain populations in specific class positions and therefore structured the exploitation of labour power in a particular ideological manner."* [...] (Cox1970, cited in Back and Solomos, 2000).

Certainly, this highlights, how in analysing racism in any context, while recognising a hybrid understanding of racism, its diverse forms and influences, an interrogation of class inequalities must be made.

Markedly, institutional racism and institutional cultures that inhibit equality are highlighted by a number of participants who took part in the semi-structured interviews. In the context of the US, as discussed earlier Dana argues that there is a culture of racism within US institutions. In discussion of the main barriers to equality of access in New York city, Arnav points to the migration and immigration policies of North America as being a significant barrier. Further, in context of implementing children's rights in international development, Arnav discusses the ethnic exclusions that take place at both family and institutional levels and highlights the economic and social barriers at both state and community levels pointing to the need to identify what exclusions might be in place whether exclusions based on ethnicity, gender or

geography. Also, in the context of the U.K. Rebecca and Emily point to institutional barriers that inhibit the pursuit of equality including a non-identification with services. Additionally, evidence from the research indicates an authoritarian style of education which often acts as a significant barrier to a positive engagement with education. And indeed from this context anti-racism in education may well be jeopardized where resistance to anti-racism is linked with general resistance to authoritarianism. Markedly, in the group mapping, one group highlights schools in relation to racism and poses the question 'how they deal with it?' Clearly, this group's discourse here draws attention to the need to analyse how school's deal with racism in order to challenge prejudice and discrimination which is a legal requirement for schools to do. Whilst guidelines should legally be in place for dealing with racism within schools, they are not always implemented if they are in place or if they are implemented they may be implemented tokenistically in a way that is detrimental to both victims and perpetrators. As Gillborn argues whilst the education system cannot eradicate racism on its own, 'the education system does have the potential to challenge racism in ways that might have lasting impact on school students (of all ages and ethnic backgrounds) and the communities of which they are a part (Gillborn, 1995, p. 2).

Additionally Arnav and Emily underline the barrier of a lack of awareness and information about services offered and the need to improve people's access to information and data in addressing an equality agenda. Further, a number of participants highlight the poor quality of education provision as a significant barrier to individuals' experiences of education and their access to and retention in education. For example in the context of the public school system in New York City, Luke and Dana point to a significant lack of state funding of the public school system where classes are overcrowded, teachers are underpaid and resources are deficient.

## **Capitalism, Politics and Institutional Racism**

As Arnav underlines, a key barrier to children and young people's access of education services in New York City is related to the government's migration and immigration policies. Further, Luke emphasises how undocumented people living in the states are often put off accessing services because of fears concerning deportation and racism and stigma linked to service access. Markedly, anti-immigrant legislation like the Patriot Act and the difficulties in achieving citizenship in the US means that many immigrants are living on the margins of society and contend with a variety of exclusions including exclusion from education, health and social care services, exclusion from voting as well as being deported for minor offences.

In the context of the UK also, reform of immigration policy to protect the human rights of migrants and asylum seekers in the U.K. system has been highlighted as a political imperative (Crawley, 2009). The Roma community in the U.K. also contend with regular breaches of their human rights. For example, gypsy and traveller communities voting rights are marginalised where they have difficulties accessing their voting cards because of the enforced mobility they are subjected to and because of postal difficulties delivering their voting cards to gypsy and traveller sites (Equality and Human Rights Commission, 2011, p. 581). Further, in terms of political representation in Britain, ethnic minority groups are significantly under-represented. For example, The EHRC reports that:

*'There were four ethnic minority MPs in 1987: since then, the number has grown slowly, reaching 15 in 2005 (2.3% of all MPs). The number almost doubled in 2010, when 27 MPs from ethnic minorities were elected (or 4% of MPs) 11 ethnic minority MPs are in the Conservative Party and 16 are in the Labour Party' (EHRC, 2011, p. 593).*

Arguably, this under-representation of ethnic minorities in UK parliament is indicative of institutional racism as well as racism in society.

## **Capitalism and a Politics of Othering**

Participants from four out of five groups in the group mapping research highlight politics in relation to racism and three of those groups identify the British national party with racism. Scourfield and Davies (2005) draw our attention to a racist discourse that

perceives Welshness to be characterised by whiteness which they underline prevails in certain contexts in Wales. Also, the authors point to the role of politicians in a politics of Othering which draws attention to the potentially negative impact on ethnic minority communities as a result of processes of Othering perpetuated by some members of the national majority in Wales:

*'Despite the relatively long history of minority ethnic people in Wales, there is a powerful legacy of 'Welshness' being seen to equate to whiteness (Williams, 1995). As noted above, large parts of Wales are indeed as much as 99 percent white. Indeed, the leader of the far right British National Party told The Guardian that he moved to mid Wales to escape multiethnic Britain (Scourfield and Davies, 2005 p. 87).*

Certainly, the BNP promote a politics of othering, scaremongering and playing upon people's fears relating to identity and to people's fears relating to unemployment. This politics of othering/alterity is produced by the BNP through various representations and their core ideology focuses on presenting a fixed, static notion of British identity, establishing a dichotomy between those who they suggest are British and who they consider belong to the national collective and those who they consider do not belong and who they try to exclude. Clearly, however, it is not only fringe political parties like the BNP who produce racialized discourses. Brown's infamous populist slogan of 'British jobs for British workers' and Cameron's 2011 speech on the failure of multiculturalism in Britain certainly produce a politics of othering. For, with electioneering strategies and populist politics in general, politicians like media moguls often use immigration as a convenient platform to play upon peoples' fears connected with mass immigration and the perceived threat to the 'British' economy, culture and identity in the grapple to maintain the status quo and increase their powerbase through taking a tough stance so appeasing xenophobic tendencies in some voters they are trying to maintain support from. And crucially, also this politics of othering is arguably often an attempt to deflect attention from a lack of state and other actor's responsibility and action to provide for the needs and rights of people whose rights are being marginalised in a context of socio-economic deprivation. In discussion of the negative myths about refugees and asylum seekers produced by some politicians and political parties and the implications for this negative mythologising on attitudes towards refugees and asylum seekers, Speers (2001) emphasises how:

*'In 1999, the leaders of all the main UK political parties supported an all party declaration on the Asylum bill which states that the right to free political expression must not be abused in pursuit of political advantage by inciting or exploiting prejudice on the grounds of race, nationality or religion' (p. 57).*

Further, Speers underlines the need for political parties to hold to their commitment to not incite or exploit prejudice based on ethnicity, nationality or religion: *'Political parties must uphold this principle in their public statements on asylum issues' (p. 57).*

In conclusion of this part of the chapter we can perceive how often a politics of othering is established by politicians largely in order to secure further power in an effort at political inertia and the creation of an underclass and to mask and distract, moving attention away from the reality of a lack of state provision for the needs and rights of people living in conditions of social and economic deprivation. Certainly, in discussing the need to address inequalities of class perpetuated by the state and other actors, as Gimenez underlines if identity politics does not effect change then inequalities associated with dominant class interests will persist:

*'In so far as identity politics does not threaten the status quo, it will continue to flourish, for it supports the dominant class interests while appearing to challenge their domination. How do we transcend, at the level of theory, these limitations? With a dialectical analysis of identity, one that identifies the common class locations underlying the experiences of people of different identities' (Gimenez, 2006, p. 438).*

Analysing the impact of class inequalities is crucial in many contexts to an understanding of discrimination. Certainly, then a marxist understanding of racism appears very relevant in many contexts as inequalities of class and ethnicity often work together to act as significant barriers to people's access to and experience of educational services. Here it is important to reiterate Hawkins and Price's conceptualisation of access to and experience of services which is similar to how the constructs are conceived of in this research study. Access to services is defined as:

*'The social interface between services and the community' where 'assessing access requires determining the extent to which services and products may be obtained at a level of effort, and of monetary opportunity and social cost that is acceptable to and within the means of poor, marginalised and vulnerable people' (Hawkins and Price, 2002, p. 2).*

And quality of services is defined as; *'the social experience of services and is operationalised in terms of whether a programme is responding to the perceived needs and demands of clients and potential clients' (Hawkins and Price, 2002, p. 5)*



Whilst inequalities of class often act as barriers, as with all types of barriers they should not be conceived of as universally insurmountable. Indeed, Marx and Engel's philosophy of dialectical materialism points to how identity is a dialectical (Hegel) process in which resistance is an everyday possibility, creating coalitions with people who have similar interests to achieve beneficial paradigm shifts in the social system.

In conclusion of this section, we can perceive how both contexts of deprivation and affluence appear linked to much discrimination and exclusions. For in the capitalistic paradigm, some people in conditions of deprivation may perceive ethnic minority groups as an economic threat. And also, some people in conditions of affluence may wish to maintain their affluence through exploitation of the labour of ethnic minority groups who are in conditions of deprivation. In considering what the key barriers to and facilitators of children and young people's access to and experience of educational services, we can perceive the relevance of Cox's argument that racism is a product of capitalism which in terms of the study findings is indicated by a number of participants' discourses from New York City, and South Wales. Participants' discourses highlight a number of issues including exploitation of people during the period of colonial empire building, and present day exploitation and inequalities of class and ethnicity including Western imperialism, institutional racism and significant deficiencies in state support for appropriate provision for people living in contexts of deprivation, along with a monopolisation of state power, and the need to interrogate power imbalances and related inequalities through a number of approaches, including through community organising with a rights based discourse.

## **Part 4: Developing an expansive and inclusive Multicultural Citizenship:**

### **Taking forward a Performative approach to identity: Challenging prejudice, stereotypes and other narrow, exclusive conceptualisations of nationality and ethnicity**

#### ***Stereotyping and internalisation of a societal identity***

In confrontation with difference connected to globalisation and migration and the individual and national unfixing of identities, there is sometimes an effort to essentialise and fix identities, to stereotype and to essentialise. This is apparent in findings from across the school data where there appears nationalist, xenophobic and racist discourses that indicate a dichotomization between fluid and fixed discourses of identity involving a culture of othering of ethnic minority groups. Markedly, a theme running through Dana's discourse focuses on emphasising a performative approach to identity. Taking this performative approach, Dana underlines the limits stereotyping and labelling try to place on people and in response to this Dana argues that whether you like the label or stereotype or not: *'they keep you from creating the performances of yourself.'* Significantly, Dana draws attention to the negative effects of stereotyping and the consequences of an *'internalisation of a societal identity'* which categorise and homogenise people. Dana argues this is especially relevant for adolescents because by the time they are in their mid-teens many have internalised a societal identity: *'it's heartbreaking to hear kids say I couldn't possibly do that because that's not the kind of person I am, I'm this kind of person.'* Further, Dana draws attention to discrimination and stereotyping of young black people that has become internalised:

*'It's as practical as the inner city African American kid who is in the development school for youths and he's gone to some multinational cooperation for one of the trainings and he's wearing a suit and his buddies come up to him and they say do you have, are you going to court, because the only reason you'd where a suit is....'*

## **Emphasising a Vygotsky style performance approach in learning and teaching**

Further in her discourse Dana identifies the main features of the Vygotsky philosophy the centre she is co-director of has focused on emphasizing the importance of developmental learning: *'in early childhood before school, learning is primarily developmental, that is it leads to transformation, qualitative transformation.'* Additionally, Dana highlights Vygotsky's zone of proximal development which points to how during childhood babies and toddlers learn through performance:

*'What makes it developmental in childhood is that it is literally a zone of proximal development for babies and toddlers to perform ahead of themselves, to speak before they know how to speak, to be an artist before they know anything at all so that we do things in childhood before we know how to do them because those adults and others in our environment support that kind of performance.'*

## **Using improvisation comedy in the classroom**

In taking forward a performative approach in education Dana highlights the value in using improvisation comedy as in a classroom it can be used as a way of creating and building something together that does not require acquisitional knowledge and invites all to join in:

*'So we found that teaching teachers the games of improvisation comedy, are probably the most helpful thing that they can then bring to their teaching method because what does improve comedy do, it forces you to accept offers, what they call offers, it forces you to build with other people, because it doesn't work unless you're creating unless you're an ensemble, it's also fun, a lot of fun. Also anyone can participate no matter how smart the student, whatever they know.'*

Certainly, Dana's focus on a performatorial approach reflects a postmodernist perspective on identity. In Dana's emphasis on Vygotsky's philosophy on how children develop through performance, Dana identifies a 'sharp contrast' in Western culture between relating to children in early childhood as *'performers and improvisers'* and relating to children post early childhood in ways which stifle performance and improvisation:

*'Again we can I think, every person can, not on an intellectual level but on a gut level appreciate that when you realise the sharp contrast between how we relate*

*to human beings up until they're 3 or 4 maybe 5 I don't know but in our cultures probably 4 where we do relate to them as performers and improvisers, they're consummate, what else could they be besides improvisers, they're continuously experimenting and they're creatively imitating us and they're performing in the strictly speaking Vygotsky sense of, in play children perform a head taller than they are, you can do things that you don't know how to do, you can play mommy, you can be other than who you are, and how you become, keep becoming is by being other than who you are.'*

A central idea that Dana highlights in a number of places throughout the interview focuses on how a performance approach can help to support children and young people's agency and freedom of choice as *'relating to kids as performers and improvisers of their lives is a way to help them create more options for how to be in the world.'* Further Dana points to the need to relate to all people whatever age as performers and improvisers of their lives and stresses the value of using this approach with teenagers who may have *'internalised and accepted a societal identity.'* Markedly, this performance approach to learning and understanding of how a child learns centres on the idea of a social learning. Thomas (2009) underlines this social aspect of Vygotskyian philosophy on childhood stating: *'For Vygotsky what the child learns is above all a culture, and therefore the role of other people in learning is indispensable'* (Thomas, p. 37). Similarly in discussion of Vygotsky's emphasis on the role of social interaction in childhood learning Howard also points to Vygotsky's interest in how children use *'symbolism during imaginative play'* maintaining that his philosophy *'demonstrates the view of the child as both an independent and critically, a social learner'* (Howard, 2009, p. 103). From this perspective then, we relate to identities in a fluid way, where a developmental approach is emphasised so that we move away from a fixed, essentialising understanding of identities and towards a fluid understanding that perceives identities has entities in constant motion and transition. Certainly, this approach holds significant value in terms of the potential for tackling prejudice and discrimination through education by relating to all people as performers and improvisers of their lives so people can create more alternatives for how to be in the world.

## Multiculturalism

In discussion of critical multiculturalism as democratic empowerment Kincheloe and Steinberg (1997) underline how from a critical postmodern perspective we see identity as a complex entity and through multiculturalism and disengagement from narratives of power we widen our perspective in appreciating a variety of different outlooks of our self and the world:

*'In understanding that human identity is such a chaotic knot of intertwined forces that no social agent can ever completely disentangle it. Using Michel Foucault's concept of genealogy, we trace the formation of our subjectivities. Thus, in the spirit of critical multiculturalism, we begin to understand and disengage ourselves from the power narratives that have laid the basis for the dominant way of seeing. Our ability to see from a variety of perspectives forms the basis of a long running meta-dialogue with ourselves. This inner conversation leads to a perpetual redefinition of our images of both self and world' (Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997, p. 74).*

In her discourse, Rebecca underlines the importance of emphasising multiculturalism and diversity in education and draws attention to the Diversity and Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship programme which is a curriculum requirement in Wales. Further, Rebecca contrasts it with the English version which doesn't have the same emphasis on developing global citizenship. Rebecca's discourse here highlights the potential value of emphasising global citizenship in the curriculum, as arguably if global citizenship in Wales is implemented in a non-tokenistic way then it may have increased capacity to help tackle prejudice and help people to see from a variety of perspectives. Further Rebecca highlights the importance of focusing on diversity in education and suggests international linking and exchanges between schools as a valuable way to promote internationalism for students and cites a number of organisations who fund these links including the European Union, the Department for International Development and the British Council. Markedly, in the school research, the students highlight a celebration of a diversity of festivals in Wales in the iEARN contribution.

In addition, in the context of Wales, Emily underlines the importance of emphasising a grassroots upwards form of multiculturalism and criticises tokenistic multiculturalism in society that focuses on minority difference and ignores the national majority in Wales.

Markedly, Emily points to the hybridity of multiculturalism and emphasises how grassroots multiculturalism disrupts notions of a fixed national identity and challenges easy definitions of what it means to be British:

*'The true issue for Wales isn't about um focusing on minority difference , celebrating it and you know exalting it by putting it on posters and all the rest of it, its much more about questioning what is Welshness, what is Wales, what is the national story, what are we constructing through devolution is it a Welsh assembly based on some idea of Welsh ethnicity that is exclusive or are we telling a new story in Wales and are we questioning where we've been where we are now and where we're going so the interrogation is of the national majority not of looking and celebrating and speculating about the range of minority groups that we've got in Wales.'*

Further, in addressing an equality agenda in Wales, Emily points to the hybridity and fluidity of Welsh national identity, emphasising that there is not just one way of being Welsh in Wales and that it is crucial to challenge narrow, ethnocentric definitions of being Welsh. Markedly, Emily highlights the exclusion from belonging she experienced growing up in Wales and comments that *'it's difficult to feel belonging when nothing tells you that you belong.'* Further, Emily emphasises that growing up in North Wales she has experienced *'a profound sense of unbelonging'* due to being perceived as not being part of the national collective because of her black skin colour:

*'What I described in \*\*\* was a profound sense of unbelonging, of lack of fit, of the fact that there wasn't a perception of you as being part of the national collective, but you were somehow an outsider and would always be an outsider simply by virtue of the colour of your skin and that kind of was what I tried to illustrate in a lot of different stories and different ways in \*\*\* as part of that interrogation project that I spoke about before to say hey you know this doesn't make sense, this kind of experience should not be in contemporary Wales, because there are lots of different ways of being Welsh, and I'm one of them, but there are many others, and that we should be able as a nation to be confident and able to say that's what it is.'*

In discussion of Emily's discourse of the need to continue interrogating narrow definitions of Welshness in Wales, this points to how this interrogation has to confront imagined communities in the sense that narrow definitions of Welshness circle around ideas of exclusive imagined communities (Anderson, 1991). Markedly Emily points to the importance of interrogating these narrow conceptualisations of 'proper Welsh,' and the ethnocentric definitions of national identity which exclude ethnic minority

communities, emphasising the need to recognise multiple ways of being Welsh which necessitates; *'a vibrant interrogation of national identity as a civic status in all areas, interrogating the national majority, what is Welshness, what is Wales and what is the national story.'* Additionally, Emily draws attention to *'exclusive ring-fenced practice particularly in North Wales'* for the white Welsh majority and points out that if it abounds too much then it will hamper equality. Further Emily highlights the importance of diversity and multiculturalism in taking forwards an equality agenda and criticises what she describes as *'the bland universalism of all arms of the state in 50s and 60s Wales'* where there was no emphasis on diversity and multiculturalism from the state:

*'As I was growing up there were no messages coming from the state in whichever of its arms you look at, legislatively, through the media, through policy and practice through you know local government or whatever there were no absolutely no messages that suggested the notion of multiculturalism, the notion that you know Wales is made up of a number of different people with different heritages.'*

Further in relation to multiculturalism, Emily points to the need to raise awareness of diversity and difference in education in all parts of Wales pointing out that *'It's a Wales wide initiative, it's about raising pupils awareness to diversity and difference wherever they are, whether there are 2 black pupils in the classroom or 15.'* Importantly, Emily also underlines the need for an evaluation of how multicultural education is embedded in the curriculum and Emily criticises the equality directives in education which don't focus on monitoring and assessing the student and staff profiles in schools assessing the numbers of ethnic minority group members that are staff and students in schools. Clearly, monitoring the representation of ethnic minority students teachers in education in Wales and in the rest of the U.K. is an essential part of taking forwards an equality agenda as the Parekh report (2000) underlines.

## **Taking forwards an equality agenda, Devolution and The Welsh Assembly**

Importantly, Emily emphasises that owing to devolution, the Welsh assembly has had a significant impact in driving equality in Wales through legislation because it can and has tackled a variety of issues through public policy that affect people's lives and wellbeing. Further Emily underlines the importance of Welsh Assembly policy that tries to take an inclusive line in its directives which underlines the importance of commitment by the Welsh Assembly and by society in Wales to creating and implementing legislation for driving forwards equality and points to the need for a politics of interrogation in evaluating this commitment.



## **Part 5: Towards Social Justice and Social Equality: Pathways to equality through community organising, education and a rights based approach**

In this final section of this chapter we will focus on how the findings of this research study relate to the research question how can the local, national and international community help to challenge the discrimination that people may face in terms of exclusions made on the basis of class, nationality and ethnicity? Indeed, findings reveal a variety of pathways that can be taken in tackling prejudice and discrimination in order to address an equality agenda. Pathways highlighted by this research include community organising, education and a rights based approach. These approaches of course are not mutually exclusive of each other.

Clearly, anti-discrimination law on its own does not equate to the creation of a more egalitarian society as legal argument is not independent of political argument and social movements. Certainly, realisation of the law in practice which will help interrogate and impede racial and other forms of discrimination and facilitate driving equality very much depends on the political and social will and surrounding social circumstances. Undeniably, prejudice and discrimination is very deep seated in parts of society and the state and the law in combination with education, community organising and social movements helps in moving towards a paradigm shift in institutional and societal attitudes. Findings from the study indicate significant power imbalances between society and the state where the state monopolise power and a number of participants point towards the need to redress this imbalance through community organising and addressing a rights based agenda. As Foucault emphasises: *'the will of individuals must make a place for itself in a reality of which governments have attempted to reserve a monopoly for themselves, that monopoly which we need to wrest from them little by little, day by day'* (Foucault, 1994, p. 474).

In addressing racial discrimination and other forms of exclusion, it is important to interrogate a culture of denying racism that prevails in spaces at both local and institutional levels. In discussion of institutional denials of racism Van Dijk draws attention to elite discourse in policy and elite discourse in the media where he points out that the denial of racism only confirms the elite's role in reproducing racism:

*'We have seen that, especially in elite discourse, for instance in the media and in the legislature, the official versions of own-group tolerance, and the rejection of racism as an implied or explicit accusation, are crucial for the self-image of the elite as being tolerant, understanding leaders. However, we have also seen how these strategies of denial at the same time confirm their special role in the formulation and the reproduction of racism' (Van Dijk, 1991, p. 193).*

Certainly in terms of elite discourses, a culture of denying racism is apparent in the U.K. Institutional racism in the UK is a significant issue in many areas including a considerable over representation of ethnic minority members in police stop and searches and in the criminal justice system. Markedly, the Macpherson report into the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry found a culture of institutional racism in the police force.

### **Addressing an Equality Agenda through Community Organising and Development: Community organising to achieve equality of decision making between the state and society: The anti-jail coalition in the Bronx**

In the context of New York City, in discussion of plans to build a jail in the South Bronx and the support of Luke's organisation for the anti-jail coalition in the area, Luke underlines the contestation over it, how the community first learnt of proposals to build another jail in the area through a news article and how insulted by the proposal they feel. Further Luke emphasises how there are already a number of jails and detention centres in the Bronx and that as space is at such a premium in the city he does not consider this is a good use of the land. This contestation is apparent in the following excerpt:

*'Yes that's a huge project and many many organisations all over the South Bronx are involved, they formed a coalition community and unity to stop this jail, there's already a number of jails in the South Bronx, juvenile detention centres. I mean it's a particularly contested topic because we were never informed, the community found out by reading an article in the news so \*\*\* is involved in the anti-jail organisation and in \*\*\* the kids in action feel it really strongly as well you know they're insulted by it, here is a 28 acre plot of land, land is a precious resource in New York City, why would you put a jail there? So we've taken it on as well to join the community.'*

This discourse here points to the inequalities of power between the state and the community in the Bronx where there seems to have been no overt dialogue, consultation or decision making made between the state and the community. Markedly Luke suggests that the inference the proposed plans suggest has made the young people feel 'insulted.' Further, in light of the risks of children, young people and adults internalising negative societal identities, this proposal to build yet another jail appears to send a very negative message out in terms of a number of implications. Here the state is showing a complete disregard for the needs of the South Bronx community of which Hunts point is one of the most deprived areas in the city where there is a significant deprivation of access to parks and community services. For example, also in his discourse Luke underscores the need for more provision of parks in the Hunts Point area and stresses that whilst two new parks had recently been provided in Hunts point there is still a problem with insufficient provision of open spaces in the area emphasising the inequality in access to parks in comparison with other areas in the city that have more parks; *'recently 2 new parks have come into the system here, before that we had one of the worst open space per resident stats in the city.'* This inequality in power between the state and the Bronx community in New York City points to how the state is complicit in furthering inequalities of class and exploiting their position, revealing a significant power imbalance and the need for a decrease in monopoly of state power and an increase in community power so there can be more equitable decision making in order that the community have more power and a stronger ability to successfully oppose the plans. Clearly, the anti-jail coalition of which the community development organisation Luke works within supports, is a very crucial part of campaigning and challenging the proposals.

### **Undemocratic systems of governance in the school system in New York City**

Similarly, Summer's discourse like Luke's points to undemocratic systems of governance Summer argues is apparent in former mayor Bloomberg's decision making about testing in schools in New York City where because in a meeting there was a deadlock, Bloomberg replaced the two people on the panel who opposed his plans with people who would agree with his plans. This discourse here is reflective of Summer's

call for communities to have more of a stake in the school system. Further it suggests autocracy in the mayoral office structure in New York City and points to the institutional creation of barriers and the need to find ways to challenge them to encourage democratic participation in decision making processes. Additionally this discourse connects with Summer's highlighting of inequalities of power related to the lack of working coalitions between youth organisations, as she points out it is mostly the larger youth organisations not the smaller ones who are able to influence policy makers.

### **Community organising to campaign for greater funding and investment in infrastructure for youth development**

Summer underlines a lack of resources and a lack of investment in infrastructure for youth development. Further Summer's discourse here highlights state cuts in financial support for the summer and youth employment programme (SYEP) in New York City and the need for more funding for initiatives like the SYEP. Notably, Summer points to the community organising involved in campaigning against these cuts every year. Summer's illustrations here points towards deficiencies in state funding for youth infrastructure in New York City and a power struggle between those who have power and those who do not, between those who are included and those who are not and the struggle for equality. Summer's discourse here and throughout the interview is reminiscent of Foucault's thesis on the state's monopoly of power.

### **Community organising in the Bronx**

In discussion of the focus of the organisation Luke underlines how part of its focus is an arts based one: *'It's very arts centred, so I mean you'll see that we don't have a gym here for basketball but our students in the younger grades after school programme have dance class, circus classes, they do theatre, music art everything like that.'* Additionally the organisation run after-school art classes for teenagers including photography classes, one of which the researcher attended (See appendices 16 and 17 for photos of young people's work). Luke outlines two different focuses of A.C.T.I.O.N. (Activists Coming to Inform Our Neighbourhood), an after school team activist programme. One focus is

on bringing arts to the community and supports young people with preparation for Scholastic Aptitude Tests (SAT) and with access to and preparation for going to college/university and provides linking between organisations to help support young people. The other focus Luke describes is *'the advocacy side of ACTION.'* He points out that the organisation gives the young people who are members of the programme a stipend every few weeks designed to encourage involvement from many young people who otherwise would have to do jobs after school to help support their family:

*'We recognise that a lot of children can't do the enrichment activities after school because they need to get a job to help the families so here's a way to still get all the enriching programmes that you want while still getting some money because we recognize that that's a need and so I mean there's no costs for this service.'*

In particular, Luke recognises that this is one approach among many in development work with young people, but emphasises the value in this approach for empowering young people so that the young people can be agents of change and in that be able to *'see themselves being able to shape their own future'*:

*'There are many different approaches to youth development and this is one method in terms of critical thinking and getting them to kind of see the bigger picture in these issues and getting them involved in their communities so that they see themselves as having a stake in their community. And they see themselves being able to shape their own future as opposed to just leaving the community whenever they can.'*

Luke's discourse here emphasises the philosophy that perceives children and young people as social actors and aims to empower children and young people to be agents of change. It reflects a rights based approach to youth development, where children and young people's rights and the rights of their communities are emphasised. Rights are linked to social movements and whilst there is difficulty in balancing individual and collective rights, the pursuit of advocacy of and fulfilment of rights is essential. Notably, McKay (2005) underlines that children and young people in the U.S. are not provided with adequate welfare programmes in comparison with other groups such as the elderly and also underlines how there is pressure from the Federal government on individual states to be the main financial provider of welfare services. From this larger context and from the specific contexts that Luke outlined concerning the strain the underfunding of the public school system is causing in public schools in New York

City, and the barriers to accessing education that ‘communities of color’ contend with in the Bronx, this highlights the need for federal government to take more responsibility for individual states and to provide more funding for all services so that all children and young people have equal access to services and equal opportunities.

### **Developing Social Capital: Building a Coalition of Young People**

A strong theme apparent in Summer’s discourse is an emphasis on community development and organising. Indeed as youth assets coordinator her role in the organisation at the time was centred on developing young people’s social capital which formed part of a project to build a coalition of young people from 18 schools and youth organisations. Markedly here in the discourse of developing young people’s social capital and their assets, as well as elsewhere in the interview, Summer’s investment and commitment to the approach can be seen. Summer highlights a youth conference her organisation are holding and emphasises the valuable opportunities it presents for the young people involved:

*‘The thing about it is that for each of them and as a group it is a huge learning moment in their life where they get to create something which they are in charge of and that impresses and inspires and teaches other people and is fun and is a huge accomplishment for them and also for all the other youth who will attend to be able to see them leading it, they’ll be really inspired, it can be like almost like travelling, an eye opening experience so it’s exciting, there’s a lot of work that has to be done.’*

In the interview, Summer points to the value in the Beacons programmes in New York City run for young people in schools as a drop in centre for after school and weekends and the need for more initiatives like them. Also Summer highlights the Harlem Children’s Zone which is an organisation that aims to support the community and build resources within it. Summer describes it as an ‘anomaly’ in its commitment to the community underscoring how the organisation focuses on a 10 block radius and *‘are really trying to participatively increase every well-being indicator from infant mortality rates to income to education and they’re compelling, very comprehensive.’* Additionally Summer like Luke underlines the imbalance of power between society and the state, pointing to the need for more students unions and more coalitions between different

youth organisations and collective training and advocacy centres for youth organisations.

### **Philosophy for Children and a Rights Based Discourse**

In a similar way to both Luke and Summer, Rebecca in the context of community education in South Wales, Britain points to the value in empowering children and young people as active citizens. Particularly Rebecca underlines the role of youth councils in schools that help to empower children and young people. Further, Rebecca points to teaching philosophy for children in education linked with the entitlement dimensions outlined in the UNCRC. In this discourse, Rebecca highlights the value in emphasising processes linked with education, the aims of school, how it is of value and how it can help support children as active citizens.

### **A Human Rights Discourse is Crucial for Interrogating Inequalities**

Summer's discourse throughout the interview centres on advocating for children and young people's human rights. In this particular part of the interview Summer draws attention to violations of children and young people's human rights in the public school system in New York City. Notably, Summer argues that whilst the human rights framework is not overtly used as much in the U.S. as in other countries it is applicable. Markedly Summer underlines the importance of rights pointing to inequalities in the healthcare system in the U.S., arguing that because it's not considered a right, people lack a means of fighting for that right:

*'Well rights mean everything and symbolism is crucial. It is meaningful, it gives you a grounded agenda, I mean look at healthcare in this country it's not considered a right so therefore look what happens, folks lack the vehicle to fight for something so I think it's crucial.'*

At the time of the interview in 2007, the Republicans were in office, however since the democrats were elected and came into power in January 2009 president Barack Obama and his administration have made some reforms to the healthcare system.

Also in her discourse, Summer underlines how using a human rights framework can be used to advocate for better provision and protection of children and young people's rights in the education system. In advocating that education is a human right, Summer points to how these rights have been violated in a number of ways underlining the necessity for '*more equity and quality*' and smaller class sizes in the public school system. Further Summer argues for the need for communities to have '*more of a stake in the school system,*' in local schools as well as in the larger school system. In addition Summer points to the limited provision of 1 or 2 weeks in high school curriculums for sex education underlining how many students miss it if they are not in school then. Summer's discussion points to contestation over the use of a human rights based approach in North America. Regardless of whether constitutional rights are being upheld or not, human rights are designed to be universal and supersede national interests and so must be advocated, which in light of North America's non-ratification of the UNCRC becomes very important, for advocating for the protection, provision and participation rights of children and young people.

### **Social Exclusion and Rights Based Approaches**

De Haan (1998) suggests that analysing inequalities through the concept of social exclusion is helpful as it draws our attention to the multidimensional character of exclusion. Certainly, De Haan's emphasis on the mechanisms of exclusion and the processes involved which include some while excluding others draws our attention to how institutions as well as individuals can act as facilitators or barriers for human interaction. In discussion of barriers to accessing services with one interviewee Amelia, when asked about whether she considered the concept of social exclusion a useful means of identifying problems with children's services she said she considered that it has potential to be a useful measure but that it is not a widely understood construct in the US and is not in use as much as in Europe or Canada. In part of his discussion connected with the UNCRC, Arnav points out that there are two covenants of rights involved in the UNCRC and in converting a CRC. Further, he underlines that the civil political rights of the UNCRC are a very strong instrument from the US whereas the economic and social rights are a very strong instrument from Europe. Arguably, this



distinction explains why the construct of social exclusion is not used much in terms of tackling inequalities in North America but it is in Europe and Canada.

## **Rights and Responsibilities: Duty Bearers of Rights at All Levels of Society and the State**

In response to a question about how children's rights are often used in a tokenistic way and how UNICEF deal with this issue Arnav points to the need to recognise the rights and the responsibilities paradigm of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (1948). Significantly, Arnav underlines how a barrier to implementing human rights can occur if it is considered that the only duty bearer of rights is the state. In particular, this appears to be a theme that Arnav is particularly keen to emphasise in discussion of a rights discourse. Arnav's contention here is that whilst every individual has rights to certain things these rights are determined by the state and civil society so the state and every individual have responsibilities to ensure that each other's rights are realised. Arnav underlines this by pointing out that in the preamble to the *UDHR* (1948) there are duty bearers at all levels of society and the state:

*'It is very clear that the state signs on behalf of a country duty bearers exist at all levels beginning in the case of a child with a family and then going into the community, to the provincial government to institutions to national government and so on.'*

Arnav's discourse points to how the language of rights can be misleading if the responsibilities part of the paradigm is ignored as rights combine freedom with control. However, certainly, a rights and responsibilities discourse should not be used to minimise the responsibility of the state or organisation such as UNICEF who have specific powers to govern and therefore responsibility for ensuring that it is doing its utmost to realise the rights of its citizens.

## Using a role and pattern analysis to identify capacity gaps in communities

In discussion of how UNICEF convert a CRC in the context of international development, Arnav emphasises the value of using a role and pattern analysis to identify capacity gaps in communities. Additionally Arnav points to the practice of a role and pattern analysis which helps programmers to identify the roles of different levels of rights holders and duty bearers so that they can work out what capacity gaps there may be and how these capacity gaps can be filled in order to '*satisfy those rights.*' For example, in terms of overcoming barriers to access of education in assessing early childhood readiness, Arnav emphasises the importance of analysing the inequalities in access to, retention and completion of school. Similarly, Amelia underlines that in terms of assessing children's needs, using child social indicators as measures of child well-being is crucial. Further Amelia argues that more international data on child welfare services is needed in order to provide a foundation to look at child welfare services comparatively. In particular Amelia contends that there is a need to increase the use of child social indicators and increase systematic data collection on child welfare, foster care, adoption, and protective services for children. Certainly, therefore, identifying capacity gaps and then working out how these gaps can be filled forms an essential part of an incrementalist, people-centred approach to development. Markedly there is contestation concerning the whole philosophy of development connected with the historical evidence of developmental failures that have their roots in imperialism. In discussion of this, Sachs a member of the post-development school asserted that '*The idea of development stands like a ruin in the intellectual landscape and it is time to dismantle it.*' (Sachs, 1992, p.1). However, markedly in response to this, Chambers a member of the pro-development school responded: '*That is no grounds for pessimism. Much can grow out of a ruin. Past errors as well as achievements contribute to current learning*' (Chambers, 1997, p.9).

## **International schools in New York City challenging exclusions faced by immigrant communities**

In response to a question about what can schools do to tackle inequalities of access to education faced by immigrant children in New York City, Summer points to how significant inroads in tackling inequalities of class, race and geography have been made through community organising, creating coalitions and taking a rights based approach: *'there's been incredible growth that's happened around combating some of those inequities and leveraging certain communities more so they can access more resources.'* In particular, Summer cites the international schools, a consortium of schools in New York as an example of this growth which provide significant support for young people and Summer highlights a new one that is being opened with a Latin American immigrant rights group in Queens. Here we can see the importance of creating coalitions and unions for people in minoritised positions in order to challenge a range of inequities and exclusions.

## **All Stars, New York City: Youth programmes that are multi-generational and multi-ethnic and facilitate becoming more inclusive**

In response to a question about institutional racism and the impact of different ethnic communities living largely segregated lives Dana points to the value in becoming more worldly. Dana's emphasises the role of a non-profit organisation called the All Stars who are connected with her organisation. In particular Dana highlights the work of a project run by the All Stars in New York City and discusses its different programmes that have a focus on a performance approach to learning. Dana underscores the importance of young people seeing the world from different perspectives and points to the value in youth programmes that are multi-generational and multi-ethnic. To illustrate Dana's discourse on the need for young people to become more worldly she underlines that some of the young people involved in the All Stars project had previously not travelled out of their neighbourhoods and have led quite segregated lives: *'so that's a positive to get you out of your neighbourhood and become more worldly.'* Additionally Dana highlights the value of participating in a programme like the All Stars that has a diversity of people, that is *'multi-generational and multi-ethnic because*

*it gives youth and adults the opportunity to create new kinds of relationships.*' Dana's discourse here links to Dana's thesis related to the limits labelling and stereotyping places on people and the value in relating to people as improvisers and performers in their own lives, moving away from the essentialist, reductionist discourses that stereotypes and labels produce.

### **Tackling discrimination through the law and social movements including concerns about new equality legislation in Britain**

Emily points to how legislation is an important driver of equality noting the significant impact the Stephen Lawrence inquiry had on anti-discrimination legislation in Britain in acting as a catalyst for fundamental reform to the race relations act which means that all authorities throughout Britain are legally required to address a race equality agenda. Markedly, Emily perceives there is a lack of commitment in the legislative changes connected with the new 2010 equality law which she suggests could create a homogenisation and generic dealing of inequalities, and a reduction in state responsibility for tackling an equality agenda resulting in fewer and less appropriate services. Additionally, Emily points out that in terms of addressing equality law in general there is often *'a lack of commitment to it, ignorance about interpreting it and a lot of resistance to it where people interpret that it means a lot of power for them.'* Further in discussion of institutional racism, Emily warns that the new equality act may mean that institutions find new ways to avoid addressing an equality agenda: *'That's another fear about the new equality bill, that those authorities that were only just clocking onto the idea that they did have a responsibility might find plenty of places to hide under this more homogenized generic approach.'* Notably, Emily underlines her discourse of the need for a politics of interrogation of the national majority and in that a challenging of narrow definitions of Welshness. Certainly the state must consistently take responsibility alongside society for an equality agenda that supports all people well and appropriately regardless of economic climate. Notably many services and organisations in Britain are currently facing significant reductions in government funding which emphasises Emily's cause for concern.

## **Establishing networks for ethnic minority groups and ‘Tackling inequality in everyday interactions, shaping, reshaping and negotiating them in society’**

Further, Emily points to the discriminations embedded in society and highlights the important influence of progressive informal and formal attitudes, movements and directives on one another. Further she asserts that the task of equality involves *‘tackling inequality in everyday interactions, shaping, reshaping and negotiating them in society.’* Markedly Emily emphasises the necessity for vehicles which will help provide minority communities *‘with a standpoint, a voice and an expression for commonality of experiences.’* For example, Emily draws attention to the value in local, national and global networks for supporting ethnic minority individuals and groups in diasporic situations. Also, Emily points to the need to increase participation but warns about the power imbalances noting that *‘those who speak loudest take control.’* This highlights how in the power struggle for equal participation there is a risk of over-dominance by some excluding others from participating.

## **EMLAS, the CRE and the Need for Sustainable Strategies and State programmes designed to help tackle discrimination and establish social justice and equality**

Further Emily criticises a *‘Lethargy in public services’* and *‘tick box approaches’* and also contends that long term sustainable strategies are necessary in order to tackle inequalities ensuring that they have the widest possible participation to involve as many people as possible from *‘different walks of life in a collective effort for change.’* Further, Emily highlights EMLAS, the Ethnic Minority Language Achievement Service and underlines the importance of evaluating ethnic minority attainment in order to incorporate it into specific policies and actions to promote higher attainment for ethnic minority groups. In discussion of the formerly named Commission for Racial Equality (CRE), Emily underlines how prior to devolution the organisation faced a number of difficulties which meant that its’ impact was limited. However Emily points to the value

devolution in Wales has had on addressing an equality agenda and emphasises how following devolution there has been rigorous monitoring to make the evidence base stronger and to strengthen the organisation:

*'The CRE became strengthened by the fact that the assembly the presence of an assembly in Wales was strengthening it and through its alliances with the equality opportunities commission and the disability rights commission and I was on the advisory board of the CRE fairly early on through that early devolution period and it was good work to do.'*

Certainly, devolution in Wales has been crucial in providing a stronger powerbase from which to tackle inequalities.

### **Taking Community organising from the local to a wider public sphere**

Across the school data students highlight the value in taking forwards an anti racism message through a variety of public mediums including using social media networking sites, film, music and the law. Certainly, the media can be used as a powerful tool in addressing an equality agenda. For we live in a society where we are saturated by the media, from the internet to television, radio, billboards, newspapers and magazines the influence of the media is widespread. Below are a selection of suggestions students gave in the focus groups for promoting an anti-racist message to a wider public audience.

### **Anti-racism campaigns**

Markedly, high profile anti-racism campaigns are highlighted in other part of the school data, indicating their appeal and influence on young people. Here group 3 underline the value in using high profile anti-racism campaigns. For example FG3M1 cites a Nike anti-racism campaign and Kick racism out of football campaign: *'they had a campaign, stand up and speak up against racism and the kick racism out of football campaign, it's on all the adverts.'* Additionally group 2 points towards football club bans on racism. Notably his discourse indicates that he considers racism in terms of overt aggressive behaviour: *'You get banned if you get caught doing racism, you get banned from the*

*grounds and stuff.*' Certainly, racism is something that is not confined to the football stands. Recently Luis Suarez who plays for Liverpool has been given an eight match ban for racist abuse during a football match he targeted at Patrice Evra who plays for Manchester United. Furthermore, as well as Luis Suarez, his club Liverpool are complicit in also making a denial of racism in supporting him. Similarly John Terry who plays for Chelsea has been charged for being racist during a match, and this is a criminal prosecution.

### **Using film to challenge racism**

In the focus groups research all three groups point to the value in using film to tackle racism. For example FG1M1 suggests *'show them how people feel and stuff, like videos.'* Additionally, group 2 highlight the films *This is England*, *Hairspray* and *Bend it Like Beckham*. This discourse is repeated in many other parts of the school data collected as well indicating the students' awareness of the power of film to engage them and other young people.

### **Raise greater awareness about racism through a variety of mediums**

Markedly, FG3M4 highlights the need to *'make people more aware'* of racism as a way of challenging it. Further the group point towards the value in using a variety of mediums that engage young people citing *'posters'*, *'adverts'*, *'radio'*, *'television'*, *'magazines'* and *'beebo'*, *'msn'* and other sites on the *'internet.'* Importantly, tackling racism and raising awareness of children and young people's rights forms a core part of the implementation of the UNCRC (1989) and the UNDHR (1948) which is highlighted by these students' discourses here.

## **Promoting anti-racist messages through music**

Group 1 underscore the value in tackling racism through music pointing to the potential impact it would have on young people's attitudes. They further suggest that to have a significant impact on young people's attitudes the artist or band would have to be popular and have a high profile. As with the medium of film, this suggests the power of engagement music has on young people and how as part of a group of measures it can be used to challenge racism.

## **Law reform**

FG3M5's discourse points to law reform as an effective anti-racism measure suggesting; '*making new laws.*' In discussion of this response, certainly, where there are inequalities, the law has an integral role to play in addressing these inequalities.

To conclude this last section of the chapter, how the key findings of this research study relate to the research question of how can the local, national and international community help to challenge the discrimination that people may face in terms of exclusions made on the basis of nationality, ethnicity and/or class must be re-emphasised. Certainly, findings from across the research study illustrate a variety of pathways for tackling inequalities, and in particular, participants underline the importance of community organising and development using a non tokenistic rights based approach for tackling inequalities led by civil society, the state and non governmental organisations at local, national and international levels. As Summer expresses, '*rights mean everything and symbolism is crucial*' and without taking a rights based approach to tackling inequalities, people lack '*a grounded agenda*' and a '*vehicle to fight*' for their rights. Especially vital and visible through a plethora of examples given by participants in this study is the importance of interrogating the state's monopoly of power in order to create a balance of power between society and the state through grassroots community organising, defending and sustaining the civil and political and economic and social rights of all people in addressing an equality agenda.



## **Chapter 4: Conclusion**

### **The human need and human right for belonging**

In conclusion it is suggested that findings from this research study point towards a thesis of belonging, the human need for belonging and security in that belonging and the human right to have this need satisfied. Certainly, centering on a thesis of the importance of belonging, this study has focused on an analysis of the significance of belonging often derived from a social identity in group membership and has explored a variety of approaches which tackle inequalities relating to class and ethnicity including community organising and development and rights based approaches. In particular, findings from this research study emphasise a synthesis of marxist theory (Marx and Engels, 1848) and social identity theory of racism (Turner, 1981) where the importance of interrogating the social and economic circumstances that may act as a catalyst for discrimination made on the basis of nationality or ethnicity is perceived as being crucial in addressing any equality agenda.

### **A significant relationship between inequalities of class and ethnicity**

Decidedly, right across the data, a highly significant relationship between inequalities of class and discrimination based on nationality and ethnicity is shown to be relevant. Therefore, in answering the first research question which asks what are the key barriers and facilitators of children and young people's equality of access to and experience of educational services, the answer in terms of the findings in this research points to how inequalities of class run right through the heart of inequalities of ethnicity. Markedly, a report by the group End child poverty (2012) underlines that currently in Britain, four million children or one in three children are living in poverty which is one of the highest rates in the industrialised world (End child poverty, 2012). Further, as well as poverty itself, the organisation underline the significant ramifications poverty potentially has on children in terms of experiencing a deep sense of social exclusion: *'Poverty can have a profound impact on the child, their family, and the rest of society. It often sets in motion a deepening spiral of social exclusion, creating problems in education, employment,*

*mental and physical health and social interaction'* (End child poverty, 2012).

In particular, the authors of the report call for immediate action from the coalition government in terms of policy reform that will tackle the current growing child poverty rates that they underline will continue to increase if current policies are pursued. Specifically, the authors point to a prediction by the Institute for Fiscal studies which forecasts that: *'present policies will cause a further rise in child poverty. Far from it being eradicated by 2020, on the coalition's present policies it will have returned close to its peak in the 1990s, wiping out the progress that has been made'* (End Child Poverty, 2012, p. 5). This evidence and indeed the findings of a relationship between inequalities of class and ethnicity in this research study underline how these inequalities act as barriers to children and young people's equality of access to educational services as well as a variety of other systems and points to the political and societal imperative to address these inequalities. From this context, Tajfel and Turner's thesis on social identity theory is valuable in highlighting the importance of interrogating the circumstances and processes which include some whilst excluding others. For Tajfel and Turner's social identity theory (1979) points to the innate needs of individuals to experience a sense of belonging derived from membership and acceptance in key in-group identities and underlines the need to consider the specific circumstances that often act as catalysts for inter-group discrimination.

### **State policies and programming that either act as barriers to or facilitators of equality**

Noticeably, the state's capacity to further inequalities of class and ethnicity is apparent from findings in both research contexts of Britain and North America, where in its inaction and discriminatory action the state acts as a barrier to equality in its lack of equality and deficiencies of support and quality of service provision for people in vulnerable and minoritised positions. Conversely, the state's capacity to interrogate inequalities of class and ethnicity in addressing an equality agenda is apparent from findings in this research study in both research contexts of Britain and North America, where the state acts as a facilitator of equality in policy and provision based on addressing an equality agenda which provides good, and appropriate quality support and service provision for people in vulnerable and minoritised positions.

## **Grass-roots community organising and rights based approaches**

Markedly, in discussion of the search for effective pathways to interrogate discrimination and inequalities in addressing an equality agenda, participants' discourses in this study very much underline the need for more grassroots community organising and more rights based campaigning. For the human need for belonging and the human right to have this need satisfied (UDHR, 1948) through the realisation of all people's civil, political, economic and social rights is crucial in the pursuit of equality. Certainly, in combination with grass roots social movements and institutional change, if thoroughly implemented through international and domestic law, advocacy of human rights delineated in the universal declaration of human rights and other rights based conventions has potential to make a significant impact in the pursuit of equality, freedom, security and well-being of all people.

### **A relationship between a fear of difference and discrimination**

Many participants' discourses indicate a relationship between a fear of difference, prejudice and racism underlining the need to tackle a fear of difference in education through a variety of approaches including multiculturalism and anti-racism. Certainly, a fear of difference seems to be a very relevant factor for some participants where in the encounter between the self and the other, there is a contestation over difference. In bridging the divisions between people that contestation over difference often creates, in tackling discrimination based on nationality and ethnicity, more focus in education and other areas must be given to emphasising our common humanity. As Alcoff underlines it seems that we do not always realise that we share more similarities than differences: *'When I refuse to listen to how you are different to me, I am refusing to know who you are. But without understanding fully who you are, I will never be able to appreciate precisely how we are more alike than I might have originally supposed'* (2006, p. 6).

Similarly, in discussion of the hegemonies of power connected with racism and the inequity of the racist gaze, Williams emphasises the need for a greater listening across the divide, in order that discrimination and the fixed discourses of identity of which it is a part are confined to history:

*'Racism is a gaze that insists upon the power to make others conform, to perform endlessly in the prison of prior expectation, circling repetitively back upon the expired utility of the entirely known. Our rescue, our deliverance perhaps, lies in the possibility of listening across the great divide, of being surprised by the Unknown, by the unknowable. Old habits of being given away, let us hope, to a gentler genealogy of Grace' (Williams, 1998, p. 74).*

### **Institutional change and reform of policies which further processes of exclusion is a political imperative**

Clearly, we can perceive the relationships in this research study between inequalities of class and discrimination based on nationality and ethnicity and the significance of the need for belonging rights and security in that belonging derived from an upholding of human rights which necessitates inclusion and acceptance within significant group identities. Undeniably, the impact of capitalism is considered to be a highly significant influence in terms of furthering inequalities of class and ethnicity, where unequalizing processes are at work which include some whilst excluding others, where in the pursuit of amassing greater wealth, some individuals and institutions further the exploitation of people in minoritised positions through an exploitation of the labour of people in vulnerable positions (Marx and Engels, 1848). Clearly, as evidence from this research study underlines, inequalities are deepened by an irresponsible state disregard for people in vulnerable and minoritised positions, where significant deficiencies in policy and programming for addressing an equality agenda are apparent. And this state disregard impacts heavily on ethnic majority and minority communities living in conditions of poverty, deprivation and social exclusion. Clearly, findings from participants' discourses in this study emphasise that institutional change and reform of policies which further processes of exclusion is a political imperative. Furthermore, the role of civil society as well as the state is particularly emphasised by participants in this study, and in a context of a rolling back of state responsibility for the welfare of people in minoritised and vulnerable positions, the role of civil society in interrogating inequalities in the pursuit of equality becomes especially crucial.

## **A collective construction of national identity: Imagined communities, myths and memories of the nation, belonging and exclusion**

Returning once more to the research questions, we will consider the study's thesis of belonging, the human need for belonging and the human right to have this need satisfied (UDHR, 1948). Firstly, does group membership identity hold an appeal for individuals? Clearly, the answer from the study's findings is yes. Secondly, what is it about group membership that is appealing? The answer to this is found in the study findings which indicate a sense of belonging derived from group membership where social identities provide further identity definition and a sense of sharing, community and connectedness with other people. Experiences of participants in this research study certainly emphasise that the desire to belong, to feel accepted for self-esteem needs appears a fundamental emotion in the human psyche (Maslow, 1943) and that a sense of belonging in group identity seems to provide these belonging needs and a feeling of self-esteem (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Breakwell, 1986, West, 1993, Aboud, 2008).

Notably, findings from the research study point to the significance of a co-construction of social identities. For example, in consideration of participants' discourses across the data, in particular from Emily's discourse and the students' discourses in the school research the power of a co-construction of social identity is apparent where the significance of collective memory in connection with national identity is indicated. In this context a nation's storytelling develops, forging myths and memories which offer a sense of an imagined community, a shared identity, affording a deep sense of individual and collective rootedness and belonging. Therefore whether there is an inclusive or exclusive understanding of belonging in terms of defining national identity is key. Participants' responses in the research study suggest cognitive, evaluative and emotional aspects of group membership. For example, a sense of belonging is indicated by some participants in connection with their Welsh national identity and also in a collective, shared defining of Welsh national identity in relation to sport and culture. Also, exclusion from in-group membership is indicated by some participants including one participant, an asylum seeker from Afghanistan who underlines: *'My nationality means exclusion.'* Additionally, Emily underlines *'a profound sense of unbelonging'* experienced growing up in North Wales from exclusion from being accepted as an in-group member in not being perceived as fitting narrow definitions of Welshness based

on her black skin colour. Clearly, from these research findings, implications for what happens to individuals' social and psychological well-being when belonging and security and fundamental human rights are not afforded by the state or by society to a person/s or group/s because of discrimination based on nationality or ethnicity must be taken more seriously by the state and society.

### **Importance of interrogating the social and economic conditions prejudice and discrimination manifest within**

Crucial to an analysis of prejudice and discrimination is the socio-economic and social psychological circumstances which can produce a pronounced dichotomy between in-groups and out-groups. As is apparent in critical discourse analysis of the findings from this research study, the insider versus outsider dichotomy is situated within specific contexts which act as catalysts for inter group conflict and the interrogation of these contexts is key. Here we can perceive the relevance of Tajfel's thesis on the importance of considering the in-group and out-group components of group membership and the need to interrogate:

*'The social and social psychological conditions which determine the creation of the social-cognitive consensus about group membership, the development of positive or negative evaluations of the group and of one's membership in it, and the corresponding investment of emotion' (1981, p. 230).*

Further Tajfel emphasises the importance of interrogating the *'effects of all this on social behaviour towards the relevant in-group and the relevant out-group' (1981 p. 230)*. Therefore, in the analysis of the social circumstances surrounding discrimination let's consider how the research findings relate to the following research questions. Namely, what are the social circumstances that may act as a catalyst for discrimination made on the basis of class, nationality and ethnicity? What other exclusions may be made that are closely related with those made in connection with nationality or ethnicity? And how relevant is a marxist understanding of racism? Certainly, from a marxist understanding of racism both conditions of poverty and wealth appear to be related to manifestations of discrimination.

## **Relative deprivation theory and a marxist understanding of racism**

From a context of social and economic deprivation, where unemployment is high and opportunities for employment are low and there is inadequate provision of support and services from the state, then inter-ethnic group conflict often arises (Runciman, 1966, Tajfel & Turner, 1979). Markedly, the context surrounding the school where part of the research was carried out is one of social and economic deprivation. And so for some participants, conditions of poverty and deprivation seem to have had a profound effect on their attitudes in terms of exhibiting ethnocentric, nationalistic, xenophobic and racist discourses. Clearly, here we can perceive the links between inequalities of class and racial discrimination (Cox, 1959) as well as relative deprivation theory (Runciman, 1966, Crawley, 2009). Conversely, also from a context of social and economic wealth, greed and the drive for amassing further wealth in a capitalistic paradigm often translates into elite discourses which propagate justifications and rationalisations of exploitation of ethnic minority people's labour and their minoritised position in society. In this study this is underlined by a number of participants' discourses including Emily's and Dana's. For example, Dana underlines how the pursuit of an equality agenda is in part hampered by capitalistic systems and she illustrates this point by underlining that whilst most people would agree that the rights of children and young people outlined in the UNCRC are incontrovertible, in practice, the way many people work out their lives capitalistically contradicts their convictions. Similarly, Emily also underlines inequalities of class in present day society as well as those of the past.

## **Capitalism, colonial empires, racism and exploitation**

In discussion of the history of inequalities of class let's consider Emily's discourse which underlines the exploitation involved in the enslavement of people in the colonial period where the pursuit of empire was the primary objective. Markedly, Emily's discourse points to the inequalities inherent in the empire building processes of capitalism and she draws attention to the construction of Welsh empires built on the '*plantocracy and slatocracy*' of the sugar and slate industries in Wales and in Africa, where capitalists exploited the labour of workers in slate mines in Wales and to a more significant degree exploited and enslaved people to work in sugar plantations in Africa. Llwyd underscores the inequalities of class and the myths propagated by Richard Pennant a colonial industrialist based in North Wales who tried to justify the exploitation he was responsible for. Notably Llwyd underlines how Mr Pennant '*insisted that the middle passage from Africa to the West Indies was "...one of the happiest periods in a Negro's life"*' (Llwyd, 2005, pp. 19-20). Further Llwyd draws attention to a marxist understanding of racism by underlining how those who supported the slave trade like Richard Pennant, Bamber Gascoyne and Thomas Williams financially benefited from it and opposed the abolition of the slave trade (Llwyd, 2005, p. 20). Here we can perceive the strong relationship between inequalities of class and racial discrimination. And from that unequal context, clearly, the production and reproduction of myths, rationalisations and denials of exploitation appears a particular focus of those who have hegemonies of power and want to maintain those powers at all costs.

Capitalism and the greed which motivates empire building is inherently linked to exploitation and often has very strong links with inequalities of ethnicity. Certainly, the capitalistic practices of large banking groups have been a significant factor in causing the current global recession. Indeed, the highly unequalizing impact of neoliberalism has come under scrutiny across the world where huge profits motivated by significant greed have been made in highly unethical ways. In discussion of capitalism and acts of resistance against it Bourdieu underlines the need to better manage financial markets and further tax the huge profits made there so that the public interest is better upheld and the inequalities which neoliberalism exerts are countered. Indeed, in addressing an equality agenda, and in narrowing the significant gap between the rich and the poor, and



the neoliberal forces which underpin and exacerbate this gap, working towards a paradigm shift in the social order is key, as Bourdieu underlines we have to:

*'Work to invent and construct a social order which is not governed solely by the pursuit of selfish interest and individual profit, and which makes room for collectives oriented towards rational pursuit of collectively defined and approved ends. Among these collectives- associations, unions and parties- a special place should solely be made for the state, national or, better still supranational, in other words a European State (as a stage on the way to a world state), capable of effectively controlling and taxing the profits made on the financial markets; capable also, and above all, of countering the destructive action which these markets exert on the labour market, by organizing, with the aid of unions, the definition and defence of the public interest- which, whether one likes it or not, will never, even by juggling the figures, be produced by the accountant's view of the world which the new belief presents as the supreme form of human achievement' (Bourdieu, 1998, pp. 104-105).*

Perhaps when governments are reminded that the taxes taken are not theirs and that they have a duty to use them in ways which meet the best interests of all people then they might take on more responsibility for what they do with taxes and not waste them but use them wisely in particular to support people who need the most support.

### **The media's construction of national identity, discrimination and the legitimisation of myths and consensually shared social ideologies**

In analysing the research question which asks what role does the media play in constructing a sense of nation in the UK and is this construction of nation inclusive or exclusive and what influence does this have on intergroup attitudes, many participants' discourses indicate that the role of the media in imaging the society that we want is crucial and can have a powerful influence on attitudes. Apparent in the discourses of participants in this research is the positive influence the media can exert in helping to make society a more inclusive one where the message emphasised is that all people of all identities are equals.

Certainly, as we considered in the discussion chapter, sections of the media play a very significant part in the legitimising of myths and consensually shared social ideologies connected with misrepresentation of and discrimination against ethnic minority group members through scapegoating and stereotyping. Clearly, any legitimisation of discrimination whether present in private or public discourses must be interrogated.

Examples of the use of myths to justify discrimination are found in a number of discourses in this research study where racialised discourses and myths propagated by politicians and the media may well have influenced nationalistic and racist discourses of some participants in this study. In terms of addressing an equality agenda, monitoring the press and holding them to account is key. The Leveson inquiry was set up by David Cameron in July 2011 to analyse the culture, practice and ethics of the press after the phonehacking scandal. Certainly, in terms of addressing a habitus of racism in sections of the press, there needs to be much better monitoring ensuring that the press are complying with human rights and equality law. As Leveson emphasises: *“The press provides an essential check on all aspects of public life. That is why any failure within the media affects all of us. At the heart of this Inquiry, therefore, may be one simple question: who guards the guardians?”* Thus in guarding the guardians in pursuit of an equality agenda, any legitimisation of myths and consensually shared social ideologies which are discriminatory in the press must be interrogated and where found in violation of human rights and equality law, clearly the press must be prosecuted.

### **Institutional racism and denials of racism**

Undeniably, in society in Britain and North America, racialised discourses and myths are connected with class issues. And as Van Dijk underlines, a culture of denial of racism is very much connected with maintaining positions of power in hierarchical systems. Specifically, Van Dijk draws our attention to the individual and social spheres of denials of racism and strategies such as these that are used to defend the in-group's racism:

*‘Denials of racism, and similar forms of positive self-presentation, have both an individual and a social dimension. Not only do most white speakers individually resent being perceived as racists, also, and even more importantly, such strategies may at the same time aim at defending the in-group as a whole: ‘We are not racists’, ‘We are not a racist society’ (Van Dijk, 1992, p. 89).*

Markedly, public denials of the entrenchment of racism in British as well as North American institutions and society abound from elite discourses. In the context of Britain, certainly, racism and denials of racism are very apparent in a plethora of examples, a high profile one being the racially aggravated murder of Stephen Lawrence in London which has taken 18 years for the police to finally bring a prosecution against

two people who were part of a group who are responsible for Stephen Lawrence's murder.

The finding of institutional racism in the police force by the Macpherson inquiry highlights the deep rootedness of a habitus of racism in some parts of British society and the political imperative and legal requirement to interrogate the dominant discourses of those who seek to discriminate on the basis of ethnicity and other bases whether wittingly or unwittingly. Further this finding also suggests that in terms of tackling the ugly face of prejudice and discrimination much better education is needed. So in schools as well as other institutions a greater emphasis on the hierarchies of unequalizing power at work and how to challenge them instead of passively accepting them or actively conforming to them should be made. Crucially, anti-racism education in schools and other institutions must always be considered in relation to a discussion of other related forms of discrimination and their resulting inequalities including inequalities of class, gender and sexuality. Further, in emphasising the hybridity of identity, anti-racism education should be focused on underlining the performative nature of identity and should underline a variety of ways to help support individuals in perceiving themselves as performers and agents of change in their own lives. Indeed, as O'Brien emphasises in his work on the Macpherson report and institutional racism: *'To be 'British' is not to adopt some narrow cultural norm but to embrace a culture which is increasingly more open, vibrant and enjoys its diversity'* (O'Brien, 2000, p. 26).

Certainly, past experiences have a significant impact on shaping individuals and as highlighted above unwitting racism and indeed witting racism can be analysed from the perspective of habitus where a maze of past experiences have a profound effect on our decisions, attitudes, behaviour and responses:

*'Habitus is a structuring mechanism that operates from within agents. Though it is neither strictly individual nor in itself fully determinative of conduct. Habitus is, in Bourdieu's words (1977a: 72, 95) "the strategy-generating principle enabling agents to cope with the unforeseen and ever-changing situations...a system of lasting and transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations and actions and makes possible the achievement of infinitely diversified tasks." As the result of the internalization of external structures, habitus reacts to the solicitations of the field in a roughly coherent and systematic manner' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 18).*

However, habitus should not be perceived in an entirely deterministic way but rather habitus should be conceived as being open to modification as well as to reinforcement:

*'A product of history, it is an open system of dispositions that is constantly subjected to experiences, and therefore constantly affected by them in a way that reinforces or modifies its structures' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p. 133).*

Certainly, in any context attention must be given to 'habitus'/environment and to the field/ structure (Bourdieu, 1992) surrounding individuals and groups and so attention must be given to individual agency as well as to structure where cultures and patterns are produced, reproduced and can be transformed. As Chan emphasises in relation to transforming police culture, *'changing police culture and improving the relations between police and minorities require changes in both the cultural knowledge and the structural conditions of policing (Chan, 1997, p. 238).* So, clearly then, in an institutional setting such as the police force, any racist culture which develops whether witting or unwitting must be interrogated and addressed by the institution itself as well as by the individuals working within. Markedly, on the 15<sup>th</sup> November 2012, the current liberal democrat-conservative coalition are holding elections across 41 authorities in England and Wales to appoint officials, police and crime commissioners (PCC's) in police forces *'to be the voice of the people and hold police forces to account'* (Russell, 2012, p. 4). In addressing an equality agenda, the introduction of the PCC's has the potential to effect change in a number of areas in the policeforce where there are inequalities and injustices including importantly in helping to combat institutional cultures of racism and connected racist practices in policeforces. Thus, the challenge lies in ensuring that the PCC's work is genuine and not tokenistic.

### **Combating a Politics of Othering**

Further, evidence from participants' discourses in this research study points to a politics of Othering which is perpetuated by many politicians and sections of the media. This politics of Othering is seen in political and media discourses that have nationalistic and racist tones. A politics of Othering found in a differentialist form of racism is evidenced in this research study where contestation over differences in skin colour, culture and religion are indicated, particularly noticeable is a repeated link across the school data made by some students between racism, Muslims and terrorism. In these student's discourses constructions of simplified representations of ethnicity and binary oppositions are presented, where the self and other are dichotomized. Certainly, evident

from these discourses in the study is the impact of modern imperialism, Orientalism and the impact of the terrorist attacks on the twin towers in New York City and the Anglo-American intervention in Iraq which followed. Indeed, the considerable political and media attention devoted to the 'war on terror' and the dominant, dichotomized, stereotyped discourses connected with that have had a negative impact on inter ethnic group relations between East and West. For in the pursuit of retribution some Western politicians and media representatives' discourses emphasised a dichotomy between East and West, of insiders versus outsiders, where stereotyping and homogenisation of religious identities were facilitated and a culture of Islamaphobia developed where Islam was conceived of homogenously as representing a terrorist threat to the Christian West. In discussion of racism and the press Van Dijk underlines a culture of scapegoating pointing out that the: *'villains' of the day in the press in 1985 were the 'rioting blacks' and parallels this with his suggestion that in 1989 the 'fundamentalist Muslims' were the new 'threat' to British Society (and the Christian West in general) (Van Dijk, 1991, p. 68).*

### **Family influence, peer pressure, bullying and racism**

Additionally, relationships between social conditioning and racism are indicated by participants' responses and discourses pointing to relationships between family influence, peer pressure, bullying and racism. Certainly, these influences are particularly significant and arguably especially so during the period of adolescence when identity construction goes through a number of transition phases including needing to be affirmed by peers. As Erikson underlines in connection with analysing identity and influences on young people, ideologies have a significant impact: *'In searching for the social values which guide identity, one therefore confronts the problems of ideology and aristocracy' (Erikson, 1995, p. 236).*

### **Anti-racism campaigns, social media and the need for deep-seated institutional and social change**

Further, in particular, it is important to emphasise how many of the students who participated in the school research underline the value in showing young people how

racism makes young people feel as a way of challenging it and suggest the effectiveness of a number of anti-racism campaigns and a variety of ways through different social media to challenge prejudice in pursuing an anti-racism agenda. Certainly anti-racism measures accompanied by other rights based approaches have a very significant place in addressing an equality agenda. However in order to best challenge racism there needs to be deep seated institutional and social change. In discussion of the Holocaust and apartheid Billig draws our attention to the importance of fostering a sense of morality in the public and private spheres and underlines the need for individuals to take responsibility for controlling their attitudes and behaviour arguing that to more effectively challenge racist attitudes we cannot rely solely on law enforcement in the public sphere to do this:

*'Without the outwardly racist ways of talking, the institutions of apartheid could not have functioned. With the collapse of apartheid those old ways of talking have become unacceptable. White speakers cannot be seen to be racist. They must not blithely talk of 'inferior races', just as post-1945 Austrian politicians needed to find a different way of talking about Jews. However, to ensure that the previous way of talking is tipped into the garbage can of history, it is not sufficient merely to prohibit certain forms of public utterances. Internal controls also have to be set in place, so that the thought, as much as the outwardly spoken act, becomes shameful' (Billig, 1999, p. 260).*

Clearly, it appears that there are diverse causes and contexts of discrimination and there are many relationships between inequalities and exclusions. In terms of analysing factors which may influence discrimination made on the basis of nationality or ethnicity, capitalism and the resulting class inequalities and a fear of difference appear very significant factors in this research study. In consideration of the study findings in relation to the last research question of this study which asks how can the local, national and international community can help to challenge the discrimination that people may face in terms of exclusions made on the basis of class, nationality and ethnicity, we can perceive a variety of approaches shared by participants which can be taken in addressing an equality agenda which includes increasing children and young people's access to and experience of educational services. Findings from this study show the necessity for all institutions to pursue an equality agenda and to thoroughly commit to and interrogate its implementation in a genuine, non tokenistic way. Further, findings show the inter-connectedness of exclusions and the need for local, national and international communities to address all exclusions, crucially, those connected with inequalities of class and ethnicity. Markedly, findings also show the benefit of using

diverse approaches to tackle exclusions. In terms of tackling inequalities of class and ethnicity, many participants discourses in this study point towards the necessity for an interrogation of state monopolies of power. In particular, the need to campaign for a balance in power sharing and decision making between society and the state is emphasised in a number of ways by participants where campaigning for institutional change, rights based approaches, community organising and community development work are highlighted as valuable ways of addressing an equality agenda.

### **Grassroots multiculturalism**

Emily underscores the importance of grassroots multiculturalism in education and also points to the need to evaluate current forms of multiculturalism in the education system. Furthermore, relevance of this need to evaluate multiculturalism in education is apparent in this study where a relationship between a fear of difference and discrimination based on nationality and ethnicity is indicated through a number of participants' discourses from across the research. Thus from this context, the importance of non tokenistic multiculturalism and anti-racism in both formal and informal types of education is indicated. Importantly, Emily's discourse underlines the need to interrogate narrow conceptualisations of national identity in Wales and the power narratives which dictate dominant exclusive perspectives, in '*a vibrant interrogation of national identity as a civic status in all areas, interrogating the national majority, asking what is Welshness, what is Wales and what is the national story?*' Certainly interrogating whether conceptualisations of identities are inclusive or exclusive is key to this objective. Notably, Emily emphasises the dangers of tokenistic multiculturalism that simply focuses on minority difference without an interrogation of the national majority maintaining that:

*'The true issue for Wales isn't about focusing on minority difference , celebrating it and exalting it by putting it on posters, its much more about questioning what is Welshness, what is Wales, what is the national story, what are we constructing through devolution? Is it a Welsh assembly based on some idea of Welsh ethnicity that is exclusive or are we telling a new story in Wales and are we questioning where we've been, where we are now and where we're going. So the interrogation is of the national majority not of looking and celebrating and speculating about the range of minority groups that we've got in Wales.'*

## Cosmopolitan citizenship and empowerment

Both research contexts of Britain and North America are characterised by super-diversity (Vervotec, 2007) and significant inequalities relating to that diversity. Thus in order to interrogate the inequalities of class and ethnicity in those settings, policy reform which makes the process of gaining citizenship a more simple and speedy process is necessary along with significant reforms to immigration and asylum legislation and related deportation and detention processes which breach immigrants and asylum seekers human rights (UNDHR, article 9; Crawley, 2009; Capps & Fortuny, 2006,). Furthermore, a cosmopolitan conceptualisation of citizenship that is inclusive is crucial. Indeed, citizenship as empowerment necessitates going beyond being expansive and inclusive in order to consistently pursue democracy. In discussion of the pursuit of democracy and equality in society Hart underlines the need for more '*genuine participation*' and points to the failings of an education system that purely offers a dominant fixed ideology of patriotic citizenry which disregards the diversity of students and their perspectives, ultimately only alienating rather than engaging students in '*self realization and the democratization of society*':

*'The reason given for political indoctrination in schools is its necessity for establishing a stable, democratic form of government through the creation of a patriotic citizenry. In fact, by offering a fixed set of beliefs, rather than the opportunity for political self determination, the state is failing to prepare young people to join democratically with others in the kind of flexible response to a changing world that is ultimately necessary for genuine stability. Participation is an important antidote to traditional educational practice which runs the risk of leaving youth alienated and open to manipulation. Through genuine participation in projects, which involve solutions to real problems, young people develop the skills of critical reflection and comparison of perspectives which are essential to the self-determination of political beliefs. The benefit is two-fold: to the self realization of the child and to the democratization of society' (Hart, 1992, p. 36).*



## **A performative approach to identity: Relating to people as performers and improvisers of their lives**

Significantly, as part of her organisation's approach to addressing an equality agenda, Dana underlines a performative approach to identity emphasising that whether a person likes a label or a stereotype or not *'they keep you from creating the performances of yourself.'* Further Dana emphasises the dangers of internalisation and acceptance of societal identities and underlines the need to relate to children, young people and adults as performers and improvisers of their lives emphasising the value of using a performative approach with teenagers who may have *'internalised and accepted a societal identity.'*

In conclusion then, certainly, in negotiating identities and further understanding the human need and human right for belonging, and in further committing to implementing the human right for inclusion and equality and freeing all people from discrimination which is at the core of pursuing an equality agenda, it is clearly of fundamental importance that both society and the state need to take much greater responsibility for interrogating how inequalities of class impact on inequalities of race and addressing certain socio-economic conditions where racism often thrives. And, in emphasising our common humanity rather than difference, applying a Vygotskian understanding of how a child learns through performance and improvisation in education, moving away from the stereotypes and labels that so often define and divide us, may also assist in the progressive movement which encapsulates a paradigm shift away from narrow, fixed discourses of identity that hamper equality and further towards fluid discourses of identity that pursue social justice, equality, real belonging and inclusion for all people.

**Swansea University**  
**School of Human and Health Sciences**  
**Centre for Child Research**

**Appendices**

**Negotiating Identities and Interrogating Inequalities of Class and  
Ethnicity in addressing an equality agenda:  
A rights based thesis of belonging**

**By Sarah Macdonald**

**Submitted to Swansea University in fulfilment of the requirements for the Degree  
of Doctor of Philosophy  
2012**

**Appendix 1: Remnants of the copper industry in South Wales**



Ruins of the White Rock copperworks, before reclamation, Kilvey Hill is to the left, the river Tawe to the right. *National Monuments Record for Wales.*

**Appendix 2: Exploratory survey on children and young people's access to educational services**

*The study that this exploratory survey is connected to seeks to investigate the barriers to and facilitators of children and young people's access to and experience of educational services in New York City in the United States and the City of Swansea in the United Kingdom.*

*This exploratory survey is concerned with attitudes to determinants of children and young people's access to and experience of educational services in New York City.*

*The exploratory survey has 35 questions. Please fill in the following section concerning your personal details also. (Please note your name and organisation name will not be identified in connection with the exploratory survey or passed onto any third parties.)*

**In each category below please check the box/s that most closely matches your own details:**

**Your Age:**

18 and under 19-29 30-39 40-49 50-59 60-69 70 and over

**Sex:**

Male Female

**Ethnic group:**

Asian Black Hispanic White

**Borough of residence:**

Brooklyn Manhattan Queens Staten Island The Bronx Other

**Do you volunteer/work with children?**

Yes No I have previously

**If yes with what ages of children?**

0-5 6-10 11-15 16-18 11-18

**Which category best describes/d your role in working with children?**

Practitioner/Academic involved in the field of children's education Public School Teacher  
Private School Teacher Youth organization volunteer Youth organization employee Other

**Which borough/s do you work with children in?**

Brooklyn Manhattan Queens Staten Island The Bronx All NYC boroughs Other

Please check one box for each statement below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree:

		Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
1	Children and young people's access to and experience of educational services would be improved if the United Nations Convention on the Rights of The Child were endorsed.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Those who live in neighbourhoods with just members of their own ethnic group generally develop a greater respect and appreciation for people from different cultures than those living in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
3	The children and young people that achieve the best level of education are generally those from poor homes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	In order to attract the most able teachers the state should allow schools in the wealthiest neighbourhoods to offer the highest salaries.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Community centres often attract trouble-makers and do more harm than good for children and young people's educational development.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	Ethnicity of a student body has no impact on the students' cultural learning environment.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

7	Generally it is important for parents/guardians to act as positive role models for their children's educational development.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
8	The state should not aim to provide children and young people from all ethnic groups with equal educational opportunities.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
9	Ethnicity has no impact whatsoever on a child or young person's intellectual abilities.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
10	The behaviour of parents/guardians generally has little influence on their children's educational development.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
11	Endorsement of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of The Child would not facilitate children and young people's access to and better experience of educational services.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
12	The ethnic diversity of a neighbourhood generally has no impact on a child or young person's cultural development.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

13	Children and young people from wealthy homes generally have more opportunities to access and experience a variety of quality educational services than children from poor homes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
14	Community centres are valuable for children and young people's educational development	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
15	The same quality of education should be available to children and young people from all ethnic groups.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
16	Children and young people from wealthy homes will generally achieve a better level of education than children and young people from poor homes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
17	Children and young people do not have a right or the necessary experience and understanding to be able to participate in the process of making important decisions that affect them.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

18	Living in a neighbourhood mostly comprised of one ethnic group generally has a positive impact on a child or young person's cultural development.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
19	Teachers of the same level of experience should be paid equally in all schools.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
20	People who live in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods generally develop a greater respect and appreciation for people from different cultures.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
21	Whether a child or young person comes from a wealthy home or a poor home generally has no bearing on the level of education s/he achieves.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
22	Schools situated in the wealthiest neighbourhoods should have the most financial support from the state.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
23	The best cultural learning environments are generally found in schools with students from a single ethnic background.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
24	The state should provide equal educational opportunities for children and young people from all ethnic groups.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree



25	A child or young person's ethnic group is a good indicator of his/her intellectual ability.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
26	Children and young people have a right to have their views listened to and consulted on important decisions affecting them.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
27	Schools that attract students from a variety of ethnic groups generally provide students with the best cultural learning environments.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
28	The state should ensure that schools in the poorest neighbourhoods offer the highest salaries in order to attract the most able teachers.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
29	Children and young people from some ethnic groups deserve a better quality of education than others.	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree

30	The state should provide the most financial support to schools located in the poorest neighbourhoods.	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Undecided	<input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Disagree
31	There are generally more opportunities for children and young people from poor homes to access and experience a variety of quality educational services than children and young people from wealthy homes.	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Undecided	<input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Disagree
32	The state should provide equal financial support to all schools in all neighbourhoods.	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Undecided	<input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Disagree
33	Whether a child or young person comes from a wealthy home or a poor home generally has no bearing on a child or young person's opportunities to access and experience a variety of quality educational services.	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Undecided	<input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Disagree
34	Children and young people's cultural development is generally enriched by living in neighbourhoods with people from other ethnic groups.	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Undecided	<input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Disagree
35	A family's non US citizenship status often reduces their children's access to educational services compared to families who have gained US citizenship.	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat Agree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Undecided	<input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Disagree	<input type="checkbox"/>	Strongly Disagree

Statement numbers:	Positivity/Negativity of statements	Possible determinants of equality of access:	Summer's responses:	Summer's scores:	Maria's responses:	Maria's scores:	Luke's responses:	Luke's scores:
8.	negative	State racism	Strongly disagree	7	Strongly disagree	7	Strongly disagree	7
24.	positive	State racism	Strongly agree	7	Strongly agree	7	Strongly agree	7
9	positive	Racism	Strongly agree	7	Agree	6	Somewhat disagree	3
15.	positive	Racism	Strongly agree	7	Strongly agree	7	Strongly agree	7
25.	negative	Racism	Strongly disagree	7	Disagree	6	Strongly disagree	7
29.	negative	Racism	Undecided	4	Strongly disagree	7	Strongly disagree	7
1.	positive	UNCRC	Strongly agree	7	Undecided	4	Undecided	4
11.	negative	UNCRC	Strongly disagree	7	Undecided	4	Undecided	4
17.	negative	Children and young people's participation rights	Strongly disagree	7	Disagree	6	Disagree	6
26.	positive	Children and young people's participation rights	Strongly agree	7	Agree	6	Strongly agree	7
35.	positive	Citizenship status and education	Undecided	4	Somewhat agree	5	Agree	6

**Appendix 3:**  
**Table showing**  
**Exploratory**  
**survey statements**  
**themes and**  
**participants'**  
**responses and**  
**scores**

**Appendix 3:  
Table showing  
Exploratory  
survey statement  
themes and  
participants'  
responses and  
scores**

Statement numbers:	Positivity/Negativity of statements	Possible determinants of equality of access:	Summer's responses:	Summer's scores:	Maria's responses:	Maria's scores:	Luke's responses:	Luke's scores:
2.	negative	Impact of ethnic diversity of neighbourhood	Somewhat disagree	5	Disagree	6	Strongly disagree	7
12.	negative	Impact of ethnic diversity of neighbourhoods	Strongly disagree	7	Disagree	6	Disagree	6
18.	negative	Impact of ethnic diversity of neighbourhoods	Undecided	4	Disagree	6	Somewhat agree	3
20.	positive	Impact of ethnic diversity of neighbourhoods	Somewhat disagree	3	Agree	6	Undecided	4
34.	positive	Impact of ethnic diversity of neighbourhoods	Agree	6	Agree	6	Agree	6
6.	negative	Impact of ethnic diversity in schools	Strongly disagree	7	Disagree	6	Disagree	6
23.	negative	Impact of ethnic diversity of schools	Strongly disagree	7	Disagree	6	Disagree	6
27.	positive	Impact of ethnic diversity of schools	Somewhat disagree	3	Agree	6	Somewhat disagree	3

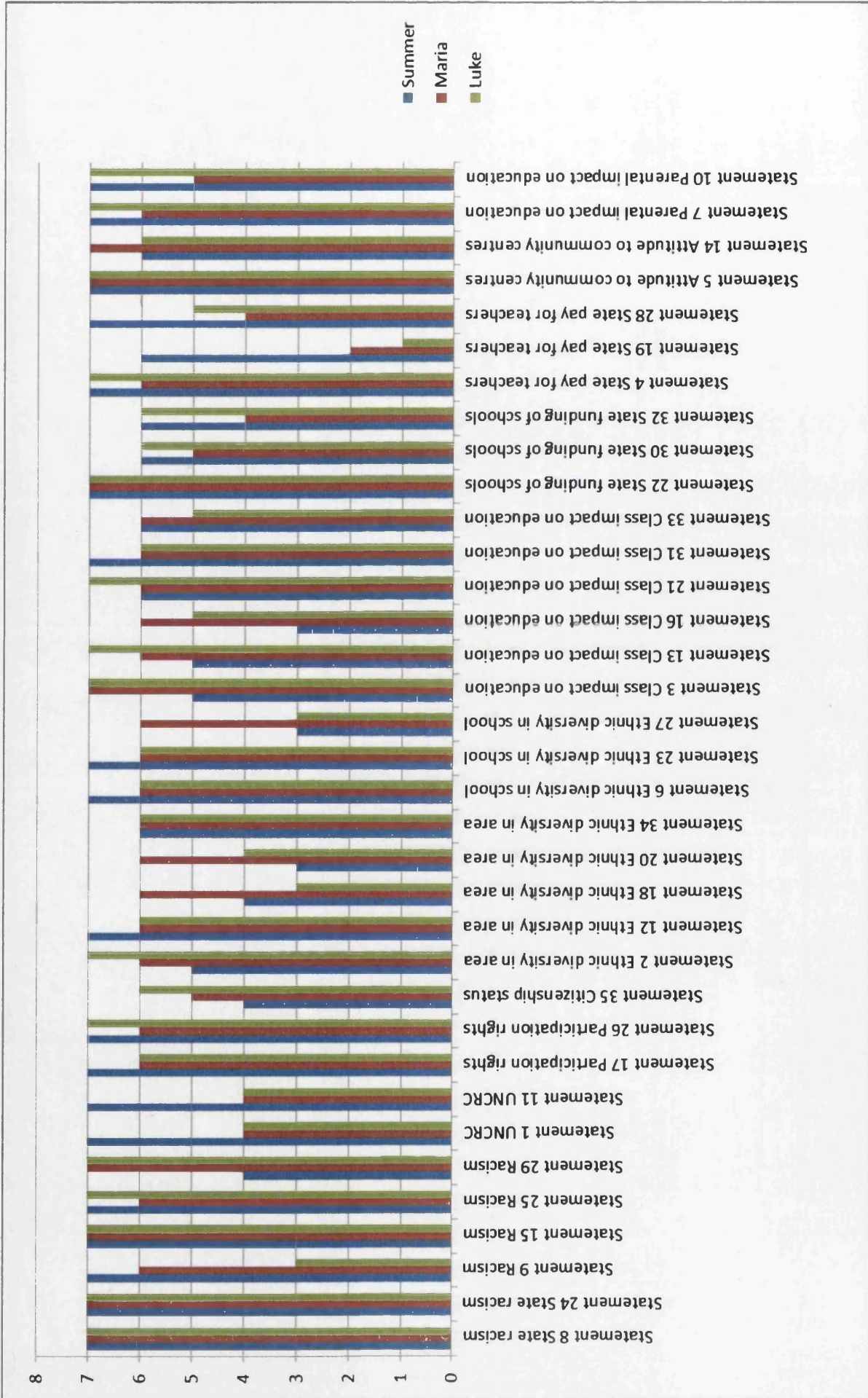
**Appendix 3:**  
**Table showing**  
**Exploratory**  
**survey statement**  
**themes and**  
**participants'**  
**responses and**  
**scores**

Statement numbers:	Positivity/Negativity of statements	Possible determinants of equality of access:	Summer's responses:	Summer's scores:	Maria's responses:	Maria's scores:	Luke's responses:	Luke's scores:
3.	negative	Impact of economic status on education	Somewhat disagree	5	Strongly disagree	7	Strongly disagree	7
13.	positive	Impact of economic status on education	Somewhat agree	5	Agree	6	Strongly agree	7
16.	positive	Impact of economic status on education	Somewhat disagree	3	Agree	6	Somewhat agree	5
21.	negative	Impact of economic status on education	Disagree	6	Disagree	6	Strongly disagree	7
31.	negative	Impact of economic status on education	Strongly disagree	7	Disagree	6	Disagree	6
33.	negative	Impact of economic status on education	Disagree	6	Disagree	6	Somewhat disagree	5
22.	negative	State funding of schools	Strongly disagree	7	Strongly disagree	7	Strongly disagree	7
30.	positive	State funding of schools	Agree	6	Somewhat agree	5	Agree	6
32.	negative	State funding of schools	Disagree	6	Undecided	4	Disagree	6
4.	negative	State pay for teachers	Strongly disagree	7	Disagree	6	Strongly disagree	7
19.	negative	State pay for teachers	Disagree	6	Agree	2	Strongly agree	1
28.	positive	State pay for teachers	Strongly agree	7	Undecided	4	Somewhat agree	5

Statement numbers:	Positivity/Negativity of statements	Possible determinants of equality of access:	Summer's responses:	Summer's scores:	Maria's responses:	Maria's scores:	Luke's responses:	Luke's scores:
5.	negative	Perspective on community centres	Strongly disagree	7	Strongly disagree	7	Strongly disagree	7
14.	positive	Perspective on community centres	Agree	6	Strongly agree	7	Agree	6
7.	positive	Impact of parents on children's education	Strongly agree	7	Agree	6	Strongly agree	7
10.	negative	Impact of parents on children's education	Strongly disagree	7	Somewhat disagree	5	Strongly disagree	7

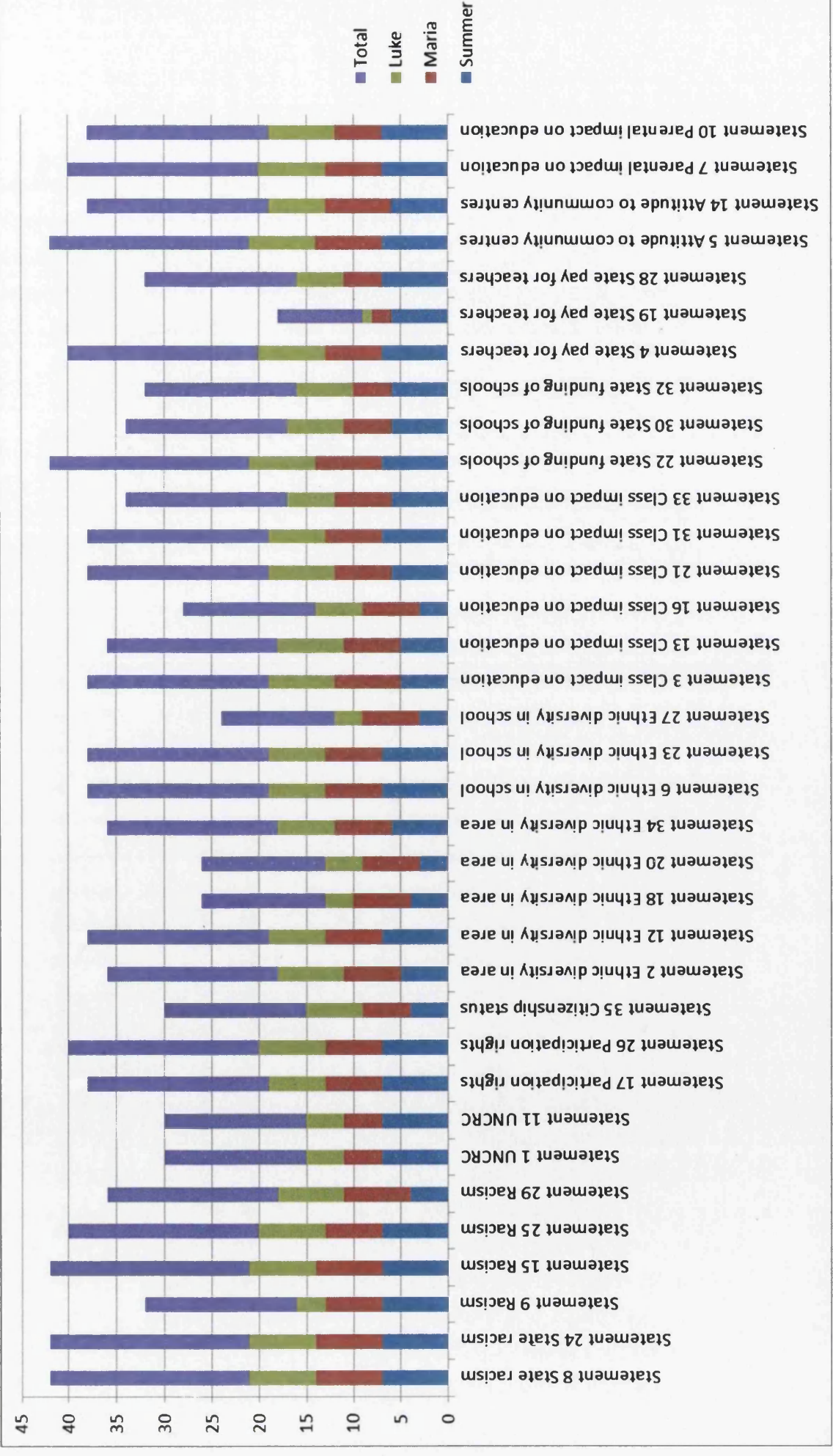
**Appendix 3:**  
**Table showing**  
**Exploratory**  
**survey staten**  
**themes and**  
**participants'**  
**responses an**  
**scores**

Appendix 4: Bar chart showing participants' scores by statement themes



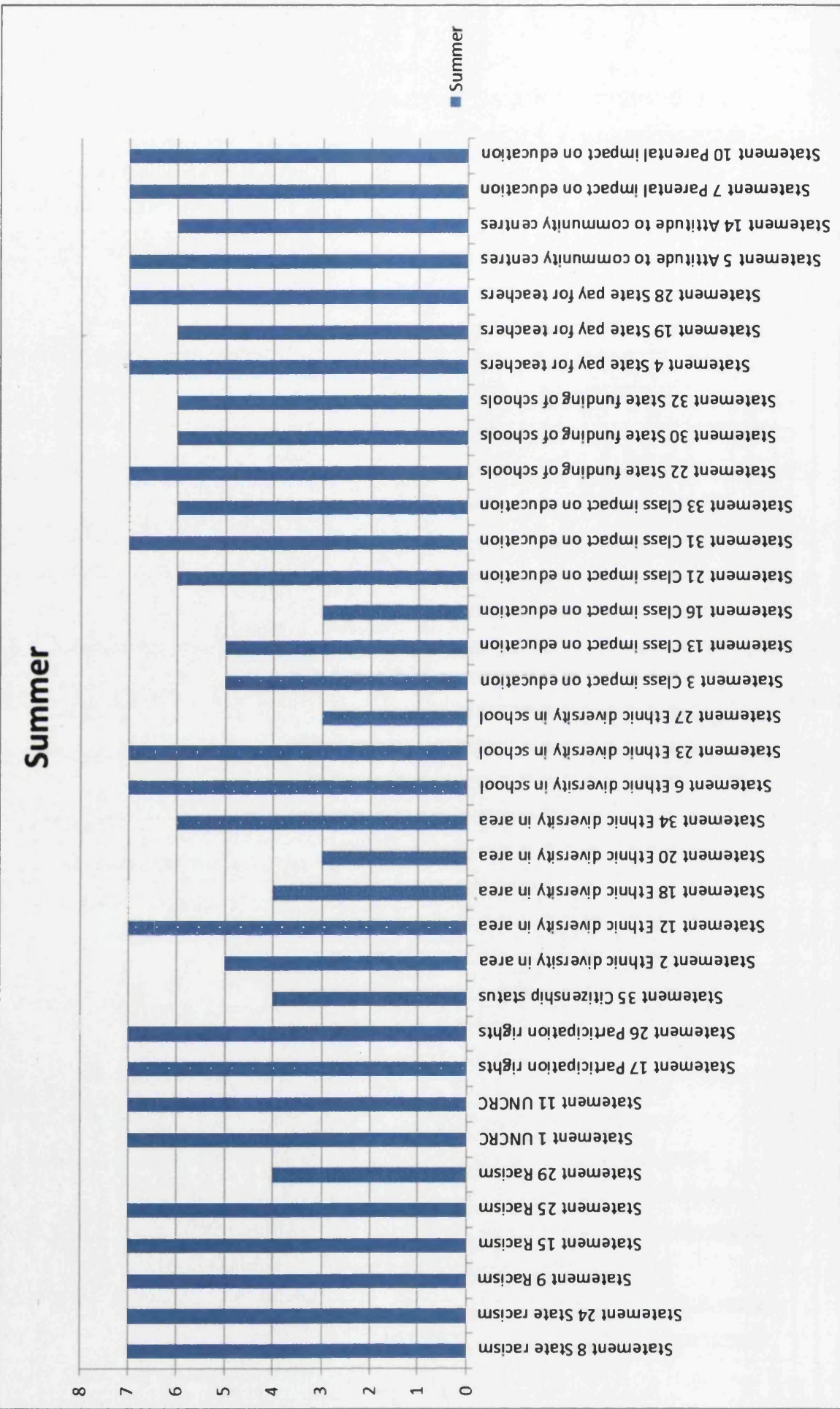


Appendix 5: A stacked Bar Chart showing participants' scores and total scores by statement themes

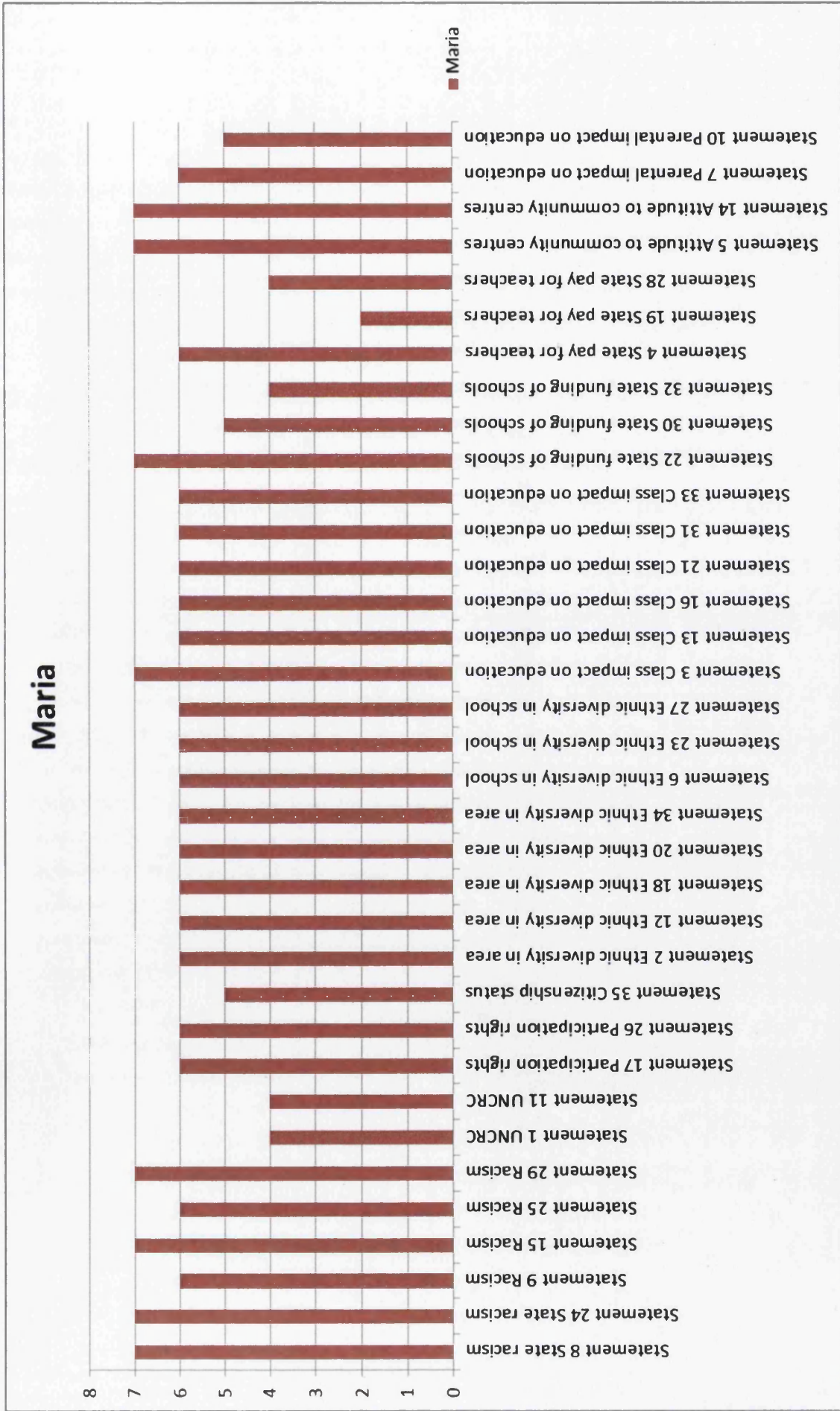




Appendix6: Bar chart showing Summer's scores by statement themes

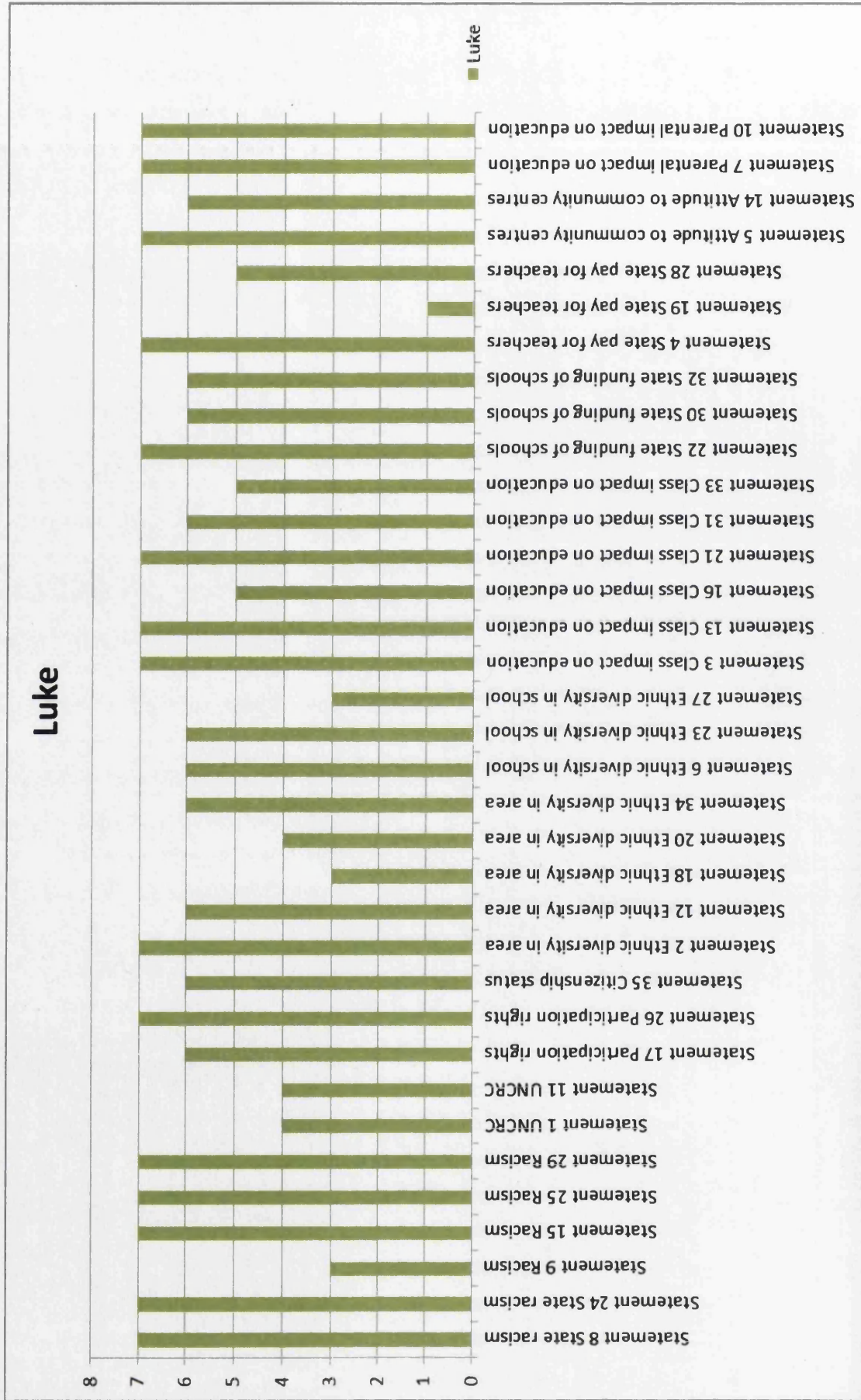


Appendix 7: Bar chart showing Maria's scores by statement themes





Appendix 8: Bar chart showing Luke's scores by statement themes



## **Appendix 9: Transcript of semi-structured interview with Amelia**

### **Location of interview: Amelia's workplace**

RESEARCHER: How can local, national and international communities help to improve access and quality of services for all children in the context of US, Europe and Internationally?

AMELIA: I was going to say that legislation is one way to access and probably the most obvious one. In other words mandatory legislation as far as participation or enrolment in school is critical and one of the reasons that Britain for example has such complete cover of 5 year olds is because education is mandatory at the age of 5 and if you have education mandatory at the age of 7 you don't have as full coverage.

RESEARCHER: Do you think that reduced levels of federal funding have affected children's services in New York City at a state level?

AMELIA: The US is a federal structure, education is the responsibility of the state and local government not the federal government and so there is a limited impact on the part of the federal government. As far as state and local governments are concerned there is no single age at which education becomes compulsory, it ranges between the ages of 5 and 8, so it depends on the state in which you live, county, and locality in which you live that's the first thing. The other thing has to do with resources and there are significant differences in resources across states and across localities and clearly if the federal government were to take a stance that said every school district should offer the same level of resources to children as any other you would also have a different kind of result, we don't have that in place at the present time.

RESEARCHER: Do you think that the administration has an important role to play in connection with children's educational services across the states?

AMELIA: We have a federal structure in which historically states took precedence, it's only largely since 1960s that there has been a growing social role for the federal government and at the present time there probably is more federal involvement in education than there ever has been, not always for the same reasons and not always in a way that perhaps satisfy's all people but the big issue has to do with equity of resources.

RESEARCHER: You say that's the big issue?

AMELIA: But you have to keep in mind that education is often funded by local school districts based on property taxes, but some of it is based on federal funding, Headstart

which is a compulsory education programme has federal funding but it is not sufficient to cover all children who would qualify for it.

RESEARCHER: And is that similar to the leave no child behind Bush initiative

AMELIA: That's a separate initiative. And there too the criticism on the part of the critics has been that the resources are inadequate to implement but there is also a philosophical debate about the use of testing and standardised tests and so forth but that's a separate issue.

RESEARCHER: What would you consider are significant barriers and facilitators to children's access of services in NYC?

AMELIA: In NYC? Um I don't know that there are barriers, certainly not to education in NYC, there may be barriers, there may be limitations on access to early childhood education and care but certainly not to primary, secondary or even tertiary education.

RESEARCHER: What would you consider are the facilitators in that case?

AMELIA: I think a combination of culture, resources and political support.

RESEARCHER: Do you consider that educational services in NYC are very comprehensive?

AMELIA: In terms of access they are extensive, in terms of quality there is a big debate and a lot of dissatisfaction and frustration.

RESEARCHER: So barriers possibly in that sense of quality.

AMELIA: But they are not barriers to access.

RESEARCHER: In terms of the quality of service there are barriers to access if for example schools are of a very low quality then they do have more of a push than pull on students' access.

AMELIA: I think if you reach secondary school level or maybe even middle school level you would find there might be issues around dropouts but not at the primary school level and there are. Access and coverage is fairly extensive but as I said frustration with quadiferential quality is an issue.

RESEARCHER: Do you consider the concept of social exclusion a useful means of identifying issues with children's services?

AMELIA: I think potentially it is a useful measure but it is not an understood construct in the US and not yet, nowhere near as much used as in Europe or even Canada.

RESEARCHER: And why do you think that is primarily?

AMELIA: I think that the concern with the US is much more directed at income poverty than it is at broader issues as social exclusion.

RESEARCHER: And is that connected to the measurement of income poverty from a national level?

AMELIA: Yes.

RESEARCHER: I know some critics argue that measuring it from a state level is perhaps a better means, do you agree?

AMELIA: I don't think so, there are a lot of improvements in the measure that need to be made, including not limiting it necessarily to cash income, not limiting to pretax income, not adjusting the market basket, on which its based, combining it with a relative measure as well, there are all sorts of issues with regard to the measure. Again I think that's separate.

RESEARCHER: What impact do you think the non-ratification of the UNCRC has had on children's services in the states and do you think there are any positives that have come out of the US not ratifying it?

AMELIA: I don't think there are either positives or negatives, I think most people in the United States have never heard of it and wouldn't pay too much attention to it, I think you know it has symbolic meaning and I for one wish we'd signed it but from a practical point of view some of the issues that the CRC addresses are issues that can't be addressed at the federal or national level they can only be addressed at the state and local level and so there are also problems in a document that does not necessarily reflect the reality in our society. I think by the way the MDG's are a more interesting concrete measure that could be addressed and could get more attention.

RESEARCHER: Why?

AMELIA: Because they are measurable and quantifiable and by and large they are also feasible, they are reasonable.

RESEARCHER: And that's a big facilitator is it?

AMELIA: Yes, because they are also designed basically to promote child well-being in developing countries and so we start so far beyond it that achieving the goals doesn't mean anything to us. We can talk about the MDG no 1 which has to do with reaching full primary school enrolment; after all obviously we have all OECD countries done that quite a long time ago.

RESEARCHER: Can you think of a good model of service provision for children in NYC or at a national or international level?

AMELIA: There are some excellent models of early childhood education and child services, and they can be very different, they could be the Swedish high quality model, they could be the French universal pre-school model. Those are both splendid models. Then there is the issue of child welfare services, foster care, adoption, protective services for children. There it is very difficult to, there are no international systematic data that covers those services and that would provide a basis for being able to talk comparatively about it, that's an area in which the data are just very inadequate.

RESEARCHER: Why is the quality in Swedish early childhood education very high?

AMELIA: Small groups, well trained staff, well paid staff, high staff-child ratios.

RESEARCHER: How do you think communities can best assess the needs of children and do you consider that emphasising positioning the child as a social actor is a helpful way of assessing children's needs?

AMELIA: I think it's one helpful act but certainly not the only one, there are a number of others including again objective standards and indicators, we have a lot of data with regard to childhood social indicators that tell us something about children's needs and the extent to which they are being met.

RESEARCHER: So you would say that's a very core part?

AMELIA: I think using child social indicators as measures of child well-being is a very, very important strategy.

End of interview

## **Appendix 10: Transcript of semi-structured interview with Arnav**

### **Location of interview: Arnav's workplace**

RESEARCHER: Does UNICEF pursue a strongly qualitative approach to analysing indicators and looking at quality of services?

ARNAV: Yes, ok let me start with these three indicators and the quality of services. As UNICEF we have a presence in more than 120 countries which we call the programme countries and we have a program of cooperation with the national development plan basically. And there is in global publications such as the State of the World's Children report or the trimestral report called Progress for Children data which is at national level. If you go down to countries the analysis is not just national, it is much more by regions, by different ethnic populations, by sex, by age group, depending on the indicator. So that is the first opportunity to look at who is being left out. So there may be geographic exclusions, so there maybe ethnic exclusions, so there maybe gender exclusions, so that kind of an analysis becomes the basis for our programming. So that is the first point of trying to look at that. The second thing we do is we also try and bring in particularly in the recent, I would say in the last 5 years, we had a fairly high thrust around gender and the Girls Education Initiative which UNICEF is now playing a lead role within the UN on the UN Girls Education Initiative that is a specific component there. Many of those countries are in Africa and when you start looking in Africa the exclusion is not just at the family level there are some systemic kind of reasons. The systemic reasons maybe things like there is no woman teacher or there are issues of quality of education in terms of educational spaces, not having girls toilet which is secluded from the.., the issues of safety and security for girls for example. Now that also helped us to look at other issues in a number of countries, for example in India you have children of several casts sitting together and there is a school meal programme then the children of lower caste, (in certain dominant communities, not everywhere but in certain dominant communities), do not get to eat these meals that the other communities do. So there are these exclusions and that has helped us begin a dialogue around the why and how we can bridge those exclusions, so that's how it has emerged. And if you look at our global strategic plan, particularly in the education area we have four key result areas and the 1st key result area is around children's readiness for



entering school and the indicators are around parent education and around pre-school education and around children's ability to reach a level of developmentally mature state to enter primary school so that is a particular key result area where we have certain indicators which focus both at the community level as well as at the system level, for example the indicator at the system level is does the country have national standards of monitoring school readiness as a compliment of developmental readiness of children entering primary school. So in a way it is a qualitative dimension to primary school.

RESEARCHER: As UNICEF works with lots of different partners, would you say that UNICEF has difficulty sometimes balancing the NGO relationships with state relationships?

ARNAV: The way our relationships work is when it comes to setting the policy we articulate the standards and we are sometimes the spokesperson of what is the moral minimum and therefore there is often not much balancing to do but more of ensuring that we have an opportunity to provide the NGOs a vehicle to carry their worries because we find ourselves in the policy dialogue which the NGOs might not find themselves in. When it comes to implementation there is a kind of a dichotomy between what you try and achieve at the policy level and what you are able to impose at the time of implementation and that's where the balancing comes in. Where the relationships are good the balancing is good, where the relationships are, not necessarily because of the education programme but because of something else there, we may not necessarily be in total agreement in terms of strategy, then those are the issues that often carry into this arena as well, so that's where balancing may be necessary. But it's very much a country to country issue, I would not generalise it as an issue across the board.

RESEARCHER: You've just mentioned the dichotomy of policy and implementation; can you give me an example of this?

ARNAV: UNICEF as an organisation does work in a number of countries, in that kind of a situation I would again go back to where the barriers are maximum. You look at many of the African states, that's where the barriers are maximum, on the one hand we may be able to convince a Kenyan government or Malawi government to make school, primary school, universal, compulsory and free, and things start happening, millions of children come back to the primary school, as it has happened in the last few years but then it comes to the communities, you start looking at the issues, there may still be other barriers and those barriers may be in terms of children being the only care givers for dying parents with HIV aids, or there may be barriers in terms of distance because the

system had got used to over a period of time self-selecting children coming into primary school because it had a fee structure and then you make it suddenly free and open, then the schools don't, without increasing the infrastructure with the kind of population growth rates they have had, it is very difficult for the schools to actively seek kids from the worst off or from the most distant, particularly when they are already super-saturated, so there is no added incentive for the school to actively seek out the ones who get excluded even though officially it's open and free so that's when we have started getting into dialogue with NGOs and trying to look at alternative mechanisms to bring children back into traditional schools and formal schools so there is a kind of a 2 step process because you don't want them to be left out or they are now suddenly 7 years old and the rest of the kids their age are already in grade 3 so you need to have alternate mechanisms for them to catch up and then eventually find their way back into the system, so that's where we work with the community based organisations. Not everywhere, we are not everywhere, we are small in that sense, but in some places we do that, at least gain that experience and bring it back to the policy dimension.

RESEARCHER: Are there any papers that UNICEF has written looking at tackling these multidimensional issues of social exclusion?

ARNAV: In that it may be useful for you to look at a paper that was done jointly by UNICEF and the World Bank on the abolishment of the user fee for school education and they also talked about the barriers. You may make it free but then there are still other social and economic barriers, even if you abolish a user fee or a school fee it does not mean that there is no cost to education when you look at it from the family point of view and what can we do to start addressing those is what's the paper about.

Phone call interruption

ARNAV: I would like to come back to the architecture of our Global Plan, particularly to address those issues in early childhood readiness I talked about, then we have three others, one is about access and when we are talking about access it is particularly to reduce gender and other disparities. Disparities to access, retention and completion, so it's all of them, so that's our 2nd key result area in our Global Plan. And the third is about quality, that specifically is to improve the educational quality and through that, one is the push factor and the other is the pull factor so pull being improving the quality increases school retention completion and achievement and the forth is about the core

commitments in emergencies in education where increasingly there we see many communities and countries are faced with either man made or natural emergencies and schools are often the ones that are hit and they stay longer hit because people are still looking at other systems and we have been the first ones to say that in any such situation of trauma resuming school education as early as possible is the best way to get the rest of the population to think ahead instead of blame fixing and losing the momentum for development so education in that sense is a good vehicle in our view for peace building initiatives, addressing trauma even in natural disasters whether its earthquakes or floods or cyclones so that's our take on this.

RESEARCHER: What do you consider are the main challenges to children's access of educational services in New York City?

Phone call interruption

ARNAV: New York City has its unique set of challenges partly because of issues related to migration and immigration policies of this country, but I would say in settings where UNICEF has a programme the challenges are a little different. Fundamentally every community no matter which community believe in giving their children education, now what they perceive as a good education and what we perceive as good education may be different. But everybody believes in progress and everybody believes that they want to do it. Now at what cost would they do it and what do they give up to get what they aspire for and is it something they can give up? These are the kind of issues that one has to deal with. I don't want to even talk about the obvious well talked about nations but even in countries such as Komores a small island off the Indian Ocean.

Phone interruption

ARNAV: They have these madrasas schools and the quality of education or the quality of learning, teaching is quite different from what you and I will say is the objective of primary education. But it is important to try and identify what is a traditional way of community believes at being education and how do you start influencing the curriculum to try and get the essentials, and the essential competencies and learning going on is what we try and address and that's why our programme has a kind of a slightly open

door without really saying that this is the best way of providing education but how do we look at what is a traditional system and what are those interfaces and opportunities to impact that, to progressively build quality and this is where sometimes we may have some tensions with other community based organisations because certain other organisations may believe that UNICEF because it has the ability to work with the policy and the government should actually encourage them to do it only the right way and not incrementally build it into a system because we have to also try and balance it with what will be sustainable versus what you do as an intervention you do for 2 years and 3 years and if you are not around or if are not able to find the resources it may just collapse and we do not what to get into that kind of programming where you do something and can do it only as long as you are there and if the funding or you are not there in 2 years, 5 years or 10 years' time then the whole system collapses.

RESEARCHER: In relation to how children can be perceived as having more of a central societal role one American author observes how perceiving children as knowledgeable and particularly as valuable members of society would constitute a fundamental shift in the perception of children's societal role in the United States. What do you think of that statement?

ARNAV: I think that is a very fair comment that the author is making. What we have seen over a period of time particularly in the last 7 or 8 years, is that child participation in matters that relate to children in a more informed basis has definitely taken on another perspective to what adults do for children. Noticeably a number of initiatives both in this country and in other countries leading to The World Fit For Children the special session on children that was held in 2002 where children had an opportunity to get into online discussion groups and look at issues in which a number of children from the US as well participated, has definitely had its effect on the way leadership in many countries thinks about the way children should be addressing their own issues. To this I would add that last year the G8 that was held in Russia had a clear segment on J8 and young people not just from those countries but also from a number of developing countries participated in a parallel discussion in Russia last year and they were ultimately challenging the G8 leader that was Putin on what is the G8 doing about children of the world and it was a very good session where Putin gave concrete time discussing issues with children. I think 14 years ago, something of that nature, would not even been, it would have been completely inconceivable. But what it did last year is now going to lead to another such a discussion this year in June with Mekul in Germany

she is now the G8 chair and there is a group, a whole discussion space on the internet owned by children: they put down the issues, they discuss the issues and children from other countries bring the issues and they are crystallising their ideas around the G8 agenda items and their views on what the G8 countries should be doing and there is going to be a discussion. And we are basically providing a kind of a facilitatory role in terms of providing the space, providing some analytical papers which they ask us to do, so things like that, so I think in a number of countries this is moving forward including in the US although we don't as I've said, we don't have a programme, children and young people in a number of developed countries are increasing their engagement on public issues particularly public issues that directly have an impact on their own future.

RESEARCHER: Would you say that UNICEF has the same emphasis on children's rights as it did when the convention was established in 1989 and during the early 1990s or do you think perhaps there has been a lesser emphasis on rights in UNICEF in the last few years?

ARNAV: I think it is an evolving area and increasingly civil society and governments are understanding and coming to terms with the value of children's participation in national affairs if I may put it like that. The earlier thought, or the norm that people use to think that children should only be worried about their homework and their play and nothing else, leave the adult affairs and adult issues out of their scope, I think there is definitely a shift normatively and I would say that to be fair it is not just UNICEF which has played that catalytic role, it is UNICEF and some of the other international NGOs including Save the Children who I think have on the ground experience for many, many years cultivating this methodology and we have worked very well with them in harnessing the children's energy into this whole process. And what we are also trying to do is further improve that dialogue and improve a better sharing of information and data because children need to have information and analysis available to them in ways where things make sense without necessarily having to understand about MDGs for example. So where there is that access and information then they ask the right questions. I think what we need to help them is giving them adequate information and knowledge to help them ask the right questions and then a dialogue begins between those who wield power and those who want to influence that power for sustaining the development of countries, that's the way I look at it and what are the leaders doing they are basically building a future for today's children who are today's children to have a better livelihood than adults and if those for whom countries are engaged in that social dimension, if they are

not involved then you are trying to create a house without really talking to those are going to live in that house, I think that's the kind of norm that's emerging at this moment and we are playing the necessary role in leading that process but not alone, together with our partners like save the children and others and in all of this I would say when you talk about rights the rights is a double edged kind of a thing, I mean you can take a moralistic attitude and push countries to say the countries have a right to do abc and why are you not doing, getting into a typical rights watch attitude, I'm not saying that that's wrong it has a good place it has a place to do it but if we put children into that role you are making them more vulnerable and potential and exposing them to further exclusion and we have to strike the right balance and the way to do it is through information and good analysis to help them see the disparities and the exclusivity and the inclusivity in a more informed basis without really putting them into more difficulties, it's not an easy job but that's what we're expected to do.

RESEARCHER: Implementation of the UNCRC is often fairly complex as rights are incoherent in the sense that someone's rights will maybe negate someone else's rights and rights depend on social and political movements they are not isolated. Additionally there is a real danger that children's rights be used solely in a rhetorical way such as in the No Child Left Behind initiative. How does UNICEF deal with these issues?

ARNAV: When it comes to our discussion of rights, one is the normative, legislative role of rights, the other is although the convention is, the state parties are the signatories to the rights but when you look at the universal declaration of rights which is the mother of all rights instruments, in the preamble it is very clear that the state signs on behalf of a country but the duty bearers are there at all levels beginning in the case of a child with a family and then going into the community, to the provincial government to institutions to national government and so on, so that is one argument which sometimes disappears in the discussion of rights.

RESEARCHER: So it is forgotten or it's not emphasised?

ARNAV: Yes it is forgotten. But in our translating the conventions into rights based programming what we talk about is basically the relationship between rights holders and the duty bearers and it is not assumed that the duty bearers are only state parties and it's basically a relationship where if you start with the child a child is a rights holder or let's say education and the duty bearer for that child for that particular right is the parents, now the parents may be the duty bearers towards the child but in order to help them satisfy that right for the child they in turn become rights holders towards maybe

the community leadership, the local community, the village headmen or whatever it is, and the village headmen has to have the right kind of provisioning and the right quality and the right standards in order that the parents can become a good duty bearer. Likewise, the village headmen has that obligation to meet the rights of the family, not the child, he's meeting the right of the family, because this relationship is with the family not directly with the child but then in order to get that he in turn becomes a right holder with somebody else which may be a district administration or whatever it is, so we basically in our rights based programming, we call this a kind of a role and pattern analysis so basically you need to be very clear on the roles of various levels of rights holders and duty bearers and whilst doing that we will come up with what capacities the families should have in order to satisfy those rights, and those capacities may be in terms of knowledge, in terms of motivation, in terms of resources, so unless those 3 are there they won't be able to serve their obligation to that particular right in a correct way so it becomes an issue of capacity development ultimately, identifying what are the capacity gaps and then capacity development, and that is the approach we take and not the other view of just start looking at the legislation and the enforcement of the legislation you have to systematically study the role and pattern analysis between various levels of duty bearers and the rights holders who in turn are the same when you look at it in a higher authority they become the rights holders the same duty bearers for a child may become a rights holder when it comes to the community leadership. It's a very complicated mechanism and that's what we mean by converting a CRC into an instrument for programming and that's not an easy thing and that's what we work a lot with communities, there are various activities like the power walk to basically understand these dynamics of power and where the power lies and who has to give up to get more.

RESEARCHER: So converting a CRC is a real challenge?

ARNAV: It is a challenge, it's a challenge. What I think is interesting is there are 2 covenants of rights one is the civil political rights and the other is the social and economic rights. The CRC happens to be a convention which in the context of children brings the civil political and the economic social rights together. The 2 sets of instruments the civil political rights is a very strong instrument from this part of the world whereas the economic and social rights is a strong instrument predominantly from the European world so because instruments are organs such as the rights watch had their origins here and some of the movements around rights have also had their

origins predominantly from the civil political rights movements people tend to associate it with those however when you look at rights such as education and health they come predominantly from economic and social rights and when you look at that even in the CRC when you look at it from the eyes of the child there is a very clear statement which talks about children according to their evolving capacities and no rights discussion is complete unless you look at the capacities and the gaps in capacities and then there is a gradation of capacities depending on age then the gaps are evolving and how you bridge that capacity gap is also a kind of an evolving argument, I mean it's a very, these are things which unless we understand some of these issues it cannot be purely translated into you know are we doing it right, is it right. And sometimes I think some governments become a little more sensitive because they think that we're operating at that level whereas we're still talking at this level and these two may mean completely different things.

End of interview



## **Appendix 11: Transcript of semi-structured interview with Summer**

### **Location of interview: Summer's workplace**

RESEARCHER: Is the Asset Youth Council a children led group and what is the age group?

SUMMER: Basically it is high school youth but there's a few young people who are below so 13 is our youngest. So as a youth led, I would say that it is like looking at that ladder of participation that I'm sure you're familiar with from Roger's book that I love. I would say that it's sort of like upper level but not youth led, no, I mean I've worked with youth led groups and it's a hell of a lot of work but it's incredible but it's not so there's some young people who take on more leadership in the group but adult led with youth input, I would say. And you know I am of course, I have, my interests and passions and beliefs in terms of youth engagement and youth work are at the other end but this is just not what it is at the moment.

RESEARCHER: Whilst many agree that striving for greater youth participation is very important do you think that there is perhaps a difficulty with the process being presented in a way like with the ladder of participation model?

SUMMER: Right, yes, I agree 100 per cent, it's possible, it's kind of like democracy, that's the best comparison I have democracy is great of course, I have so much invested in that process but it's a hell of a lot of work and you have to be ready to put into it you know and you have to provide the scaffolding and the support mechanisms and you train people to be able to jump on and take that work, you know that leadership role and so forth.

RESEARCHER: What are the Asset youth council involved with at the moment?

SUMMER: Right now there are two arms that are very connected by the same body. The body is really assets the thinking behind developing young people's social capital if you will, that framework so they are developmental assets. So they've been working on creating peer education to share with other young people in interactive and dynamic way so peer education really created by them and they're gaining some incredible skills and they're still developing them and they're getting ready to put them into practice very soon with other young folk, so it's exciting, it's interesting, I feel like they have a lot more to grow and learn in that area and then the other big piece that is connected to

the peer education is the youth conference that we're putting on, it's our third youth conference and this year we hope it'll be even more led by them and even more exciting. It'll be similar, sort of like the conference you're going to next Friday, the Global Kids conference but on a smaller scale, but really a great opportunity, the thing about it is that for each of them and as a group it is a huge learning moment in their life where they get to create something which they are in charge of and that impresses and inspires and teaches other people and is fun and is a huge accomplishment for them and also for all the other youth who will attend to be able to see them leading it, they'll be really inspired, it can be like almost like travelling, an eye opening experience so it's exciting, there's a lot of work that has to be done.

RESEARCHER: And is this tied in with the development assets foundation, to reward young people and teachers?

SUMMER: Well the idea was, the whole genesis of the asset youth council was that we had these 18 schools and youth organisations that we were working with and we asked them, those that worked with teens to send us a youth representative and then with those youth reps we wanted to create a city wide kind of youth arm so but then also a way for young people to train and give back to the org, it sort of functioned like that and it sort of become something different, so if I had my genie bottle I know exactly where we would go but depending on funding and exactly what's going to happen with our project because we're coming to the end in December of our 4th year and we're at a huge crossroads to put it lightly we're not even sure if we'll continue it in its form but I was planning on doing for example a very intensive summer of leadership institute with the youth to train them to lead the youth arm and starting by using a power model where they would research issues and then create some kind of action project or action programme so that was the idea but because of us being unsure of where we'll go on that we're not entirely certain.

RESEARCHER: That must be frustrating?

SUMMER: Yeah but it's ok I mean we'll see, personally I've come to feel very ok with it there's so much other work that I want to do but I think if it's meant to be it'll continue but certainly we'll have some kind of culminating piece if it does indeed end which is they're going to create we'll going to try and squeeze out of all the work they've done some products to share with other youth, like some training or some story about how to do this for other folks.

RESEARCHER: What do you enjoy the most about your job and working with young people?

SUMMER: I love getting to see as probably most educators as the young people grow and thrive and develop their skills and develop their assets its really powerful, such a gem and such a gift when you're able to see it so soon because often it takes longer than that it might not be years until young people actualize all that they've learned through your programme so I love that, and this project I've loved working with staff, parents and communities and organisations and schools we've worked with really making some kind of organisational change whether its small pieces or larger pieces so that's been great. And taking a step back doing the work that I do in this field I love and am inspired and motivated by making changes in the educational system specifically that's a part of my work you know, that I hope to do even more with.

RESEARCHER: In terms of making changes in the educational system do you want to try and make it more responsive to meeting the needs of young people?

SUMMER: Yeah totally, and more equitable, more quality, communities having more of a stake in the school system of course, more responsive to needs. I mean on many levels, like culturally, historically communities having more of a place, a voice in the schools system, in their local schools and in the larger school system classes being smaller, I mean sex education is crazy it's incredible, in NYC high school students are mandated to have at least 1 semester of health that's it and there are supposed to be one or two weeks in there about sex education and of course many students never act get that so it's pretty astounding there are just so many areas, some of the work I've done outside of here is looking looks at education as a human right which doesn't happen as much in this country as it does in other countries, the human rights framework is not so much used but it is totally applicable and so looking at education as a human right and looking at some of the violations in the New York city school system, violations of children and teens human rights.

RESEARCHER: In relation to the UNCRC, do you consider yourself a proponent of children's rights?

SUMMER: Right, well rights mean everything and symbolism is crucial. It is meaningful, it gives you a grounded agenda, I mean look at healthcare in this country it's not considered a right so therefore look what happens, folks lack the vehicle to fight for something so I think it's crucial, I mean there's incredible organising around

education that's going on and I should definitely tell you some of those folks that I know of that are doing great stuff but there's so much that has to change.

RESEARCHER: There seem significant inequities in funding provision for schools resources and teachers in New York City particularly in less affluent areas outside of Manhattan. What do you think about plans to decentralise power away to schools?

SUMMER: Bloomberg has mayoral control over the school system which is not common in New York state and cities in this country and so some people think there are good things about it so for example some people in my field in youth development organisations in loose affiliations and circles that we work in and some people think some stuff is good and personally I feel like how crazy to give 1 person control over a whole school system, it's a paradox you know in terms of any kind of democratic processes. For example, there is a committee, a panel on education and something it's like the city oversight for the education system and two or three years ago the major issue was out of hand about testing for 3rd and 5th graders, it's a major test year of reading and maths tests and stuff, so the mayor decided if the students did not pass then they would fail that grade and so it was a huge, huge contentious issue so the educational panel whatever that entity is called went to debate it and there was real deadlock and he ended up firing, in the middle of the night replaced the 2 people who were opposed to his plan, just took them out like puppets and put in people that would agree, I mean it's kind of sick, that's not how decisions should get made so that's one example of why I think.

RESEARCHER: How do you think schools can work to combat unequal access to educational services because of racial discrimination?

SUMMER: Inequities are totally about class, race and geography so, at the same time there are really interesting, I mean that's the crazy thing about New York and you can find that in such devastating and powerful ways like just such poignant examples but at the same time there's been incredible growth that's happened around combating some of those inequities and leveraging certain communities more so they can access more resources so for example there's a whole consortium of schools called international schools in New York, the first one was created and housed at La Guardia Community College in queens and they have I think over 8 now and actually one of my closest friends is about to probably become a director of a new one that's opening in partnership with a Latin American immigrants' rights group in Queens it's a partnership

school but they've really been a beacon of strength for teens, it's an incredible school coalition so they're.

RESEARCHER: I read this article by an American author who said that in the states generally segregation of different ethnic groups is on the increase. What do you think of that statement?

SUMMER: Have you talked to Michelle Fine, she's incredible, hopefully you can get a meeting with her.

RESEARCHER: Framing Dropouts is that her book?

SUMMER: Yeah, I love that book and also Jen Anyon in the urban education programme but Michelle you made me think of her just now. Jen Anyon has done a tonne of work around segregation and like you know educational apartheid. She looks at Newark and New Jersey. But Michelle is very respected and known for her work, all different education issues, but around the struggle for educational equity I guess you would say and also smaller schools which is a trend in NYC which definitely is important and is a great thing although complicated and also three years ago she did a project called Brown versus the Board of Education 50 years later and there's a CD of it, my best friend she's a Phd student at CUNY she's worked with Roger, she's in environmental social psyche, she's worked with Actknowledge and Michelle is her mentor. Brown versus the Board of Education was made with a choreographer, there was a dance project a CD and a book I forget who funded it. In Brown versus the Board of Education, she worked with the choreographer Rod Jones. It was basically Challenging de jour segregation in this country, so the idea was 50 years later really not much has changed I mean yes legally segregation is no longer allowed, de facto segregation is 100 % in effect all over the country. I mean you can see it. I don't know if you've been to many schools. Global kids do leadership programmes and training in schools in the city, training kids to be urban leaders and global citizens. I guess it's totally like a reflection of the rest of society, do you know what I mean, so how crazy of us to think that you know that it could be so different but at the same time it's a great institution to struggle in to make changes in society. Another person I would recommend is Pedro Noguero, he's at NIU, he's a professor, chair of an institute there, he teaches around urban education but specifically again the struggles surrounding fighting for equity and educational justice. And then one of the youth organising entities is the urban youth collaborative, UYC, they have meetings and you should try to attend. It's a collation of high school students from around the city to trying to form a student

union to try and make changes in the education system to create a unified voice to struggle around certain demands that they have, to identify those demands and then.

RESEARCHER: Are they from schools from the local area?

SUMMER: Right so the UYC is composed of 6 youth organising groups but then they're trying to create a student union that is composed of students from high schools all over the city.

RESEARCHER: Are the YMCA part of this?

SUMMER: No, I think there's individual programmes throughout Y's that maybe have leaders that are more inclined to support and encourage that kind of development and thinking in their young people but as an organisation no way, it's very mainstream as opposed to other organisations that I have worked with and do work with now on an ad hoc basis that are more connected to issues of civic participation or political action so that's why it is what it is, it doesn't mean that good stuff can't happen but it's not the stuff that's more likely to be about change.

RESEARCHER: Where else have you worked?

SUMMER: I worked in a school for court involved youth, youth that have been in the system or are in the system and I worked at global kids for a few years that's where I did work that was most exciting, I created a programme called the human right activists project which trains young people to be human rights organisers or advocates, it's great, it's been a little watered down but I'm so thrilled that it's still around because that was my intention to make it sustainable but then I worked on an ad hoc basis either as a consultant or a trainer or just in collation and participation with a lot of different youth organisations in the city, part of my job is that I know the field so I can point to different creatures of youth organisations like the Point is a different creature of course than the Y or than Global Kids. But that's kind of incredible that NYC has all these different groups. NYC and San Francisco in the states are the most advanced in terms of quality of youth development work going on and also quantity but it doesn't mean there's not a million gaps and holes, there's such a need for resources more resources but New York is also, one of the, a hallmark or a unique part of the city is that we have beacon programmes and beacon centres that's like a very special thing of course we need many more because of course there's such a need for more and more and more and for better quality as well I would say but Beacon programmes were started under mayor David Deacons over 15 years ago now, they were started when I was in high school. They are almost always in schools, a place where young people can go to after school

hours and on the weekends so that's an incredible thing so that there's always a place for them to go whether there's always structured organised programmes for them is another thing, something they can really belong in but there's a drop in place and there's a basketball court and there's always a counsellor to talk to, it's a really fundamental thing we need more of them and new better ones too but as a city it's an incredible thing because you look at a city like Baltimore in this country where all the industries are gone, it's post industrial where cars used to be made like Detroit and Michigan all these cities that were built around these industries but the industries are no longer there so the cities are devastated so Baltimore like Philadelphia if you walk through there or go on a bus or train through there it looks like there was a riot last night such devastation, I don't know if you've ever seen the wire on HBO it's totally Baltimore. So a city like that has very high rates of poverty and drug use, it has the highest rate of heroin use and syphilis in the country, crazy, there's very little infrastructure for youth development the main places from what I know for youth to go to are churches which is good that the churches are there for young people but there's just, the holes and the gaps are just humongous there's just very little compared to NY. San Francisco has a bigger infrastructure than NYC I think but it doesn't mean that there's not whole communities completely totally cut of, which is pretty astounding you know like for example an organisation like Groundwork which is in East New York. East New York is a very marginalised community I worked there at a high school running a leadership programme with global kids, very poor, very few resources and like at Hunts point they have a huge amount of imports and exports which in turn means there are high rates of prostitution and HIV Aids like Hunts point has the highest rate of prostitution in the city. Groundwork has several sites and do all kinds of work with youth and parents and education. The guy who started it is from that community. Organisations like that that have been around for 10 yrs really trying to create, focus in on certain communities and create more resources.

RESEARCHER: So getting the community on board is vital.

SUMMER: Exactly ideally the Y should be doing that. Ideally, Children who come into the Y in a day care programme or whatever who then that's it maybe they might catch up when they're teens but I do believe the Y should be able to have the infrastructure and the capacity to support but they don't. The Harlem children's zone, Jasper Canada he's the CEO, they're a real anomaly, you should see some of the press about them, they are focussing on a 10 block radius of giving those 10 blocks every single resource

they can so they work with families and children since birth they go to houses and they are really trying to participatively increase every well-being indicator from infant mortality rates to income to education and they're compelling, very comprehensive of course they have their struggles like every organisation. The CEO is an organisation in himself, an icon, so because of that and tremendous leadership and his ability to bring in money, they received incredible money from sources do they're able to do what they can do.

RESEARCHER: Do you know about them because you visit them?

SUMMER: I've actually never been to Harlem Children's Zone, I know people who have worked at the Harlem's Children's Zone, I know of them for a number of reasons I know the field well because part of my job here is to provide training for different organisations throughout the city also I'm really aware of the field because of the work I do providing organisational change and also schools too.

RESEARCHER: What's your training as a consultant about?

SUMMER: The training I do as a consultant is a lot of staff development about youth development practices and developmental assets, creating a more asset rich staff culture, more organisational environment etc also human rights, social justice, developmental needs, so a range of work and then here on the project it's been more focussed on concrete strategies to strengthen your organisation using this framework of assets and like using hip hop to better build assets with young people so it's a little different, more focussed on assets.

RESEARCHER: Which do you prefer?

SUMMER: Both, I enjoy doing training because I always learn from the staff, or the youth or the parents. The thing is to connect it to more in depth change efforts and learning strategies and so forth but it's a great way to learn of all the different things happening. I also know just socially I have friends who work in different entities. A friend of mine whose an artist and an educator she started this organisation years ago called AYE artist youth educators kind of defunct now but monthly we used to meet all kinds of artists and youth educators ad activists and share our work personally but then also share strategies about working with youth better so it was a very informal collective gathering that I met a lot or people through so I hope something like that could be rebuilt. My work at Y is more project management even though I do hands on stuff. I think that's the incredible thing about all youth organisations and staff that work there they can really make those connections with youth and also that they bring their



past with them, that they believe, I know incredible youth workers and also what they bring from their own lives is important.

RESEARCHER: Do you think more coalitions between different groups in NYC would improve children's equality of access to educational services?

SUMMER: Yes, it's usually the big honcho organisations like the Y, United Way, Big Brothers and Big Sisters, they're the biggest creatures with huge bureaucracies that have entities around the country who sit at the table with the policy makers but there's not working coalitions with smaller organisations it's a shame. Of course it happens I mean there's incredible work that happens city wide between folks but there's not as much as there should be at all there really isn't. However, there's organisations in NYC like Task and Pace the after school corporation founded by Soro Sownini partnership for after school education that is a smaller being but the 2 organisations try to act as some kind of collective training and sometimes advocacy entities for after school groups and youth organisations around the city but there should be so much more.

RESEARCHER: Roger Hart is a big advocate of trying to get more parks built, more space for kids to just be and play in the city. I was looking at a CERG graduate students' work which involved interviews with different generations of the same family looking at how spaces for play have changed, a grandmother said when she was young she used to be out in the streets quite late and the parks used to be ok for kids to play in and the author contrasted that with the lady's granddaughter who spends most of her time in her bedroom playing computer games because her parents were afraid to let her out and play. How do you think NYC could achieve more spaces for children to play?

SUMMER: There are campaigns that galvanise people and that's how it ends up being effective, NYC is a huge city, it happens in pockets and pieces for example on a personal note where I live in south west Brooklyn I want to get a playground built somewhere near where I live, there's 1 like 8 blocks away, there needs to be more, it's ridiculous, I know that it'll take forever to get a little playground so I know how it has to happen and it's going to be a long laborious effort working with different local youth organisations and community groups and I know who they are and then the community board, it's going to be a long haul but that's how you make stuff happen on a small level.

RESEARCHER: And you've got the connections to do that whereas someone else who doesn't have that knowledge may feel quite powerless.

SUMMER: It's basically community organising because I can't do it on my own I'm going to have to start finding, reaching out to other people in my neighbourhood but I think those things happen on a larger level like for example every year there's this thing called SYEP summer and youth employment programme, it's founded by the city and provides 5000 jobs to high school students in the summer and they're so sought after because you can imagine all the teens that want to work that have such a hard time finding jobs so every year Albany cuts money so every year we go up to advocate for more jobs and to rally for more, tonnes of youth organisations are part of that effort but it's almost comical. Spitzer is the new governor.

End of interview

## Appendix 12: Transcript of semi-structured interview with Luke

### Location of interview: Luke's workplace

RESEARCHER: What is ACTION?

LUKE: Action is a team programme, a team activist programme at the point, we meet 3 times a week after school from 4-6.30 on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays and its community organising for teenagers so the point is involved in a lot of environmental justice issues and community organising, community development issues and this is an after school programme for teenagers with that focus for community organising and community development. So kids in the programme kind of as they're starting out they'll get the basics of organising and campaigning and kind of see how that happened and then they'll be a part of the larger projects and campaign that the point works on, they'll be our workforce, in a lot of the ways so sometimes making phone calls, going out handing out flyers, doing outreach and then also though you know as time permits we'll come up with some of our own youth centre issues and try and come up with different solutions to the problem or different steps we can take as a youth group and that's the advocacy side of Action but the other side is that we're still a regular youth development programme as well, so we link the kids in action up with other groups in the area like other resources to get help with SAT tests, help with college preparation and access, all of that stuff, we try to do a lot of leadership skills, so public speaking, résumé writing, job interview practice, and creative outlets so it can still be a fun youth orientated youth development programme for after school, but you know that the way that its different than maybe OY or girls and boys youth club is that there is this advocacy component as well, it's not just sports and racket.

RESEARCHER: And what's the age bracket?

LUKE: It's high school about 14-19

RESEARCHER: What do you think are the main barriers to children accessing learning environments in this area?

LUKE: The biggest barrier is money and resources so you know the large majority will go to public school and the New York City public school system is strained at best. It's pretty weak and so classrooms are overcrowded, teachers are not always underqualified but they are overworked, overburdened.

RESEARCHER: Underpaid?

LUKE:Right, and so it's not a healthy learning environment in the public schools and then on top of that you've got all the outside forces a typical low income community of colour is going to go through where education doesn't always receive the stress it should where you've got matter of life questions at home you know and so the child isn't able to devote maybe the same amount of time to school and education when there are a lot bigger problems going on at home and in their neighbourhoods and you know bigger things to worry about and so really that's the biggest issue and that's within the public school system and its not US, because its restricted to New York City, you can go up to Westchester in the suburbs in wealthy communities and the public schools are great some of the best in the nation so its really just about the money. In terms of access to parks there are none, now just recently 2 new parks have come into the system here at Hunts point before that we had one of the worst open space per resident stats in the city.

RESEARCHER: Do you think that a family's non US citizen status has an effect on a child's or children's access to educational services?

LUKE:Um, I don't know so much about that and the registration of it, I believe that you can become a student of public school without having approved citizenship, I think I'm pretty sure, so it wouldn't stop them from getting into the schools, what it could prevent is reaching out for help you know because they're afraid to put up red flags you know, um using some of the services, public service that may be available but families that are undocumented don't want to draw attention to themselves so they are going to be less inclined to you know go for the mental health check-up or go to the outside expert to help their child, if they're afraid that maybe it'll register in the system that they're here.

RESEARCHER: In light of this I guess places like \*\*\* become very important because they try to be as inclusive as possible encouraging participation from all members of the community?

LUKE:Right, of course, my programme ACTION doesn't cost anything to apply to and there's actually a stipend included with it so if you are a member of action you will receive a cheque every couple of weeks just for being a part of it, it's an incentive to get kids enrolled in this, we recognise that a lot of children can't do the enrichment activities after school because they need to get a job to help the families so here's a way to still get all the enriching programmes that you want while still getting some money because we recognize that that's a need and so I mean there's no costs for this service.

So of course the point wants to include everybody. It's also very arts centred you know the idea of bringing arts to the community, so I mean you'll see that we don't have a gym here for basketball but our students in the younger grades after school programme have dance class, circus classes, they do theatre, music art everything like that and we try to really get them to raise awareness of the issues in the community and environmental justice issues, there are many different approaches to youth development and this is one method in terms of critical thinking and getting them to kind of see the bigger picture in these issues and getting them involved in their communities so that they see themselves as having a stake in their community. And they see themselves being able to shape their own future as opposed to just leaving the community whenever they can.

RESEARCHER: I notice one of the programmes of \*\*\* is to try and stop building a big prison in the area?

LUKE: Yeah

RESEARCHER: Is that a community initiative?

LUKE: Yes that's a huge project and many many organisations all over the South Bronx are involved, they formed a coalition community and unity to stop this jail, there's already a number of jails in the South Bronx, juvenile detention centres, a number of things and this one I mean it's a particularly contested topic because we were never informed, the community found out by reading an article in the news so the point is involved in the anti-jail organisation and in the point the kids in action feel it really strongly as well you know they're insulted by it, here is a 28 acre plot of land, land is a precious resource in New York City, why would you put a jail there? So we've taken it on as well to join the community. To be a part of whatever the point's doing with that and then do our own things with it as well.

End of interview

## **Appendix 13: Transcript of semi-structured interview with Dana**

### **Location of interview: Dana's workplace**

RESEARCHER: Could you tell me a little bit about your work, primarily in terms of your work with young people?

DANA: Um well there's three levels to this I suppose, there's my work, there's the Eastside Institute work and then there's the broader community of different organisations that the east side has supported, different organisations that the Eastside has trained people who then take our work and use it so, I think if I speak of all of that together, even know it's not strictly the Eastside Institute however I guess I should describe what we are. We are a non-profit, we are independent, we do not seek or get any money from any state or local, municipality or federal government, the few grants that we have gotten are from family foundations of people who have known us, we are beginning to get interest and to develop interest in our international work from either foundations or corporate sponsors but our day to day activity and all the projects, training and research that we do is to a small extent funded by individuals who know are work we have an annual gala that we have been doing for 6 years and the important thing to know I guess is that we are (with the exception of one and a half paid staff) all volunteer staff, so we do this work out of our passion and commitment to changing the world and we get highly skilled professionals from all fields who are volunteer staff.

RESEARCHER: Is the All Stars a connected organisation?

DANA: The All stars is a sister organisation, the All Stars project is a non-profit as well, it's a much bigger non-profit than we are and it raises quite a lot of money from donors, individuals and has quite a lot of corporate sponsorship at this point and it has taken some of the fundamental methodology that Fred Newman and I here at the Institute developed for the re-initiation of human development at all ages and developed, advanced it in particular ways suited to inner city use, it's a performance based learning model and they have actually four youth programmes that utilize this in very different ways, a talent show network for young people around the city, a development school for youth which is like a leadership training program where high school kids apply to it and have a 13 week performance based approach to learning about the world of work and that's an all-volunteer Wall street executives, other people

are their trainers and then there's a youth theatre called youth on stage that creates and puts on politically relevant plays and they're doing the poetry slam tonight, actually, it's a combination of youth on stage and the talent show. And then there's a fourth youth programme called the production of youth by youth where young people are, it's kind of like the development school for youth although that's finance and business and this is culture so young people can become producers of culture and they make site visits and have mentors that are in all the cultural institutions of New York City. I think the All Stars is unique in its development of new kinds of relationships and particularly with professional adults, both as donors and creators of the programme as well, it is now being modelled in about 5 other cities in the US and in Kursaw and in the Netherlands.

RESEARCHER: Can you tell me a little about the history of the East Side Institute?

DANA: Our history with and concern with young people both in and out of school has been across our 30 years, for 12 years we ran a very radically experimental school called the Barbara Taylor School which is written about in one of my books called 'Schools for Growth' and there are a lot of talks on it. It was I believe the only Vygotskyian based schools and it ran performatively in its last few years, literally saying to the kids and the learning directors there how are we going to perform school today, there was not a curriculum it was..

RESEARCHER: So it was quite a revolutionary step to take?

DANA: Yes indeed, and after that we kind of learned a lot doing that school and it was impossible to sustain financially and it was a little too radical or a lot too radical for it to grow. Parents had a hard time sending their kids there so we closed it and for many years now we have been doing education work that has us going into a school and either working with a staff there on team building or whatever it is they want help with and also working with the kids and last year we launched this programme called The Developing Teachers Fellowship Programme where we were seeking creative public school teachers, meaning, by creative I mean we didn't want 1st year teachers who were panicked and we didn't want any teachers no matter how long he or she had been teaching that was burnt out. And we have been running this programme, it's going to end in June, teaching them our performance approach to learning and to teaching and it's phenomenal, it's fantastic. We did a film shoot yesterday in one of the fellows classes for a documentary that's being made on Vygotsky's work and what it looks like in practice by a Canadian film maker and so I hadn't visited any of the fellow's classes and it was amazing.

RESEARCHER: What are the main features of the Vygotsky philosophy?

DANA: The main features are that in early childhood before school, learning is primarily developmental that is it leads to transformation, qualitative transformation, the distinction that I find helpful and that I've made in my writings is between developmental learning and acquisitional learning and that schools have, maybe they always did, but certainly today they are more and more focused on the acquisition of knowledge and skills and they leave very little room for Vygotsky, for what I would call developmental learning, and the experience of anybody, adults too of being a learner, not learning the matter but being a learner. So the first premise is that how can learning be developmental? Secondly, what makes it developmental in childhood is that it is literally a zone of proximal development for babies and toddlers to perform ahead of themselves, to speak before they know how to speak, to be an artist before they know anything at all so that we do things in childhood before we know how to do them because those adults and others in our environment support that kind of performance. How do you bring that performance which is what it is to develop and learn into the very, very structured and coercive and acquisitional orientated environment of schools, number one, that's what we do. But All Stars says how do you, let's forget about the schools for the moment, how do you develop programming that allow kids to be creative and together create an ensemble learning environment that's developmental. So they do the outside of school stuff and we do the inside of school stuff. So we found that teaching teachers the games of improvisation comedy, are probably the most helpful thing that they can then bring to their teaching method because what does improve comedy do, it forces you to accept offers, what they call offers, it forces you to build with other people, because it doesn't work unless you're creating unless you're an ensemble, it's also fun, a lot of fun. Also anyone can participate no matter how smart the student, whatever they know.

RESEARCHER: So teachers and students are on the same level?

DANA: Yes, right, so what we've been able to do and why teachers apply to this programme is it's a way to bring some development into the classroom and to create that classroom environment as a community, an ensemble whichever one you want to use where the students are taking responsibility for the environment and it's not all up to the teacher. So we're working to help the teachers see performance. Because if you see performance, it's working because after the first two workshop meetings they have never again mentioned behaviour management.



RESEARCHER: Can you talk a little more about the benefits of relating to children as performers and improvisers in their own lives?

DANA: Again we can I think, every person can, not on an intellectual level but on a gut level appreciate that when you realise the sharp contrast between how we relate to human beings up until they're 3 or 4 maybe 5 I don't know but in our cultures probably 4 where we do relate to them as performers and improvisers, they're consummate, what else could they be besides improvisers, they're continuously experimenting and they're creatively imitating us and they're performing in the strictly speaking Vygotsky sense of, in play children perform a head taller than they are, you can do things that you don't know how to do, you can play mommy, you can be other than who you are, and how you become, keep becoming is by being other than who you are so the advantage of relating to kids in school or obviously adults too and maybe especially teenagers because by the time kids are I don't know 14, 16, they have internalised, accepted a societal identity, I'm this kind of person so if you talk to teenagers or if you just watch some television where the representation of everyone is in the group, I mean it's like worse than when I went to school and its heart-breaking to hear kids say I couldn't possibly do that because that's not the kind of person I am, I'm this kind of person.

RESEARCHER: So labels may act as significant barriers for teenagers' development?

DANA: Yes, there's some of those characterisations and labels that people don't like and there's some that they do like but whether or not they like them they keep you from creating the performances of yourself, so it's as practical as the inner city African American kid who is in the development school for youths and he's gone to some multinational cooperation for one of the trainings and he's wearing a suit and his buddies come up to him and they say do you have, are you going to court, because the only reason you'd wear a suit is, to a kid we have in our school who I don't know had several different diagnoses of various sorts and would definitely throw temper tantrums if things changed like his schedule and so having him perform a temper tantrum to experience the difference between performing it when he didn't feel it and just having it like a knee jerk reaction so that he could learn that he had more choices, so in a nutshell the relating to kids in particular which was your question as performers and improvisers of their lives is a way to help them create more options for how to be in the world. I forgot another programme we have. For 12 years I think we have had a programme in a Brooklyn high school and one of our trained staff was asked to go in there and be the school social worker for the school based mental health clinic, school based health

clinic actually. And she took about a year to organise some of the kids to develop a group, so voluntary, drop in group therapy that they named let's talk about it where the young people and she together have created their mental health services. On our website there are a few articles, everything is on our website. So that's a really important thing because too often adolescent mental health is related to diagnostically and these kids say things like I was going to have a fight with this girl and we decided not to because we cared more about the group than our stupid fight, they felt this responsibility to the group where you could talk about anything. So it's kind of developing a sense, I think that the creating of options for how to be in the world and that you can create choices, you don't have to react, you can feel angry but you can do lots of things to show anger, it has something to do with the fact that what it is that you are doing is creating something with other people.

RESEARCHER: In many cities around the world different ethnic groups seem to live quite segregated lives from each other, what affect do you think that environment has on children and young people's development and their perception of people from different cultures? And do you think that the education system in New York City and the U.S. is wittingly or unwittingly racist in any way?

DANA: I mean it's such a complex issue, the institutions of this country are racist there's no question about that and if you look at as far as I understand the figures on schools and the funding they get which is supposedly based on property taxes, is yeah the white areas the suburbs get more stuff and more money than the poor areas and they can hide the racism because they say it's property taxes, um I think the bigger issue is can schools do anything about segregation and it seems to me that they can't given that, well, given that people send their kids to neighbourhood schools and in New York City, my understanding, everything keeps changing but I think at the high school level you can apply to any high school and you don't have to go to the high school in your neighbourhood but it still works out to be quite segregated and the impact is drastic, I mean in the youth programmes for example of The All Stars, no. 1 kids are, a shocking thing is that they haven't been out of their neighbourhoods much, so that's a positive to get you out of your neighbourhood and become more worldly and the second is that if they meet people of another race, they meet white people, the teachers the, social workers, so the mix of, the multi-generational mix of a youth programme seems to me to be key, multi-generational and multi-ethnic because it gives youth and adults the opportunity to create new kinds of relationships, um I know that a lot of programmes, I

don't know the statistics on this at all, but the schools in the poorer communities, also many of them have all these extra programmes, um, now, they're extra programmes because there aren't any computers in the school or there are extra programmes because they don't have x, so its not clear to me that it's a good use of money at all, I think that the schools just perpetuate it and aside from some extremely radical re-structuring I don't have a clue. You know and I think I don't know about Swansea but in US cities people live, yes, I mean if there's a you know a Bangladeshi community and then people bring their relatives or that's what gets heard about and you come and so obviously it's a, but also it, you'll, at the poor income level you are, there's not a whole lot of choices that you actually can pick up so.

RESEARCHER: In the UK there has been a significant increase in discussion about children's rights following the ratification of the UNCRC in 1991. Would you call yourself a proponent of children's rights?

DANA: I'm not a proponent of any monumentalising or institutionalising of anything, I have a very good friend and colleague whose work has internationally been involved in human rights, she is one of the leading people who has developed youth participatory evaluation and also I attended this international conference in Norway that was sponsored by child watch and blah blah blah so I got to meet all those people and we have an international class here of people who come for three residencies a year and then the rest is online and they come from all over the world and you know from some of the countries they come from it's a big deal. I have never heard a human being in this country talk about it and I can't, I've never heard a child talk about children's rights, um I think children here, I mean, I can't, I don't remember all the rights children have in the UN thing, um, but I bet, I bet there are some that I would want them, that I should think children should have that aren't on that list. I mean it seems to me there's a conflict between for example it must be a right that every child has a right to not be hungry, um and I would imagine that every single person in this country or in the world would agree with that but there is a conflict between that and how people live their lives, how production is organised, I'm not going to just say because it's capitalistic, it's, because, well whatever, so I don't quite understand what it means.

End of Interview

## Appendix 14: Transcript of semi-Structured Interview with Rebecca

### Location of interview: Rebecca's workplace

RESEARCHER: What do you consider are the main barriers or challenges to equality of access that children and young people may face in accessing education services in Britain?

REBECCA: Possibly it's family background because the structure is all there; clearly we don't have the incomplete structures that you see in other parts of the world. We've got the structures, we've got the provision, things like Flying Start, Sure Start, Language of Play, what we do Family Learning are all there to support engagement in education so probably family circumstances it might be sickness, it might be inability of parents to support the children in what I might think is an inappropriate fashion those are the sort of things I think. You could say, I wouldn't say this officially but you could argue that some of the structures some of the institutions themselves provide barriers but that's a whole new argument.

RESEARCHER: In what respect?

REBECCA: You obviously come from a background, well not obviously, you probably come from a background where there is respect for education and \*\*\*all the notions which mean you get down to studying and you can see a purpose to it. If you don't come from that background, if you don't have that sense in your family circumstances that that's the way to progress or this is what you do, or if you come from a background where school actually failed your parents and your parents' parents' let's say, they didn't have engagement with school and education and see it as a valuable way forward then you are less likely to be able to see it as a motivating factor.

RESEARCHER: And that's the barriers, the institutional barriers within the school failing parents in a sense, having a bad experience?

REBECCA: Yeah, there's lots of reasons, I wouldn't say, it would be wrong to say the school are failing the children but a number of different factors conspire together to make the universal provision for education we have in this country less likely to be taken up by certain sectors, disadvantaged sectors than others.

RESEARCHER: In New York City where I was doing a case study, one of the problems of access exists where the less wealthy neighbourhoods, while they have some great schools they don't have as much funding as lots of the schools in Manhattan do

and as the funding is worked out on a property tax basis so the property taxes are higher in Manhattan and so schools get more funding but people are trying to change that.

REBECCA: A bad system, are they going to change it to something like our system?

RESEARCHER: There's a mayoral system where the mayor has certain control over the schools in the city.

REBECCA: I think that's very different from our system because, crikey you only have to look at the way funding is applied, based really on things like free school meals and you know children who aren't there so obviously that actually gives extra funding to schools with particular issues. If a school gets a standard sum, there are additional sums, I think that's how it works, there are additional sums for schools where a higher proportion have children with social needs or educational needs.

RESEARCHER: And would you say that there's any room for improvement in state funding for schools?

REBECCA: Are you interviewing me as an Officer of the Council or are you interviewing me as a personal person? I can't speak my private opinions.

RESEARCHER: Your personal opinions then?

REBECCA: If you're interviewing me as a council member I can't give you what I personally think except to say that I think the funding should be skewed and actually is in a way if you've got things like Flying Start and Sure Start, frontloading educational funding to give the children in the particular target areas extra funds to help them come up to, to address that deficit \*\*\* (model?) so that they do get a better start, that strikes me as being \*\*\*.

RESEARCHER: Looking at the barrier of racial discrimination, how do you think racial discrimination affects children in terms of their experience of education?

REBECCA: I can't say except on what you hear anecdotally so I think you need to speak to other people that, but I can tell you that there are considerable funds put to trying to address the needs. Partly so that they help the children themselves make the most of school and partly also to make sure that the additional loads if you like on the teacher time don't disbenefit the whole class. Do you see what I'm saying? Because I know that from personal experience that it is very easy to try and address the needs of a particular non English or Welsh speaking school member but you can't take, let that hijack the needs of the whole class. So we've got a system, most places do but in \*\*\* it's called EMLAS, Ethinc Minority Language Achievement Service and their not in work of course now because they work term time but they're based in the \*\*\* centre

which is one of our other centres. And they provide, I think they use Home Office funding, section 11 funding it seems to me and other additional funding strings to provide um language support for teachers to give particular instruction for children and to support the families as well. So some of the ethnic minority support workers, the bilingual support workers work with the children in schools and sometimes also the parents to aid that understanding. So that's gotta be a good thing. Um we've got, I think the Bangladeshi community is probably the largest immigrant community, or I shouldn't say immigrant because their not, some of them aren't immigrants anymore but ethnic minority community in \*\*\*. Um probably the schools which have the most interaction with those communities will be \*\*\*primary school and \*\*\*, \*\*\*, \*\*\* also are major schools that have numbers, significant numbers of ethnic minorities. So these are the schools that serve those particular local areas and naturally the children of those families will go there. But somebody in \*\*\* last year, the head teacher there was talking about um um doing international linking and he particularly wanted a link with Poland because he had a Polish child and um you know there are a number of of European migrant communities as well settling in \*\*\* so those children and families need to be catered for as a method, like if you went to \*\*\* the Catholic school you'd find significant groups of children from all over the world where people come and they want their children to go to Catholic school, clearly, you know \*\*\*. Um, but er, part of what we do, and what I'm responsible for is the family learning programme that goes on, um and that goes on in a number of the target schools let's say um in \*\*\*, mostly to the east and the north of \*\*\*.

RESEARCHER: Why is that? Why are they target schools?

REBECCA: Because, no, they're, they're in the areas which have the most obvious need for support and to help the parents to help motivate the children to learn. Let's say children in the school that my children went to probably have less need of that because their family backgrounds would tend to be those not disadvantaged, those with a background in educational achievement so it's not those that you need to address. Primarily, community first areas, and the community \*\*\* areas are worked out on the basis of a number of different socio-economic indicators that WAG, [Welsh Assembly Government] um the senders. Out of a hundred significant areas, micro wards as well in in in Wales, I think \*\*\* has about ten, and probably two or three of the top ten if you like in Wales. But also we have 2 or 3 of the wealthiest let's say um areas so so so quite a big difference, divergence in in catchment. But the other thing about \*\*\* education

historically is that uh you have social housing and private sector housing in the same geographical areas which you often don't find in other parts of the country. It's really, it's a good thing isn't it, going back to an early socialist idea really getting all the children in the area. With the family learning programme we have been in this year in about fifty-four primary schools and this next year we're targeting um thirty-five of them. And we're also we're going to carry on serving you know the schools, but only for a term on family learning, but for the target schools will um the traditional three term model, we go in, we we liaise with the school teachers on what they are trying to achieve that year, what their programme is, and uh in many cases we'll have a school. We all have a teacher who is working with the children of the families we are targeting and sometimes they are targeted sometimes it is come one come all, you know reception class, everyone come along, you might as well do that because the whole school is a target school, in other cases the school will target parents that they think will probably benefit, looking at the outcomes that they have got already with the children that they have got in school. Sometimes they will ask Mrs Thomas to come along, sometimes the whole class will be asked to come along and and so our tutors work with parents, mostly a three hour morning session let's say, they work with the parents for two hours on things they can do to help the children and the children will be working sometimes out of, out of their regular class with our childhood tutor working on this particular topic, sometimes they are integrated into the. Children don't come out specially but what often happens is if they are taken out of class to work intensively on this particular topic for the first half of the session after a break there's a second third hour let's say, they'll come in and work with their parents on that particular topic it might be fairy stories it might be just counting games and the idea is that we show the parents how to support the children in simple things.

RESEARCHER: And how is that received?

REBECCA: Yeah I would say and the schools yeah, well it is well received and the the county has historically supported it very well much better than in other local authorities. So we use European funds, we use basic schools agency funds but we also have core money from the council which has enabled us to do it so.

RESEARCHER: And the topics that could be like you said fairy stories?

REBECCA: Yeah it might be looking at a storybook, a common book like the very hungry caterpillar, I don't know if you know it and they've got a story sack so the, the, our tutor will go through the story use the little um story sack of of items that we have

got in there to look at, the caterpillar eating then turning into a butterfly and showing the parents how to tell a story, interact with the children and ask questions about the number of items the caterpillar is eating, do you see what I mean. It might be a story it might be number rhymes. It depends on what the teacher in the school has said that they actually want to focus on.

RESEARCHER: So is this for particular schools where there is more of a need in terms of deprivation as well as language problems?

REBECCA: Possibly, it might well be, it might be that social development may not be up to what you would like to think of as par, it may be that the attainment of the child, they can see that it has fallen behind and they so they don't want them to fall behind further so they help them catch up and we've found or the schools have found that the children quickly get to appreciate that either mum or dad or grandmamma or even a friend sometimes of the mum who is out at work a friend will come in and do it for the mum or so that they can model it for the um mum when they are home um the the children really appreciate it, don't miss a session, oh mum you've got to, you can't miss Thursday. They really enjoy it, they get a lot out of it and of course the parents get more confidence themselves in their capacity. That's another thing, if you, if you had your parents telling you bedtime stories and things then you know what it's like, if your parents haven't done that or haven't been accustomed to do that then it doesn't come back to routine, you don't feel you've got to do it, if you've got a thing about not being good public speakers or reading out loud, if your basic skills yourselves, if your own basic skills are not good, reading a story out loud isn't going to be a number one priority. All this is conducive to help the child enjoy learning and enjoy reading, just sitting reading and talking, all that sort of thing.

RESEARCHER: Do you know what the proportion of asylum seekers and immigrant children who are included in these programmes is?

REBECCA: Yeah, that's a function of the intake of the schools so \*\*\* school, \*\*\* school typically would probably be the ones that I would think of first of all when we are talking about. Are, are we meeting those particular needs, so for instance um in \*\*\* school we have been running um family learning for years in a number of schools, um but in \*\*\*, um, this last year we thought well we're not getting the the the Bangladeshi mothers, we're not getting them coming along to the family learning programme, so we put on a special programme, an extra class if you like this year with a um a a a an English native Bangladeshi speaker, but also English uh um you know mother tongue



speaker as well um member of staff to help translate for various mums who weren't very good at English so we have another programme to show them various things and actually it was a little bit difficult because trying to capture a viable group. It was a really good group of about twelve or thirteen you know um meant that we were working across a number of different age groups so not just in reception but higher up in um um key stage 2 as well so you have to differentiate some of the stories and some of the resources. But it's really good and what we're planning to do this next year having tried that and engaged with people, is to not have separate groups but to have a group with two teachers so that um we can start bringing the two groups together and working together. But that you've got enough staff so that the language issue isn't going to be a hindrance to any of the other members of the group, because they often have basic skills issues of their own yet they've obviously got language competence more than the .

RESEARCHER: As community education officer how do you deal with issues related to racial discrimination in schools or in community groups?

REBECCA: Well, discrimination in schools are not up to me to resolve clearly a head teacher of that particular institution would have a duty to deal with any issues so I couldn't possibly comment on, wouldn't want to comment on on that but I know that there's a structure for dealing with issues to do with race awareness and um the education department has a representative \*\*\*\* who is one of the advisors who is designated as the person responsible for addressing these things. Now there's a race awareness scheme, well corporate strategists set up this scheme a number of years ago and um I think all schools are involved, the idea being that if anybody became aware of any issue that needed attention they then would report it to the head teacher who would take action and so er obviously, if, if you're not satisfied with that then you would refer to \*\*\* \*\*. And then, he would then look into it further. I know the police have set up a communities' relations group. Um I used to go along to it actually for a while but you know my workload has changed and my focus has changed so I I I don't any longer unfortunately but um I know they have, used to I'd be surprised if they didn't actually have regular meetings with community groups to get a broad representation from a number of different faith based and also ethnic based um peoples and I know that \*\*\* \*\* I think is a um support worker in education and she I know she has attended this and I think she is actually from a Chilean background so you know she has her own awareness anyway of that sort of thing.

RESEARCHER: Thinking about the purposes of fostering international relationships in schools, is one of the goals about trying to engage children, young people, adults and communities in respecting other cultures and so trying to stop, prevent discrimination before it happens?

REBECCA: Yes because discrimination is a function of ignorance, ignorance and fear you know, and the more you know, the less afraid you are, the less likely you are to hit out at people and it doesn't even extend as far as overseas it can be the next valley, you know obviously South Wales and some valleys like \*\*\* have differences to inhabitants of the next valley, so it's it's um, diversity really is is the key isn't it, and I think that if you if you found a school that didn't have celebrating diversity as one of their focus then that would be an unusual school. All the primary schools have schools councils and I think that may well be a good way to develop them as active citizens. Education for sustainable development and global citizenship: The Welsh Assembly actually is I don't know if it's using it but its unusual because it's got a focus on looking outwards you know so they've got this emphasis on addressing issues of education for sustainable development and global citizenship. You can download this from a website. In England they teach citizenship, here it's global citizenship so there's a slight difference but of course it isn't only one word. And what it means is that that the schools have got a duty and the children have got an entitlement to learn about other people not just in geography or PSE, but in R.E. of course and in mathematics and history and this one, this document is quite good because it talks about all the different ways in which you could incorporate it into Welsh into geography, into science of course, clearly there's a huge issue about global attitudes in science, um p.e., um music of course so all, this is a guide really for secondary schools in how to incorporate it.

RESEARCHER: And do you know anything about where, was that modelled on another country's citizenship programme or was it entirely worked out as a new thing, do you know much about its' roots?

REBECCA: Um, well I think, er, I can't tell you the answer to that, I could probably tell you some people who could but um I, I know that this has become a focus of WAG and I think I quoted something to someone about this just the other day about this, because there you are. Um, when they setup the Welsh Assembly, in the devolution instrument they set up a statutory duty to promote the SD [sustainable development], and the sustainable development is a central priority and consequently sustainability and the global nature of the way we live is one of the, the I don't think there's any other country

that has that in their enabling or in their constitution which is quite you know quite as good um, and so if you look at the curricula instruments, requirements, then, uh, ESB is sort of suffused throughout the whole thing so all the schools have got to teach it in all different ways and not just putting it in a little box,

RESEARCHER: Has the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child influenced the Education for sustainable development and global citizenship programme? And does the UNCRC influence your work?

REBECCA: Not overtly, you know we don't have a list of principles on the office wall and tick them off one by one but, but clearly you know if you look at the millennium development goals, education for all, then, if you're focusing on schools here linking with schools overseas and promoting education for all, promoting gender equality, promoting training for teachers, promoting adult literacy which is of course is a big part of our work anyway then all we do um supports that sort of notion doesn't it. It would be a strange community education service that didn't to be honest. Um directly to do with the the UN, hmm, let me put it this way, I'm putting on a training session for our tutors in December on philosophy for children, now philosophy for children is becoming quite big in [?]. So the idea is to develop schools as a community of enquiry, obviously you know education is about thinking about issues not just received opinions. So if what you are teaching children is to be enquiring minds then that's what we want to inculcate in children, so it's a big issue in schools and because our tutors are not actually employed by schools but are working alongside schools in schools I think it's a good thing for our tutors to be talking about this so they can have a dialogue with the parents as well. Because they probably won't know what the philosophy for children is about um and you know if your children come to you and say oh why is such and such so why is this thus you know well I find it a little bit testing sometimes to answer questions, families who perhaps themselves don't have a grounding in that sort of, about that. Yeah so we're doing this training course on the philosophy for children and the chap who is organising it part of what he wants to talk about is the rights of the child about entitlement dimensions, and about how important it is to think about the processes you know not just going to school because you have to but what it's for, how it can help you, what the process is and how to make, how to help children become active citizens, so all the things like the school councils that are now in place are those sort of processes which help to make children into active citizens, showing children what to do.

RESEARCHER: How useful do you think the UNCRC is in a practical sense?

REBECCA: I don't know, I don't know enough about it to be able to say you know this article or that article is or isn't any use but if you, I remember we looked at it when we were working in partnership with youth \*\*\* on something and the things seemed to us to be incontrovertible, this is what you want your children to imbue because you want your children to grow up to be independent thinking beings don't you. But of course they are value laden, and not all the values are values which have universal consent, some are particularly about the rights of girls to education which you know is not universally accepted so.

RESEARCHER: In communities in \*\*\* where maybe there isn't an emphasis on giving girls education?

REBECCA: No, no I'm just, I'm just thinking in in a global context, obviously there's a barrier to you know 50% of, of, populations.

RESEARCHER: But that's not a problem in \*\*\*?

REBECCA: Well it may well be mayn't it, because um you'd, you'd have to speak to individual teachers, I only hear anecdotes and things you read in the paper but clearly there are issues about some children being withdrawn from school for certain reasons. Now it may be that culturally it's as valid for a child to be withdrawn from a school so that they can go and visit family members in the subcontinent and they may learn massive amount of things from a trip like that to see their roots to see where they came from, that may be as valid as um a shorter but no less significant for a child's education withdrawal by a parent of a child to go to the fair you know. Qualitatively for the, quantitatively its different, qualitatively the day the child goes off to on a shopping trip before Christmas may be the day that they do something in maths that might affect how they engage with maths forever after and that's often the way that we see people when they come to us as adult basic skills students, they've missed something crucial and they've never caught up and it it might be you know a fortnight's sickness or a period of helping with young siblings because parents aren't able to cope themselves for whatever reason, if they're sick you know so all those sorts of things are things that interfere with a child's ability to take the most out of education.

RESEARCHER: And would you say that that happens in this area?

REBECCA: Clearly, clearly, I've taught children who've had other siblings to look after um so it's very easy to say that children who are taken out of school to go to Pakistan or Bangladesh. But that that's not contextualised in terms of the British born

and remaining children who may miss school because the family values conflict with the structural values. And so It's not so much discrimination and that's what I'm saying about barriers being in family practices you know sometimes just simple well it won't hurt them to come away from you know, or we can get a cheap week holiday in Spain off season out of peak, but if we go in the school holidays we pay more and can't afford it. So they take a fortnight or a week or a fortnight out of school, well that can be really crucial in education, so you know all those factors which can hinder a child's education. What do schools do about that. You know.

RESEARCHER: Companies know that most parents want their children to be in school so are parents fighting a losing battle?

REBECCA: Yeah its economics, when you have children these are the issues you have to deal with. If you said well we'll go camping for the next 10 years or well \*\*\* \*\* it we want to go to Spain, we'll \*\*\*\* well go to Spain whatever time of year it is you know you make your choices don't you. But the way you make your choices can affect your children's lives for ever after.

RESEARCHER: How can the state, society and NGO organisations guard against children's rights in the UNCRC or the MDGs from being used in a largely rhetorical way?

REBECCA: If you're talking about um um targets orientated cultures and the sort of outcomes related funding that you sometimes get I would personally I feel strongly that the whole culture of targets, box ticking, performance related outcomes is totally inimical to education. It's not education, it's fascist, it's void of educational purpose. However, however everybody subscribes to these values then I can see why the bureaucracy is we've got to get them doing it, let's make sure the schools do such and such. I can see why it's done. But it's sledgehammer and nut time isn't it, whereas if you if you have a trained supported motivated teaching workforce who believe, which believes in the process and what they are trying to do, you could say there are lots of different viewpoints nowadays aren't there about what is appropriate but if you have a well-motivated school, um well motivated teachers with resources adequate to the variety of issues that come their way then you should be able to, I would think that you should be able to trust the head teacher and the senior management and the individual teachers to teach the best they can. However for the past twenty years if not longer it's been process driven top down driven and they've been forced to focus on issues which might have been neglected in the past I can see both sides but the result has been more

perhaps in England than Wales that it's been narrowly focused on, on outcomes and SATS and testing which is not necessarily educational but its politics isn't it.

RESEARCHER: A Welsh Assembly Government report which was an assessment carried out between 2004 and 2005 amongst different councils, schools and organisations throughout the whole of Wales had a focus on looking at all the different agencies involved in work with children and their questions were centred around what they were doing to give children a voice in decision making about things that affect them, so not just litter duty in schools, tokenistic things. And the results are quite interesting because they have a proportion of 48% of people answered no, they didn't think that their work was directly or indirectly encouraging children's decision making and the other half said that they thought their work was directly or indirectly affecting children's decision making processes. And people who answered yes gave examples of their strategies they were employing in councils to try and bring about more democratic school councils. That was quite interesting to see the divide and some people were more sceptical about whether children and young people have the capacity to make decisions as well which was interesting to look at. The report assessed how children and young people were being given a voice throughout Wales which is in line with complying with one of the UNCRC articles that states that children and young people must be given opportunities to make decisions. Thinking about how children and young people's rights can be banded about quite rhetorically and tokenistically what do you think can combat that?

REBECCA: I think you've got to make sure that the teaching you do show's examples of how children and young people can make a difference and and make sure that the the teachers and I'm sure that I'm, I'm I'm barely happy that they will do this because that's how you engage with children isn't is to take the general and give particular instances and make sure that they understand that if they do do something active it can have an affect but children you know children know what's fair and right. That the first thing they learn to say is that's not fair, they know what what seems fair to them and if if you er are educating children at all you will be educating all the time in conflict resolution because the playground arguments for instance is part of looking at justice and equity and all that sort of thing well that's not tokenistic that's real education for citizenship so all these things and and school councils deciding on appropriate er policies for the schools and what we think is going to be the rule of this school and how we behave to each other if those are the things that are worked out by the school

council, representative school councils elected by the sch children in each class well then they're modelling representative democracy which is the way we work things, well that can't be tokenistic if it's done properly, if the schools actually believe that this is the way to go and I think when they, the schools I know that do this they are obviously (Pause) positive in the way they take it on and want to do it the right way and not cos any child will see through something that's tokenistic as much as anybody will they they may be children but they're not stupid.

RESEARCHER: Is there a danger that students will just be given litter bin duties?

REBECCA: Well that's ok to start with but if you're serious about it they won't let you confine it to that, if if if you're teaching children about how to engage with people and and how to do it then they'll soon get that if they're only allowed to talk about litter and playtimes that there are other issues that they need to, well a school council that's worth anything will will start you know claiming those issues.

RESEARCHER: Is there always meant to be an adult or teacher present at the school council meetings?

REBECCA: I don't know, I know that \*\*\* primary has a good school council functioning, I think international school anyway (laughing) up in \*\*\*, and they've got a really good international focus as well but there's quite a few schools that have good international links. But um I'm sure you're right, I'm sure you're right, if they're only allowed to talk about certain things, I'd imagine they'd need to have some adults at some point in the training process as referees if you like, like like the justice of the peace have a clerk you know as law well perhaps they need somebody to act as a as a guide in that, I don't know I don't know, I would expect that, it depends on the age of the children as well obviously, the younger the children, the more guidance they need.

RESEARCHER: Do you think there's a gulf between children and young people's rights and the legislation and immigration policy in the UK?

REBECCA: Clearly, yeah.

RESEARCHER: The authors of the uncertain futures study published by Save the Children interviewed asylum seeking children and young people and one of the findings was the effect the media has on forwarding negative images about asylum seeking children and young people. One young asylum seeker interviewed expressed surprise at how much 'British' people appeared to trust the media and go by what the media said, where asylum seekers and immigrants are vilified in the media and given a negative portrayal. What is your opinion about the media and its influence?

REBECCA: Ye e e yeah (unsure yeah), if if if, I suppose if you're looking at the media you have to look at what's the angle, um (pause) thank God we've got what we like to think is a free media although that's debatable (laughing) but but they they have to have an angle, now they generally don't print good news, generally good news is the norm, people getting on living peaceful lives and carrying out their daily functions that's not news you wouldn't buy a newspaper for that. What sells is the abnormal, and so the pathological really and that's what you see in the papers so as long as you've got that in your mind all the time that most of what you're seeing is that the deviation if you like from the norm and and you've got to also have this notion of a continuum of normal, you know of of adherent and conformist and most of us are wattering around that line aren't we. The media is fine for looking at emergencies or crises or particular things and in many cases when if you read about some stories to do with immigrants or asylum seekers it depends on the paper then you'll have some really positive stories and I read the telegraph, which isn't, it's not the mail but it's certainly not the Guardian um and some of the stories you read in the paper are very positive for instance about the lad from Liverpool who was a a a was he African in origin, wants to go to Oxford. Well, I I I mean, let's say this chap is a a a a the notional immigrant wants to get on, um he's come here from a war torn country in Africa somewhere pitched up in Liverpool done his education last 3 years let's say got a chance of a place in Oxford but he cannot take up his place in Oxford because he may not be allowed to remain in the country because of his asylum seeker status. Well clearly we want people like that in the country don't we. There's been a huge furore about this, what's the matter with the people you know, let the man, let the boy go to the college and so that's where the media can be really helpful um like the chap from Nepal who's VC and had been turned down by some functional bureaucrat somewhere, well there was a huge firth about that and eventually they obviously. Families in Glasgow, who didn't want you know the local community didn't want this family to be expelled, when when you get hold of the, you see the thing is b sometimes if you read the paper you think all asylum-seekers are um invaders and job robbers and whathaveyou, (pause) terrorists, but, but if you live near a community and you get to know individual families you you find out that that we're all looking for the same thing, aren't we, we all want to look after our children and and so families who are in a community where communities can see that they are good people and well they take to them and they'll fight for them and and so there'll be lots of cases like that, aren't there, not enough . And really if if if you look at it over the centuries we've got



some absolutely appalling things in our history but we've also got a tradition and I think a lot of British people are alive to this that we have welcomed in waves of immigration you know from the Anglo Saxons, Romans and and Flemish weavers, and you know all all those sort of tides of of immigration and and you see this all the time don't you in the media looking at Brick Lane for instance the the different waves of immigration that that have come over and the contribution that they have then gone on to play in society so I I I think that if you if you if you read only some of the more I don't know flag waving or meretricious ends of the media you'd want to send everybody back wouldn't you because that's what?

RESEARCHER: The authors of the Uncertain Future's report picked up from some of the interviews they had carried out that asylum seeking children and young people had been discriminated against and felt vilified by the media and so whilst the media can be used as a powerful force for the benefit.

REBECCA: No you're absolutely right.

RESEARCHER: on the other hand the damaging impact that the media can have on people is real and needs addressing?

REBECCA: I I I I suppose that's where the role of the school community is vital isn't it to diffuse that sort of notion and to disarm the people and and of course the other children who are calling these names they that doesn't come out of nowhere that comes from their background so the schools job then is to educate those children that that is not the way to behave, um you're absolutely right there's obviously a huge problem isn't there where the um families who are looking to settle here and they might be in some of these centres where I don't know what the entitlement or the access to education they have. I don't know, perhaps I need to find out.

RESEARCHER: Unfortunately the UK placed a reservation against the article that states that all children should have equal rights no matter what status they have, so that asylum seeking children and young people wouldn't have the same rights as UK citizens. So whilst the UK ratified the UNCRC, there are reservations which have been emplaced. And the reason given why the UK chose to place a reservation against article 22 was that it was necessary to maintain effective immigration control.

REBECCA: It's ghastly isn't it. What can we do about that then, all we can do is keep pressing the authorities all the time. I would have thought that asylum seeker children and certainly refugee children would have all the rights of \*\*\* children?

RESEARCHER: All children in the UK have legal rights to an education.

REBECCA: It's got to be politics hasn't it, it's got to be because they're frightened of the outcry from ignorant people and ignorant media if there were massive immigration, well there is that massive immigration, well isn't there if you look at it from that point of view, but the the task is to to work with that and use it and and make that immigration movement work for us rather than make it seem to be divisive it seems to be what they're doing at the moment. Um the research that I've read about attainment regularly seems to come up and certain reports in the media cos I heard something quite recently, oh yeah I read that about adult learners is that um non-native, how they're not immigrants because in many cases they're born here.

RESEARCHER: second generation?

REBECCA: Second generation or um non indigenous children tend, of all ethnic groups tend to have better attainment than English, Welsh, Scottish and Irish children. Well you know that may well be because they have or their families have endeared them with a reverence for education in the same sort of tradition as the Indian and and Jewish immigrant communities education was the way out whereas and the problem is often our our own indigenous people not respecting and not taking advantage of ed education. You know so that's that's the real issue not not the immigrant children cos regularly we see head boys and girls of \*\*\* school let's say are are children with with imm immigrant backgrounds you know so there's not a problem once once they're actually in school they just major on really, the problem is with our own I don't know whether you can say underclass u er, deprived de de deprived communities what's an appropriate word for it deprived communities.

RESEARCHER: People aren't always aware of their rights. In your work, can you give me an example of how fostering international relations has affected a school in \*\*\*, how it has impacted on children and young people?

REBECCA: Well um there are a number of programmes, the European Union promotes international linking, DFID promote international linking and also the foreign office through the British council has another programme of er projects which promote international linking so if you looked at those three particular arms they all provide either programmes or additional funding to support schools making partner links, curriculum links with the schools board so from the narrowly European, narrowly European (Rebecca laughs) point of view, er the EU programme SOCRATES, COMENIAS, ERASMUS, SOCRATES, COMENES, ERASMUS, Quickthink is the adult education version, all those programmes are really very generously funded and

encourage schools to make multi-partner or sometimes single partner, bilateral partnerships with schools for curriculum topics sometimes for school development topics as well so um the difference being that if your school wants to do a project on water that would be a curriculum topic and all the partners would look at water problems in their country but a school development project, \*\*\* primary school for instance here um have a project with 6 partners on um conflict resolution and anti-bullying strategies and how to promote peaceful playgrounds that sort of thing so so it was developing school policies and like functions so clearly there would be a role for school councils and I know they have visits and many reciprocal visits to Romania, Sweden, Germany, Italy, Wales of course and I think I can't remember the other partner but there are 6 partners. \*\*\*, \*\*\* I can't remember his name but the headteacher very very positive about that, um \*\*\* primary school um has got a longstanding set of partnerships about COMENIAS and I think they've been looking at water but they've also developed a partnership with a school in er Rajasthan in India I think they were one of the first ones in Wales to do that and they have been looking at water use obviously but you see primary schools find it easy to do this because they look at things from a whole school perspective, it's very easy because you can look at the holistic way water as a topic can has so many different aspects to counter it cultural, scientific, maths weights and measures all those sorts of things are are good ways in which you can look at statistics and comparisons. Secondary schools find it culturally more difficult because they tend to be divided into these faculties you know so they don't tend to have cross curricula activities so it's you've got to, something we're hoping to do later this year is to work out with secondary schools how to get a whole school approach cos the the children are used to that in primary school and they hit secondary school. With primary schools it's somewhat easier but also secondary schools do do this across Wales they do it we've we've just had an awards for schools doing international linking. Um in \*\*\*, particularly um there's \*\*\* school which of course takes um children from across \*\*\*, \*\*\* and \*\*\* area er they've got a European link, they're part of a cluster which has got a link with a cluster of schools in India, this is this is the only cluster in Wales, partly because WAG doesn't fund this particular programme, um we're working on this. But at um so there's 4 schools in Wales one of them is \*\*\*, a \*\*\* school, \*\*\* junior and a school from further out so quite, quite, quite a mix, um. They're, they're working with six schools in India um so I think they're, they're in the first year so this next year will be the second year of that project um several of the schools have got international

projects anyway through COMENSIAS so they've got this European connection, they've got the India connection and \*\*\* has got this Indian connection but also they've got a link with \*\*\* which is \*\*\*'s partner city in China, uh, \*\*\* school and \*\*\* school two contrasting secondaries if you like one is \*\*\* and one is \*\*\* um they've both got partner schools in \*\*\* and they've just had the \*\*\* children come and visit here so they'll be doing the return match next year. Sometimes a physical exchange is the easiest thing because if you're working with a partner school let's say in in in Africa that doesn't have IT facilities um you go back to the sort of post sss sending things rather than e-mails which is actually more concrete but I heard a story about this this school in Orkney I think it is Orkney Shetland that's got a link with a school in Johannesburg and they talked very powerfully at a meeting I went to last Spring and this school, th this particular school, er, the the children, the child whose best behaviour or best motivation in the week his or her reward is to have a half an hour on the computer, the first and and the child is able, takes the battery, like a car battery on the trolley they walk a number of miles to get it charged, walk it back and for the duration of that period when they've got the battery charged the first dose is their's. Now if you tell children that in this country isn't that a powerful thing for them to learn isn't it. And also the value that children place on school over there, it's brilliant. So um all sorts of lessons and I think they're doing a project on aid and help in PSE so AIDS comes into it of course with with children's um entitlement there. There are so many lessons that they learn. And and of course its valuable in primary school it would be even more valuable if more secondary schools got doing it and we're we're hoping to get more secondary schools doing linking this year. My boss has got this responsibility to write the community focus school plan which a statutory plan so he's hoping to get this into every secondary school that they can apply for a little, a mini grant to foster some sort of programme to do with an international dimension that will kick in September when we'll be having a meeting at the start of the new year. You could look at it from all points of view because some of the Welsh schools for instance want to make links abroad because they don't have acc access to ethnic minority children you know because they can see this as a deficit in their constituency so they're actively seeking to broaden their children's experience from making those links. Well you s, if you look at schools in London, South London, not many schools have international links because they've got a 140 nationalities in their school anyway you know they've got a living resource so um. Um Wales is probably better off for European links than some areas of

England partly because in Wales we're not we're not able to access some of the other other programmes that that English schools have you know.

## Appendix 15: Transcript from semi-structured interview with Emily

### Location of interview: Emily's workplace

RESEARCHER: What do you think are the main barriers to equality of access to education, health and social care services in Wales and in Britain for young people and for other groups of people who are marginalised?

EMILY: Ok, well I think I would start with, you have, you don't know what you don't know so information must be a huge barrier if you um are not aware of services that are available to you or things that you could have or opportunities you're hardly likely to be putting yourself forward and you're certainly not going to access them so there's a whole big issue there about getting information to people and how people use information um and how they access information and how they interpret what you're giving them so I think that can be one big area, um another big I mean some some of the more obvious areas are you were just mentioning gatekeepers and and they're very significant in young people's lives in terms of facilitating or denying um access to certain things whether they encourage and support people, whether they advocate for them, whether they you know they're quite reliant on these mediators so you know that that particularly for the young and vulnerable you know even if you're not young if you're older but more in one of the more vulnerable groups you may be reliant on on er key gatekeepers and that could be somebody like a receptionist or it could be somebody like a social worker or it could be somebody like a careers advisor or you know that kind of thing so I think there's another big um kind of area there in terms of um access to services, there's certainly um a whole dimension that's to do with is that for me you know where the person either identifies with what's on offer and therefore takes it up and can you know utilise it or they see it as either stigmatising or um you know they don't fit fit it or um you know they classify themselves out or they classify themselves in so there's again another big area there I suppose about um identification, um a big area I suppose about stigma and um I mean if you just think about something like free school meals or um I don't know going to er have um sex education or whatever you know um how that person sees who that service is for or and whether they're part of that group or not will affect whether they take it up.

RESEARCHER: Do you think that institutions can initiate and perpetuate barriers to equality of access?

EMILY: Yup, they clearly can um in a a myriad of ways um and it could be I suppose building on what I've just said, um institutional cultures you know the way they operate and who they think their services are for and the kind of decisions that are made within them um institutions where there's a lot of discretion you know um social work is a very good example of that, er where they each individual is operating either in a discriminatory or a facilitating way and by discriminatory their discriminations might be negative or positive you know and it's kind of up to them um in the whole way the institution presents itself, its staffing profile, um the kind of visual images it has put about, um layout, where it is, um you know a whole number of things can be affecting whether people come forward or whether they don't for a service.

RESEARCHER: So access and the quality of the service affects access so if people are put off from the point of view of stigma or the actual experience, had a bad experience of the service then that is going to put them off then from wanting to access that service.

EMILY: Also you just reminded me because I did this um piece of research in Wales about access to rights um there are important kind of community mediators and if people say to you oh that's good you can go or you should go or that's not good, there are kind of key credible people in certain communities or networks who push people towards services or or assist in excluding them from services and that was particularly prevalent in minority groups because there's a lot of things there's a big thing about trust you know whether you trust a service um to be good.

RESEARCHER: And what were the other key findings of that research?

EMILY: Well it was about ethnic minorities in particular um and one of the things was that um they prefer to ask family and friends for advice about things you know um and there's this whole thing about um whether they trust the advice of the CAB worker or the you know welfare rights worker, or whatever it's more mediated within the community, oh that's a good person to go to or don't bother with that one or they won't take any notice or they don't understand you know it was like that kind of thing um and I suppose that people in things like public health know all of this about how to get messages into particular communities and about how to get information into particular communities but maybe we're not so good at that in social services perhaps.

RESEARCHER: In some of your work you highlight that access to services and the experience maybe negative or maybe positive experience of a gatekeeper can really have an impact and if the majority of gatekeepers are from a certain ethnic group then that is going to maybe act as a barrier?

EMILY: Yup, yup, people do feel that you know ethnic or tribal differences that are carried cross nationally might be applying um certainly I remember when I was working in the race equality network in Cardiff the fact that it was seen to be largely a black afro-Caribbean organisation rather than an Asian organisation meant that you know some people were deterred from it so you know those things do pertain. Um another factor I was just thinking of while we were talking is um just the fact that physically there are barriers for some people they can't ac, it might be transport barriers or you know the fact they live in rural areas or you know the fact that those facilities aren't you know in their communities but are some distance away or you know those kinds of barriers.

RESEARCHER: I guess it's about trying to interrogate the barriers and facilitators and monitor in terms of equal opportunity, trying to ensure that positive discrimination happens to ensure greater equality?

EMILY: Yeah, one thing I've noticed in minority accounts is that you know when I've been you know presenting about my own personal experiences or when I've heard others either presenting verbally or in books, writing accounts about, they often talk about maybe some kind of um critical other in their, moment in their life you know, oh that teacher de de de de and that turned me around or you know that person so there's often in thinking about the age group that you are looking at 13-15 year olds, there's often a kind of significant other um in their in the discourse, that that I don't know if they've constructed it retrospectively but often you hear people saying you know that person the way they thought I was this or they saw me as this or they said this to me or they opened up that door for me or something like that so they often focus it on in the way they speak about it on a particular individual or some kind of significant transition I don't know whether that's got significance or not but I just noticed that that's how sometimes people from minority backgrounds I don't know it might be more more general than minority backgrounds often talk about you know this significant event or significant other who opened up some.

RESEARCHER: That says a lot doesn't it?

EMILY: Yeah

RESEARCHER: It says perhaps that there aren't enough doors open and when there is a door open that becomes a significant point?

EMILY: Yeah, yeah



RESEARCHER: If there aren't many facilitators and gatekeepers who are open and are trying to forward equality then when someone does open a gate it's going to become very important. My next question is looking at something in one of your articles, I think it's emergent multiculturalism: challenging the national story of Wales and um you noted how schools are now required to engage in strategies for multicultural education because of the equality clauses of the 1998 covenant of Wales act and my question is in formal and in informal education what do you think are the best strategies for tackling inequalities and forwarding equality?

EMILY: Ok, in the formal arena of, are we are we talking about schools or schooling?

RESEARCHER: By formal I guess I was thinking about systems like schools and by informal, education that happens outside of a structured environment.

EMILY: Um in formal terms I think legislation is important it's very limited, very very limited but it is important, it's kind of a baseline, it's kind of the society saying these are you know the starting points, this is what, it's it's symbolic in what it signals you know its saying this is how we want to be or this is the what we're striving towards and this is the statement about society so legislation is a very very important driver but as we all know it's a very weak driver in terms of equality ambitions because people aren't committed to it they don't know how to do it, you know there's a lot of ignorance about interpreting, there's a lot of resistance, people interpret that it means you know a lot of power for them etc etc. So there's a big gap between what the legislation says and what actually happens and what people do but nevertheless I think in terms of the pursuit of equality that is one strand of of the action. I also do believe that imaging the society we want is important to equality so powerful media, television, radio, magazines, posters, outputs you know powerful media sending very strong messages about the portrait of a society is another big driver er, because it becomes a norm you know. Because even if at first people think that it might be tokenistic or what's that black person doing reading the news was you know how it was when I was growing up. Now you know I doubt anybody even thinks about George Alagias or you know other newscast, sportscast, newscasters, and um people presenting things from different minority backgrounds. I think we've got a long way to go in terms of Chinese people but you know what I mean, we've, we've said something about the port, we're saying something about the portrait of society, and I think that's another big driver in terms of attitudes um and acceptable norms, and expectations and role models for people who are in minoritised positions, um so there's that. I think um there's a whole area that is very hard to tackle at the level

of the banal the everyday, how we relate to each other and our expectations, who we think we are and who we think others are and um deep deep discriminations are embedded in our society and I don't just mean in relation to race. I mean in relation to able bodiness and gender and you know all kinds of things and we have everyday encounters with those and um that's the work of equality, that is the work for us in our everyday interactions and shaping and reshaping and negotiating at that level of exchange in society and I suppose that's what I mean about emergent. When I use the term emergent I was trying to say that yes, formally, governments can impose or we can drive things through legislation policy, and so on, but where it happens is actually how you and I, and others work with it, um bottom up, so I suppose that I am a bottom up multiculturalist ultimately because I think that's where the real work is being done, and the shifts and the changes. And you only have to look at um something like um changing attitudes to gay and lesbian people over the last ten years or so. And actually the legislation I think was way lagging behind the institutional cultures, but at the level of the everyday interaction, the banal, we had began to be more relaxed, accommodative of you know the fact that our loved ones, our friends, our our you know people we know our work mates were gay and lesbian people. Um, so top down, bottom up, I mean I suppose that's a bit of a dichotomy in itself but I'm saying all the work in driving equality cannot be left in the hands of government and legislation, and I submit that it is one important driver. It's not all about, oh it's the media's fault either, um that in tandem with that there is a kind of working it through, working it out and sometimes um you said formal and informal and sometimes the informal um life of um a movement or change in attitudes is ahead of the more formal as I've indicated in the case of gay and lesbian people. At other times it's way lagging behind, I think um general attitudes towards disability for example on the whole are appalling you know. On the whole people are inept um despite the clear messages that are coming from legislation and policy. People don't have the language or the the, you know the way of working with it because we've lived in a very segregated society in terms of ability and disability.

RESEARCHER: And also in terms of being a woman as well, um, glass ceilings of pay, the social construction of what it is to be a woman , or what it is to be a man, there are fixed and fluid understandings, that has a huge impact as well.

CW, Yes, yes, absolutely, absolutely, I think gender is probably one of the hardest for us to see because you know it's one of the hardest inequalities for us to see and

acknowledge because it's kind of um I can't say it's not because it's not conspicuous because it is, it's just kind of women and men have accepted the prevailing order of the prevailing discourse to a large extent and it's so culturally embedded it's very difficult for us to you know push it

RESEARCHER: So the law and society, society and the state have a responsibility to counter that.

EMILY: Yeah the state has has a big responsibility because it's setting the standard isn't it, its its saying um as a collective as a society we don't want that we do want this and we're subscribing to that aren't we through legislation and policy. Sometimes, sometimes and I'm just trying to think of an example, for example the way equality law is changing now and it's going very much towards this kind of generic understanding of um how we tackle inequality and um it's trying to move us beyond category. And I mean that's the whole gist of current policy and practice; it's trying to say move out of category and try and look at notions of equality, inequality and, and the way in which people are multidimensional and so on, and sometimes it's taking us in a direction that we're not yet ready for I think.

RESEARCHER: So do you have concerns about how the Equality Act which is due to come into force in October that was passed through parliament before the new government came into power will be implemented or any other concerns in general about it?

EMILY: Yeah well I've had a few concerns about it, um I mean I can see that in principle it's trying to say that a people are much more complex than the one dimensional kind of category that we have hitherto put them into so um. And life is much, contemporary life is much more complex in terms of, in the way people express identities, in the way they experience discriminations or not. I can see that and therefore I can see er and the other thing is that there are many forms of inequality that aren't accommodated by those five or nine of seven big groupings depending on which of the nations you are in that are recognised um. And so in principle those things about having an equal piece of equality legislation are quite right um. The difficulty that I have is that different levels of inequality that you experience even in terms of someone who is managing multiple identity or multiple discriminations they're different, they're not the same, and there's this kind of rush to sameness that I think suggests that we're assuming that the processes involved in how people are treated and what the way forward is for them and um what will address their experiences of inequality are somehow the same. I

think that's a false assumption um and I don't think it's too difficult to illustrate that, because you might be sitting next to a person with a disability and we might be able to say oh yeah that's that's um, how I think about that, and I know what you're talking about cos I experience that as well so you might be able to find a lot of commonality or you might be able to say ooh, what you're talking about I absolutely recognise as a black person yeah but there's a limit to that, there is a limit to that and I think that er the nature, the dimensions and the er institutional framework available to people who have disabilities is quite different from some of the experiences of being a black person, which is quite different from from um er being a woman and the type of discriminations that i've experienced as a woman. So I suppose what I'm saying is yes there are commonalities and yes we have probably spent too much time stressing differences, and yes there are processes that are in common but people still need a standpoint, people still need a voice, people still need an expression and will seek an expression for commonality of their experiences so the NGOs and the organs of civil society that provided them with that voice must still be there even if the government is saying we're standing back a little bit upon that and we're taking a more generic equality approach.

RESEARCHER: Ok and the equality act potentially could if it's used in a way that maybe excuses providing a quality of services?

EMILY: Yeah

RESEARCHER: for everybody that are appropriate and that um are going to be services that understand individuals and not homogenize?

EMILY: That's a huge worry because institutions up to now have been inept at responding to those issues on an individual level on a group level they've been inept and they've been reluctant and we know that, there's plenty of evidence to suggest that. So why are they going to be doubly or more competent now when they have to er consider things in a much more generic way. They're actually not more competent er so there's a worry about um a lethargy in local government, a lethargy in public services around this issue or er the tick box kind of approach.

RESEARCHER: Tokenistic approaches.

EMILY: Yeah, mm, yeah

RESEARCHER: And in your role, I don't know if you're still a member of the steering group, the communities first anti-poverty strategy

EMILY: I've finished that piece of work but I've done other pieces of work with the Welsh Assembly since.

RESEARCHER: Or maybe a more recent strategy that you've worked on?

EMILY: Well I take the view and I'm invited quite, I have been invited quite regularly to serve on one committee or another on one strategy or another um very recently I had just been invited to sit on some panel to do with higher education, I've had to say no to that because of time commitments and I say to myself why is it that I am invited onto these um particular bodies or strategies. And I know that it's to do, they're, they're inviting me specifically to do with equality issues and therefore I take that mantle when I'm in whatever it be, a health or a communities first or a child poverty or whatever I sit there and I say to myself I am here to try and put forward er critical questions or um highlight issues that are being overlooked in relation to equality issues so I think it nobody said that's your role but I try I give myself that role in these um arenas if you like um and I do also take the view that just by my physical presence, just by being there might be a reminder to people that this is on the agenda of the assembly and um you know it's being profiled by the fact that I'm sitting here so I think it's a good thing if I can to say yes to these things and to be on on er these committees. In terms of effectiveness is that what you're asking me, do you feel?

RESEARCHER: Yes in terms of the effectiveness of the communities first anti-poverty strategy how has that worked out?

EMILY: That one, er I mean good ideas, good ideas were there, good principles underpinned that which was about um taking things very close to people, letting them have a voice, letting them feel in control of the direction of things that happened to them that was the basis or is the basis of that strategy but it er falls foul of all the issues that we know about participation, about um you know those who speak loudest um take control. And it's not necessarily all voices that get heard, about people not necessarily having the capacity or feeling equipped to um engage appropriately so it's a really long term strategy in terms of altering the nature of civil society so that people can participate appropriately, truly have some kind of voice, work things out together, negotiate things um be perhaps um more autonomous of of um local government leaders etc etc um so you have to be you have to enter into something like communities first with a degree of optimism about the principle, accepting that it's going to be tough to work it out, and knowing that it's going to be a kind of long term change that's going to make a difference to those communities you can't just say oh we're going to plant some flowers in the town square and that will um lift everybody's spirits or we're going to put up a few shelters for the youth that it's going to be much more fundamental than that in

saying this is our town and this is our ward and this is our area and we want to make sure that we involve as many people as we can from you know different walks of life in um a collective effort for change.

RESEARCHER: Someone I spoke to in in New York was discussing that in the context of her place of residence in Brooklyn and the lack of park space for children, for her son to play in and she said that she knows the people she's got to speak to and she knows it's going to be a long process. But she said that little by little change was going to happen and something that struck me was she knew the people to speak to.

EMILY: Oh right

RESEARCHER: She was a single mum and she was trying to campaign along with other parents in their community for more access to parks and when land is short, space is of a premium and areas are quite densely populated there's going to be a debate between people.

EMILY: Interesting when she's saying she knows who to influence and so on I mean lots of people don't do they?

RESEARCHER: That's exactly what I was thinking about when she said that. Because lots of people wouldn't know and wouldn't, maybe wouldn't feel the confidence to approach somebody and know if there's a committee and find out how you can influence it, so I think she saw her role as trying to engage and help the community try and lobby for more parks.

EMILY: Yeah, yeah, yeah

RESEARCHER: My next question is about the, in the article about emergent multiculturalism you've written there's a point I want to ask you a bit more about, it was Hesse's description of the politics of interrogation and in that article you note that the multicultural project in Wales may be hampered by an emphasis on the politics of recognition as opposed to the politics of interrogation, I just wondered if you could explain that a little bit more.

EMILY: Ok, if you think about um multicultural Wales actually there wasn't a kind of conception of multicultural Wales until more recently I would suggest even though it was there it wasn't er acknowledged in public policy, it wasn't kind of acknowledged even by in the banal sense in an everyday sense by people unless they lived in you know the one square mile of um Bute in Cardiff and that's where multicultural was as far as Welsh people were concerned so even people like me who lived in the North would say, people would say are you from Cardiff, if you said you were Welsh, they would say so

they would imagine in in the popular imagining that's where um multiculturalism was and um what we've seen since the assembly came about obviously is a a drive to um put in place policy one example being in education, put in place policy in relation to gypsy travellers etc put in place a policy framework for addressing the black dimension of Welsh society but what I've been keen to do in my work is say this isn't just about recognising, oh we've got some refugees in Wales, oh we've got asylum seekers, oh we've got um gypsies what shall we do for them, oh there are bla um black people living in Cardiff and they've lived there for a long time and that's the rainbow city and isn't that nice it's not about that, it's not supposed, iin n my mind the true issue for Wales isn't about um focusing on minority difference , celebrating it and you know exalting it by putting it on posters and all the rest of it. It's much more about questioning what is Welshness, what is Wales, what is the national story, what are we constructing through devolution? Is it a Welsh assembly based on some idea of Welsh ethnicity that is exclusive or are we telling a new story in Wales and are we questioning where we've been, where we are now, and where we're going. So the interrogation is of the national majority not of looking er and celebrating and speculating about um the range of minority groups that we've got in Wales and aren't they lovely it's much more about those deep, searching questions of national identity.

RESEARCHER: So interrogation of policies?

EMILY: Yeah, policies, practice, of thinking, of stereotypes, of history, of you know imaging what Welshness is, of expressions of identity, and you know I'm sure you've heard people talking about Wales and Welsh identity and we've um actually fallen foul of some very very exclusive and small, narrow versions of what it what it is to be Welsh and and they're quite exclusive and it's often associated with the language or with history or where you live or who your parents are, blood, soil and you know language kind of thing. Um very much based on ethnicized er versions of national identity and what we actually want is a vibrant interrogation of national identity as a civic status so that those people who live, contribute, um express themselves as Welsh in one way or another can be part of the national collective. And I've been banging on about that for about ten years and I think the assembly takes that view. I think that's what we've seen in policy I don't know if it's seen if it's what we see in practice, but it's certainly the message that the assembly are sending out. Um in practice we actually see some very exclusive um ringfenced practice uh which is a little bit troubling and particularly in the North of Wales.

RESEARCHER: Can you think of any example, is it Torfaen you've written about?

EMILY: Yup

RESEARCHER: Can you give me an example of that?

EMILY: Er well for example in the North of Wales you might have um a a a linguistic minority who select and and offer jobs and opportunities and posts based on Welsh language which you can understand but on the other hand it's not going to make for a um diverse um vibrant, up to datem contemporary Wales with that, if it prevails too much. That might be training opportunities for nursing, it might be you know selection of I don't know key, key public service posts um or even in schools to a certain level I don't know.

RESEARCHER: That reminds me of something that you've written about in the context of nationalism in Wales. If it obscures and marginalises ethnic minorities then it's a problem and I think the example you gave was a Welsh nationalist party who were using imagery which was deliberately playing upon imagery which is related to racism and using that in conjunction with creating polarisations between the Welsh and the Other, the English, the oppressor and the dangers of how nationalism can obscure space for people who are marginalised in Wales.

EMILY: There's been quite significant changes in that respect because we've got a coalition government of course with Plaid, Plaid Cymru as the nationalist party has changed its tune significantly over the er past ten years. It signals itself as the party of the people of Wales and it has been very keen to kind of disassociate itself from that quite narrow definition of national identity that it carried before. Um but at the everyday level people still think in those kind of tramlines and act in those kind of tramlines and um I suppose the real issue we've got in Wales is that we're not a very confident nation, so people perceive difference as a threat rather than feeling they can accommodate it. And we can still have a strong Welsh nation and so we've got that kind of tension that runs through a lot of things we do in Wales, um but I um think you know in policy terms I think I've been heartened by the fact that the Assembly tries at least to take quite an inclusive line in its' er directives.

RESEARCHER: Anderson's theory of imagined communities seems relevant, where someone won't know everyone in Wales, or England or Scotland or in a particular country but in some respects some individuals feel that they have a sense of shared understanding. I guess it's when that translates into an ethnocentric paradigm that things go very wrong, when it's in an inclusive paradigm then perhaps things are not so under



threat of becoming extremely nationalistic but to counter balance that sometimes in terms of colonisation in the postcolonial context without, the colonies' struggles for independence, without that struggle then, that nationalism, then there wouldn't perhaps have been independence or maybe it would have been slower in coming. Certainly nationalism between Wales and England obscures space for marginalised groups and communities in Wales, as does nationalism in other countries throughout the world.

EMILY: It's true and we're a small nation and people um have networks that extend well beyond the national boundary, they have a sense of nation but they also mobilise networks well beyond the national boundary and um that is particularly true of ethnic minority groups you know national networks, UK wide networks and global networks and um those are very important to their resilience in diasporic er situations, um but that doesn't mean they can't say we actually feel Welsh we've subscribed to what this nation is about we've been here a long time, er we work we contribute you know that kind of thing so so both are kind of important.

RESEARCHER: In your chapter on social inclusion and race equality in Wales you underline key issues, the lack of a coherent picture of minority access to educational services from nursery to post compulsory education and you also underline the welsh assembly government 2001 education strategy paving document to comprehensive education and lifelong learning programming up to 2010 in Wales. And in that they made a commitment to ascertain the numbers and attainment of pupils from black and ethnic minority communities in Wales so that where there are evident patterns of underachievement sources can be better deployed to deal with that. Do you think these commitments have been fulfilled?

EMILY: They certainly have done that there's certainly been much more rigorous monitoring, I mean one of the things about devolution that I really welcomed was the evidence base became stronger so when I was writing that it it was very very very early days and there was kind of setting a course and I and I really struggled with that chapter because there wasn't much to say because not much had gone on, from a I think I opened if I remember I opened the chapter by saying you know it's um we haven't got a lot of evidence and what we have is small scale, patchy there's no systematic approach and all the rest of it, one of the really good things about devolution I mean we've still got a long way to go is that the statistical evidence is greater, the monitoring is greater and you know the research base is stronger than it ever it was um and I do know that this group EMLAS have been working for some time to look at ethnic minority

attainment by publicity and to sort of drill down and characterise what was happening um whether that monitoring translated into specific policies and actions to um promote higher attainment amongst various certain groups I'm not sure, I haven't looked back at the kind of um I haven't done a policy kind of review of that more recently which would be an interesting piece of work to do um to kind of update but I don't, I know I certainly know that the evidence was is gathered in a lot of um er ways I also know that then they went um into a lot of, they developed a lot of strategies in terms of um embedding multicultural what they call multicultural education into the er curriculum in Wales. And I don't think anybody's really written about to my knowledge has really written about that what it is, how its impacted has it made a difference, how are the teachers trained, has teacher training changed um you know how are schools approaching that agenda, I think it has been much more about the monitoring um collecting data and not you know student pupil data, student pr profiles d d d that kind of thing and I'm sure schools continue to have these days when um they have you know somebody from the local community comes in and cooks different food and they talk about different countries but that's not multicultural education and

RESEARCHER: Tokenistic

EMILY: Yeah

RESEARCHER: managing

EMILY: Yeah

RESEARCHER: type of multiculturalism

EMILY: Yeah, I'm sure they do do that but I couldn't comment on the extent to which they have really looked at the curriculum, developed the curriculum, whether they're looking at staff profiles across Wales in terms of you know records of ethnic minority teachers, teachers from ethnic minority backgrounds um etc etc. They might be better in areas where there are some um concentrations like Swansea, Newport and Cardiff than they are elsewhere I don't know. It's a Wales wide initiative, it shouldn't just, it is about raising uh pupils awareness to diversity and difference wherever they are, whether there are two black pupils in the classroom or fifteen.

RESEARCHER: In your preface to \*\*\* you note that you grew up in a world of mixed messages about belonging and about home and about identity, can you explain that a bit more?

EMILY: Well, um, my mother's Welsh, and Welsh by hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of years of heritage if you know what I mean, er Welsh Welsh speaking and

um in terms of how people profile Welsh identity you know proper Welsh that's what she was and of course my father's from the Caribbean from Guyana and um my entire education has been in Wales from the age of you know four when I stepped into the school right until I got my PhD yeah um I've grown up entirely in Wales um and my home is still remains in Wales and I married a Welshman etc etc. However, despite what you would suggest ostensibly about um that person and their history of how they describe themselves, how they present themselves publically, the sense that I grew up with was that I clearly wasn't Welsh. Um the kind of, I mean I think it's changed now I have to say um but I'm talking about what I described in um \*\*\* was a profound sense of unbelonging of lack of fit, of the fact that there wasn't a perception of you as being part of the national collective, um but you were somehow an outsider and would always be an outsider simply by virtue of the colour of your skin. And that kind of was what I tried to illustrate in a lot of different stories and different ways in \*\*\* to er as part of that interrogation project that I spoke about before to say hey you know this doesn't make sense, this kind of experience should not be in contemporary Wales because there are lots of different ways of being Welsh and I'm one of them um but there are many others um and that we should be able as a nation to er be confident and able to say to say that's what it is and I kind of contrast myself through the book through my mother who would be clearly identifiable in the imagined community as proper Welsh because she had the linguistic ability, er, she had the heritage and um she came from a very well-known Welsh community, um a community that had been largely oppressed by the um massive er global slate industry etc etc so I was trying to er contrast my identity with that acceptable identity and say hey you know there are many ways of being Welsh and just anybody stand up and tell me that I'm not kind of thing. So that is the kind of message of \*\*\* um and it's a message of contrasts because everybody expects it to be sugar and spice and of course it's \*\*\* and \*\*\* which is an awkward juxtaposition. You know why are you putting those two commodities together, well they're both commodities of empire, they're both commodities of exploitation etc. But what I wanted to do was present my work and my thesis about Wales in a very simple and accessible way that people would read and they would um enjoy and they would then get the same message that I might have been trying to put across in a more academic way.

RESEARCHER: The oppression and marginalisation of people, whether you are a woman, or whether you are disabled physically, mental illness is another stigmatised

area, religion, race, class all these issues of power, and capitalism often seems to run very close to lots of issues, so in terms of Lord Penrhyn and his exploitation and his plundering of people, the exploitation of people is a very significant issue to be redressed.

EMILY: Yes it is.

RESEARCHER: which needs to be challenged. My next question is based on your chapter on Wales in \*\*\* where you say it's difficult to feel belonging when nothing tells you that you belong. How much do you think that is related to the state and or society?

EMILY: Um er I'm of my generation if you know what I mean I I I think if you speak to young people today they might have very different messages about Wales in that respect you know. Um the state as I was growing up there was no messages coming from er the state in its whichever of its arms you look at, legislatively, er through the media, through policy and practice through you know local government or whatever there were no absolutely no messages that suggested um the notion of multiculturalism, the notion that you know Wales is made up of a number of different people with different heritages etc etc, it wasn't in my schooling I think in the period of my schooling I think described how I would go um away to Africa to my father's birth place and then come back into the classroom in er North Wales and er it was a though you'd just stepped out to the loo, nobody would ask you anything about it you know you didn't have anything to bring or to offer um the whole sense of interchange, it was just bland universalism um and you know that can be, that can be very damaging. Um I was just thinking about um a phrase that somebody said to be once as an adult. I think this was when I was adjudicating welsh book of the year and a woman said to me oh its funny isn't it if you had been brought up in Swansea or Cardiff you would have been totally unremarkable, nobody would have um noticed you you know or nobody would have you wouldn't have been kind of an important or anything of interest. I can't remember the words she said but because you er come from North Wales um you have struck an interesting kind of story and I thought that was highly offensive because laughing I thought and I'm having difficulty expressing it but I thought um what she was saying was in another way this is um token tokenism you know, oh we're interested in you momentarily because you're you're actually not what we know or where we think black people belong ie Cardiff or Swansea that was my interpretation of it. Um because I certainly think that if I had have been brought up in Cardiff, I would have still have been able to write well, I would have still been an academic you know I would have still done all the other things I've done to

achieve I wouldn't have been just a black person as she was suggesting um so even in kind of intellectual and intelligent Wales there are these um messages of unbelonging.

RESEARCHER: One of your friends you mention in the book who picked you up from the airport who lives in Cardiff in Butetown. She I think has a conversation with you about belonging and identity in Wales and you are both discussing the ambivalence but she was saying she felt more of a sense of community because of a larger group of black people living in her community but at the same time she also discussed ambivalences about feeling Welsh?

EMILY: Exactly, because you think that people living in those communities felt a strong local identity, very strong local identity, which they do with you know kind of Welsh blackness but they didn't identify with Wales per se in any or either sense of Welsh national identity, again I think maybe that's changed, I think if you went into schools now in Cardiff you'd hear different messages from young people, in particularly in the age group you're talking about.

RESEARCHER: Would your friend call herself Welsh black or?

EMILY: She wouldn't have, she wouldn't have I mean now maybe that um that's become a more sort of familiar parlance but she would have said I'm from Cardiff (said with a Cardiff accent) you know she would have just said a local identity if you know what I mean. I don't think she would have said I'm Welsh in that respect or she might have said I'm from Wales but um you know I don't think she at that time certainly she would have identified with Welshness. I don't think my girls would now either in the way that I have I think um there's a generational thing there but also ethnicity grows with age you know as they say as you grow old you reflect on who am I, where am I from, what's my heritage, you know there's that process which I think is part of a more midlife project.

RESEARCHER: In terms of having a space for, feeling that people belong, individuals belong, if someone doesn't feel there's that space then there's maybe going to be a stronger need to find that space?

EMILY: Yes because you face that challenge.

RESEARCHER: Because you've not been given the space and the resources and the support by the state and society.

EMILY: Absolutely, absolutely

RESEARCHER: My next question is about the commission for racial equality and your involvement in that, can you tell me about that, how that has worked out?

EMILY: Well the commission was set up in around I think 1995 pre devolution and it had a tough time it wasn't a high profile body um it grappled with issues about um cos um we didn't have the um understanding that we do today about the Welsh language and the Welsh language issues were dealt with under the 1976 Race Relations Act so it grappled with issues of language, grappled with issues of under resourcing and um etc I I think it is fair to say that it wasn't a very very effective body. After the assembly, um after we had a national assembly and self-governance in Wales a lot of organisations like Barnados or Mind or whatever er developed a Welsh er arm or a Welsh focus. Whereas they might have been more sort of central centralised in England and did work in Wales they opened an office in Wales and they branded themselves as Welsh institutions, NGOs and I think by the fact that that process was happening, the CRE also as a national organisation bolstered its seat in Wales and in Scotland and in Ireland so um the commission made their Wales office a stronger office and um so on and so forth and um the Assembly started to want to relate to these bodies in developing its um equality profile and after 2001 it wanted to relate to these bodies in um developing its race equality strategy and that kind of thing so they became strengthened by the fact that, the CRE became strengthened by the fact that the assembly the presence of an assembly in Wales was strengthening it and through its alliances with the equality opportunities commission and the disability rights commission and I was on the advisory board of the CRE fairly early on um through that early devolution period and so on um and it was good work to do and and um how effective it was in terms of reaching communities and engaging with the community I I doubt it probably was very effective, um how effective it was in tackling issues of discrimination in Wales more broadly at an institutional level um it was patchy, probably did some good work with some organisations and everything um or or or highlighted some key discrimination cases that sent messages and so on but I don't think it was ever a very strong body um and of course I stayed up with it until its demise when it became the equality part of the equality commission in 2007 I think it was um when they were amalgamated so in terms I often think this is a story worth writing but it's probably not me that should write it, its probably somebody like \*\*\* \*\*\* who was a director of CRE right up until it became the equality commission but the history of it and its place in Wales and the difficulties it faced would be eminently researchable. I don't think it had huge impact, I think it had presence, I think that's how I'd like to put it, I think it had presence but I'm not sure it

had huge impact in terms of um shifting the agenda I think the assembly has had the most impact in that respect (intake of deep breath)

RESEARCHER: And in terms of it now in its different form

EMILY: Yeah, I haven't had involvement.

RESEARCHER: How do you think it is going?

EMILY: I haven't had direct involvement I'd quite like to have um in in increased involvement with the equality commission now um but the general sense is that it's been inward looking trying to sort out its own business um and find its level and work out how it's going to work for the last two or three years or so. It has done some good it has produced some good research papers and some good evidence there's some good evidence if you go online you, you know good stuff available but that's kind of my sense of it I haven't really felt its arms er reaching out across Wales yet.

RESEARCHER: Ok so the local, you said the welsh assembly government have had more of an impact in forwarding equality, a local impact?

EMILY: From my perspective, from my perspective I think things that the assembly have um put in place, legislative in its policy drivers have had more felt effect than er the equality commission. I mean they've always got people, because the assembly is touching public policy and areas of public policy that touch people's lives and wellbeing isn't it you know poverty and um health and all the re you know it has got those wonderful levers over key areas of people's wellbeing um. The equality commission is really concerned with protecting rights and looking at discrimination cases and this sort kind of thing er and guiding other institutions and monitoring other institutions. Um I need to get back in touch, I'm probably speaking a little bit out of turn here because I'm a little bit distant from it at the moment.

RESEARCHER: And in terms of the police, thinking about the Stephen Lawrence inquiry how did that have an impact?

EMILY: Well that had a huge impact because that um brought about the amendment to the race relations act and it was such an important amendment because it meant that in in some respects it was potentially revolutionary because it meant that every authority everywhere, it doesn't matter if its Anglesey or you know wherever it is had to address a race equality agenda. That's another fear about the new equality bill that um those authorities that were only just you know clocking onto the idea that they did have a responsibility might find plenty of places to hide under this more homogenized generic um approach.

RESEARCHER: Have you been working with the police recently?

EMILY: No I haven't done, um the most recent piece of work I did is um is a study in North Wales that looked at ethnic minorities living in rural areas and how they contribute and how they participate and what things they want to participate in and so it was about civil society and um locality.

RESEARCHER: Are there any findings from that study which you think are important to highlight?

EMILY: Erm I suppose one big finding was that people have been you know people had seen rural dwellers, ethnic minority rural dwellers largely in terms of victim status you know that they were victimised and subjects of rural racism and what I tried to show was that they are living, working, contributing, enjoying and part of rural communities in every sense um some of the things that they have frustrations about with public services were to do with planning decisions and um things like that they mentioned um but they have negotiated ways of um getting things like appropriate burial grounds if they were Muslims um, buying food and everyday things that they wanted er you know specific foods um now that they've got internet they had programmes from their own you know countries of origin if they wanted so the you know that people could. Perhaps that word isolation wasn't as relevant as we we thought it was in relation because people suggest that ethnic minorities want to be with co-ethnics and what I was saying in that study is uh yes they do and they find ways of doing that but it's another layer they find ways of also living in very white communities knowing their neighbours relating to their neighbours etc etc so that's one to be written up soon. I haven't gotten around, I've written the report but I haven't er written the article that I'd like to from that. My study is a bit like mythbusting, it's about this is the discourse that's prevailed, here's another one.



**Appendix 16 Photo from a project within a community development organisation  
in the Bronx, New York City**



**Appendix 17: Photo from a project within a community development organisation  
in the Bronx, New York City**



# Questionnaire

Please write your responses in the box below:

1. What do you think racism is?

2. If you were a teacher teaching a class of students your age about racism what do you think would be the most important point to get across to your students about racism?

3. Can you think of one way or more than one way to help in the fight against racism?

4. Was there anything we have studied over the past few months that has changed your mind or offered you some new insights into the issue of racism? If yes can you describe what it is? Or if no, can you describe why not?

5. Did you feel the classroom was a comfortable environment to discuss your concerns, views and ideas? Why or why not?

# Questionnaire

6. Do you feel that you learned anything from the learning circle experience? If so, what?

7. If there is something you could change about the learning circle experience what would it be?

8. Would you like to participate in another learning circle at some point in the future?

## Appendix 19: Survey 1 Responses

### Question 1: What do you think racism is?

#### Responses to Question 1

- a. Racism is discriminating against someone because of their skin colour or nationality.
- b. Racism is prejudice against people with different skin colour.
- c. Calling someone else a different colour names.
- d. It's very bad.
- e. Racism is discrimination to black people because of the colour of their skin or someone's religion.
- f. Racism is when people offend or make a personal attack on someone who is of a different race or colour.
- g. I think that racism is a form of bullying because they call people names such as nigger.
- h. Racism is offending someone's religion.
- i. Racism is when someone is bullied because of their religion etc.
- j. Racism is taking the mick out of people because of their skin or religion.
- k. When someone offends a coloured person and does racist things.
- l. Racism is people who are against coloured people.
- m. When people say about the colour of other people's skin.
- n. Anything that is offence to someone's skin, religion or faith.
- o. Anything that is offence to someone's skin, religion or faith.
- p. Racism is wrong and it's about black people and Muslims.
- q. Racism is when you abuse people that are different. E.g. skin colour.
- r. Racism is criticising people from different country, religion, colour.
- s. Calling people names.
- t. Racism is wrong (-no answers for rest of questionnaire)
- u. I believe racism is excluding or isolating people because of their (and blank- no answers for rest of questionnaire).

**Question 2: If you were a teacher teaching a class of students your age about racism what do you think would be the most important point to get across to your students?**

**Responses to Question 2**

- a. The most important point would be that no-one is inferior than you because of their skin colour or nationality.
- b. That it's not cool and it really affects people.
- c. Explain that everyone is the just look different and that it is bad.
- d. Not to \*\*\* anyone of their colour or \*\*\*
- e. The most important point would be that racism is wrong
- f. How it affects people and how they feel.
- g. Racism is not a good thing it is bad.
- h. I would put a film about racism on.
- i. I would use information about situations of well-known people such as the Lewis Hamilton case we looked at in class.
- j. I would put on a play to make them enjoy learning about it.
- k. Explain racism to them and say what people say about other people.
- l. It's wrong and everyone is the same and it doesn't matter what colour your skin is.
- m. It doesn't matter what religion they are.
- n. That it's not very nice, show videos of them picking on him or her.
- o. That colour or religion doesn't matter. Maybe a tasting lesson or trying on different religions clothes.
- p. I would try to tell them that it doesn't matter if you're black or white, we're all the same.
- q. That people cannot change who they are and how they look.
- r. I'll make them understand racism is wrong, it's bullying.
- s. No answer
- t. No answer
- u. No answer

**Question 3: Can you think of one way or more than one way to help in the fight against racism?**

**Responses to Question 3**

- a. Just put stricter rules against it.
- b. Stop people coming into our country and put posters around public places about racism.
- c. Get famous people to say it is bad and maybe they will stop.
- d. I cannot think of anything else to help fight racism.
- e. By letting people know more about it.
- f. The main way of fighting against racism is to show how racism affects people.
- g. It will always happen so there is no point fighting it.
- h. Ask a black kid what offends them and ask nicely people to stop.
- i. Give bigger penalties for being racist.
- j. I think they should arrest and fine racist people.
- k. Stop coloured people coming to our country and get the prime minister to stop it.
- l. Everyone \*\*\* get on with each other and stop coloured people coming into our country.
- m. Stamp it out!
- n. Stop it altogether.
- o. Talk about it more so people know how hurtful it is.
- p. Get them off our country then there will be no fights.
- q. Not really because it is something that will always be around.
- r. No answer.
- s. No answer.
- t. No answer
- u. No answer

**Question 4: Was there anything we have studied over the past few months that has changed your mind or offered you some new insights into the issue of racism? If yes can you describe what it is? Or if no, can you describe why not?**

**Responses to Question 4**

- a. No, because I was aware of the problems and solutions before.
- b. Yes, because I think it is wrong and I can see how it affects people.
- c. No because still feel the same.
- d. Some, that you shouldn't judge someone. But nothing else.
- e. No.
- f. No, because it is wrong for people to do it and that's what I thought at the start.
- g. No because I knew everything already.
- h. No because you will see it and hear it on the news every day.
- i. Seeing the film helped me understand racism more.
- j. N, because I still think racism is wrong.
- k. No answer.
- l. No because coloured people get free houses but homeless people don't.
- m. No, because I know about it already.
- n. No because I knew about it.
- o. No because we've just talked about things we already knew.
- p. No because I still think that they shouldn't be here.
- q. No answer.
- r. Yes, I learnt about different cultures in different countries like what food they eat, hobbies etc...
- s. No answer.
- t. No answer
- u. No answer



**Question 5: Did you feel the classroom was a comfortable environment to discuss your concerns, views and ideas? Why or why not?**

**Responses to Question 5**

- a: Yeah because I'm not particularly bothered about sharing my views in front of people.
- b: Yes because we all had an opportunity to speak.
- c: Yes because people talk about it a lot.
- d: No, I knew a lot about racism anyway.
- e: Yes I do, but some people dislike telling their views to other people.
- f: Yes, so everyone knows how each other feels.
- g: No because we had some people in our class who I know have said racist comments.
- h: No, I thought everybody felt quite comfortable.
- i: No, I don't like talking about my views in front of some of the people in my class.
- j: Yes because everyone in the class was very open minded.
- k: Yes because I could say what I wanted to say.
- l: Yes because you can say what you think.
- m. No answer.
- n. No not really because
- o. No answer.
- p. Yes because you can share your ideas with everyone.
- q. At first I wasn't sure about talking to people in my class in case they thought it was stupid. But in the end I found that everyone thought the same.
- r. No because
- s. Yes.
- t. No answer
- u. No answer



**Question 6: Did you feel that you learned anything from the learning circle experience?**

**Responses to Question 6**

- a. No, not really.
- b. That racism is wrong and different cultures.
- c. No because I knew a lot about racism.
- d. No I feel I haven't learned anything from the learning, it wasn't that interesting.
- e. Yes, people are all equal.
- f. That slavery still goes on now.
- g. No.
- h. Yes I know more about racism by watching films.
- i. Yes, I have learnt that everyone has their own views and ideas.
- j. No because I always thought it was wrong.
- k. That racism was a bad thing to do.
- l. No.
- m. No answer.
- n. No answer.
- o. No answer.
- p. No.
- q. I didn't learn that much, but I really enjoyed the lessons.
- r. No answer.
- s. No.
- t. No answer
- u. No answer

**Question 7: If there is something you could change about the iEARN learning circle experience what would it be?**

**Responses to Question 7**

- a. That we could actually have spoken to the other schools that we were connected with (video conference).
- b. To learn more about other cultures.
- c. Nothing.
- d. Talk about other things not just one thing all the time! It gets very boring.
- e. If I could change anything, I would have more countries in the learning circle.
- f. No.
- g. To be able to see the people on webcam.
- h. No answer.
- i. No, although I felt nervous at first because I wasn't in my friendship group, I gained new friends by then end.
- j. Let us talk to the people we are partnered with.
- k. Nothing.
- l. Nothing.
- m. No answer.
- n. No answer.
- o. No answer.
- p. We didn't talk to anybody.
- q. I found some lessons slow and pointless.
- r. Talk or communicate to other country.
- s. To talk to people from other country.
- t. No answer
- u. No answer

**Question 8. Would you like to participate in another iEARN learning circle at some point in the future?**

**Responses to Question 8**

- a. Yeah, if it was more interesting than this one.
- b. Yes I would, I thought it was really good and I learnt a lot.
- c. No.
- d. No I would not!
- e. Yes, I would like to participate in another learning circle.
- f. No.
- g. No because I knew everything already
- h. No because it was uncomfortable.
- i. Yes, it's a chance to make new friends.
- j. No.
- k. No because I learned enough.
- l. No.
- m. No answer.
- n. No answer.
- o. No answer.
- p. No not interested.
- q. Yes because I think it is a great way to learn about other people around the world.
- r. No answer.
- s. Yes.
- t. No answer
- u. No answer

Contribution for the Cultural Festivals  
project by Queens College, Lagos, Nigeria.

# Festivals in Wales



# Different Festivals

The different type of festivals in Wales are:-

National Eisteddfod

Urdd Eisteddfod

Swansea Summer

St David's Day

Eisteddfod

Brecon Jazz

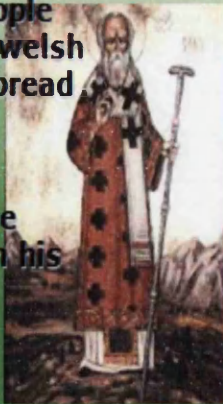
Royal Welsh Show

Abergerveny Food

# St David's Day

In Wales we celebrate March 1<sup>st</sup> every year, it is where all the Welsh people dress up, sing and eat traditional Welsh foods such as Welsh cakes, lava bread and drink Cwrw

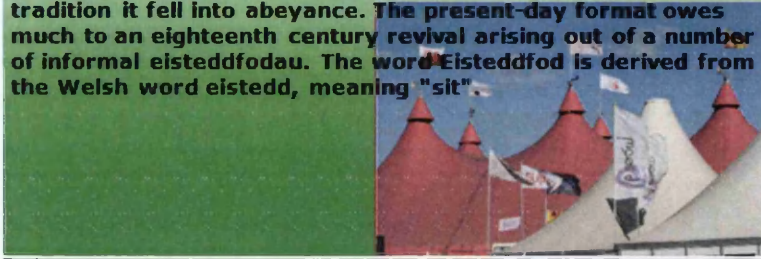
Schools normally have a special assembly and normally have some readings how St. David came upon his journey through life.





# Eisteddfod

An Eisteddfod is a Welsh festival of literature music and performance. The tradition of such a meeting of Welsh artists dates back to at least the 12<sup>th</sup> century when a festival of poetry and music was held by Rhys of Deheubarth at his court in Cardigan in 1176, but with the decline of the bardic tradition it fell into abeyance. The present-day format owes much to an eighteenth century revival arising out of a number of informal eisteddfodau. The word Eisteddfod is derived from the Welsh word eistedd, meaning "sit".



# Royal Welsh Show

The Royal Welsh Agricultural Society was formed in 1904, and the first Event was held in Aberystwyth in the same year. Wales & the Society have come a long way since those early days, and now the annual Royal Welsh Show is one of the biggest events in Wales' Calendar.



# Swansea Summer

The Swansea summer festival from May to September the area around the fabulous sweep of Swansea Bay is alive with a myriad of fantastic events, shows and carnivals for everyone to enjoy.



# Brecon Jazz

This year Brecon Jazz celebrates an anniversary can you guess? The dates are from 1984-2008 what is the anniversary?

[Click here for the answer](#)

# Answer 25th Anniversary.

## Abergavenny Food

This year the Abergavenny Food Festival will be launching its first Fringe programme. Local businesses and community groups have been invited to put on special events and promotions between 13 and 21 September.

The aim is to highlight the diversity and quality of what Abergavenny and the surrounding area has to offer to both visitors and residents.





**Thank You**

## *Historical Headlines*

### Joese Ice Cream

It was 1898, a gentleman named Luigi Casearini came to Swansea from the Abbruzzi Mountains in Italy. Joe's was founded by Joe Casearini, Luigi's son, in 1922 and people came from far and wide to taste his unique ice cream.

Joe died in 1966 following which the business has continued through 5 genera-

tions. Over the years Joe's Ice Cream has won several prestigious awards including the Champions of Champions cup.

A recent quote in the independent says it all, " the sweet creamy vanilla ice cream sold by Joe's is heaven.



### The Hafod Copper Works

The Hafod Copperworks was located between the Swansea Canal on one side and a bend in the River Tawe on the other. It was laid out by John Vivian with expansion in mind from the very outset.

In its day it was one of the largest and most up to date industrial enterprises in Europe and by the 1840s Vivian & Sons were the largest exporters of finished copper in the UK. Over the course of the

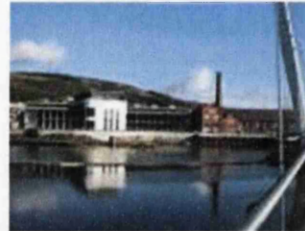
19th century the Vivians' also built an entire settlement for their employees called "Trevivian" or "Vivianstown" and which we now call the "Hafod".



## Swansea Docks

**Swansea Docks** is an Atlantic shipping port in Swansea, south Wales. It is located immediately south east of Swansea city centre. In the mid 19th century, the port was exporting 60% of the world's copper from factories situated in the Tawe valley. Today it is just a minor port in the UK and the northern part is undergoing re-development into an urban area. The working docks area is currently owned and oper-

ated by Associated British Ports.



## SA1 Development

SA1 Swansea Waterfront is different and offers such unique opportunities. Rather than being peripheral, it is a vital part of Swansea set in the real heart of the city; a location wonderfully equipped to house vibrant life and work and leisure, an area capable of sending ripples of development out



unique urban opportunity.

from its centre. SA1 Swansea Waterfront isn't just another docklands make-over. It's a

## LC

The LC is a new and exciting visitor destination which opened in Swansea in March 2008.

A unique facility, developed by the City and County of Swansea which has transformed the former leisure centre site into a 21st century waterpark by cre-

ating a vibrant, modern facility with the very latest technology and cutting-edge attractions.



## **Appendix 21: Focus group format and transcripts**

### **Focus Group Format**

The focus group discussions were guided by the 2001 Northern Alberta Alliance on Race Relations (2001) Alberta Youth Against Racism-Campaign.

- 3 focus groups
- Focus group 1: 4 students
- Focus group 2: 4 students
- Focus group 3: 6 students
- Facilitator: Researcher (No teacher present)
- Each focus group session length: 45 minutes
- All focus groups recorded by a digital voice recorder
- Location of focus groups: In school

### **Focus group questions to explore**

1. What is racism?
  2. What do you think it means to say you are Welsh or English?
  3. Do you think that racism is a problem? How is it a problem?
  4. Have you seen/read/heard about any racist incident happening? ( i.e.) daily social relations, in the media, certain environments, in governments etc)
  5. Have you seen or heard of racism happening in your school or your neighbourhood?
  6. If yes, what happened?
-

## Transcript of Focus Group 1

(4 members: Focus group member 1, Focus group member 2, Focus group member 3 & Focus group member 4)

Researcher: What is racism?

Focus group member 2: Racism is being prejudiced against somebody just because of their skin colour or nationality.

Researcher: What do you think it means to be Welsh?

Focus group member 3: It's brilliant (Laughter)

Researcher: Could you elaborate on what it means to be Welsh to you?

Focus group member 3: I don't know (More laughter)

Researcher: Does it mean anything more than where you were born for example?

Focus group member 3: Yeah

Focus group member 2: I suppose it does yeah

Focus group member 3: Yeah

Researcher: Is there any way you can sort of tangibly try and identify what it means if it's more than where you were just born?

Focus group member 2: It's the way we were brought up cos we were brought up learning different things, like just random words in Welsh and things which makes

Focus group member 3: Festivals and culture

Researcher: So language Focus group member 2 has just identified is one and Focus group member 3 you said festivals so cultural festivals. Anything else? Anything else like if someone says I'm proud to be Welsh what do you think someone might mean by that?

Focus group member 3: When you are playing a football game and you win.

Researcher: The next question is do you think that racism is a problem?

Focus group member 3: Yes

Researcher: How is it a problem?

Focus group member 2: It makes people feel isolated and different to everyone else and just they feel like probably someone is against them or everyone is against them.

Researcher: Anything else?

Focus group member 3: At our school we, we (laughter from other focus group members) are very good with racism, um. None of us have ever witnessed racism within the school.

Researcher: So Focus group member 2 talked about how it makes people feel isolated. Anything else? Can you elaborate on feeling isolated?

Focus group member 1: You can feel smaller than other people.

Focus group member 3: You feel like you're doing wrong, do you know what I mean? Like if someone's been picking on you or something it makes you feel like you're doing wrong in the world. Do you know what I mean?

Researcher: Do you see racism happening or occurring and if so where?

Focus group member 3: We do not see it in \*\*\* School (laughter). It was in the media with.

Focus group member 1: Lewis Hamilton

Focus group member 3: Yeah Lewis Hamilton and all that.

Researcher: Can you think of where else you yourselves might be aware of it?

Focus group member 3: Um.

Focus group member 4: Um.

Researcher: Focus group member 4?

Focus group member 4: You see it on like popular programmes, like celebrities on those programmes doing, saying things that are racist some people like look up to those celebrities and they end up having an influence on other people.

Researcher: Would you say young people are influenced by what the media says?

Focus group member 3: Yes, and when people are arguing like in real life and if they are arguing with like someone they might use racism.

Researcher: Have you seen or heard of racism happening in your school or in your neighbourhood?

Interjection from Focus group member 3: No, I don't see it in school or in my neighbourhood.

Researcher: What do you think might be the effects of racism on a victim?

Focus group member 3: I don't know.

Focus group member 3: I'd probably feel sad.



Focus group member 2: I've seen people saying racist things but not to anybody just saying it but maybe if someone of a different skin colour heard it they might take it as racist even if it wasn't intended to be.

Researcher: Could you describe a bit more how racist comments are used in that context?

Focus group member 2: I don't know, it's sometimes just used.

Focus group member 3: Television and Big brother

Researcher: Big brother

Focus group member 3: with Jade and what's her name?

Matthew: Shilpa:

Focus group member 3: Shilpa

Researcher: What happened?

Focus group member 3: Well they were, I can't remember.

Researcher: Did anyone see it?

Focus group member 2: They were just generally arguing.

Focus group member 1: I watched it but I can't remember what happened.

Focus group member 3: Yeah they were just arguing because someone ate, Shilpa ate more food and then they were just.

Focus group member 1: Stock cubes or something wasn't it?

Focus group member 3: No poppadoms, something like that.

Focus group member 2: And she called Shilpa a poddadom.

Focus group member 1: Yeah

Focus group member 3: Yeah and

Focus group member 2: In my opinion I don't think Jade did it to be racist it's just she's so stupid.

Focus group member 1: No I don't think so either.

Focus group member 3: I didn't see any racist remarks in there, I didn't get it.

Focus group member 1: I could see why people thought it was racist.

Focus group member 3: But the people in the house didn't think it was racist either

Focus group member 3: But um Jermaine didn't

Focus group member 1: He didn't think it was.

Focus group member 3: He didn't think it was racist

Researcher: Can you think of another example of something in the media, anything in film's or books that you've seen that portrays racism?

Focus group member 3: Oh, um Hairspray.

Researcher: Hairspray

Focus group member 3: When's it the day.

Focus group member 2: And they're showing the break through.

Focus group member 3: And they're showing all the black people were sent to detention in school and all that.

Focus group member 2: Yeah but they weren't just segregated from the others they were very separate

Focus group member 3: Yeah, it was in the hall they were all dancing, there was a like bar in between them. Um Tracey, one of the characters she like wants all the time to be or day and then she

Researcher: Can you think of any other incidents where you've maybe seen someone trying to tackle racism?

Focus group member 3: There's someone in our school isn't there?

Focus group member 1: Yeah

Focus group member 3: Can I say his name?

Researcher: Probably best not to say names.

Focus group member 3: Santa Fe teachers. Yeah, well if anybody's racist in our school, they have to go and see him and he gives them a big row and stuff.

Focus group member 1: He means the teacher was being racist.

Focus group member 3: No

(Laughing from group members)

Researcher: What do you think are the ways that racism is continued or perpetuated in society?

Focus group member 4: I don't think it's continued as such I just think that some people are so paranoid about being racist that, everyone's just so careful what they say around other people but I don't think it should be that way, just the simplest of things can be taken the wrong way.

Researcher: There are a higher proportion of black and other ethnic minority people arrested by the police, why do you think that is?



Focus group member 2: You always see in London about the big stories, it is black gangs that is the big stories about London so if you're saying that more younger black people get arrested, we'd expect that because we've heard about the black gangs we haven't heard about the other side of it.

Researcher: Can you think of anything else that might encourage or perpetuate racism?

Focus group member 3: Nothing that encourages. Movies and stuff encourage it, no they don't encourage but they.

Focus group member 1: Show it

Focus group member 3: Yeah they show it, like you said earlier, like Focus group member 4 said earlier they copy them.

Researcher: So some films can have a negative impact?

Focus group member 3: They don't give a real message about stopping racism.

Researcher: What do you think causes racism?

Focus group member 4: I think it's like asylum seekers they come over, they move from their country to get away from all the problems there, but sometimes they bring their problems with them and then like car bombs, I think there was one that went off in London and I think that when they bring that over here and I think that's what causes racism that they are causing problems in our country.

Focus group member 2: Sometimes people like move over to our country and then they complain about our laws but they're in our country so they should follow our laws, it's not fair for them to say they have a problem with our laws whereas they're not in their own country so if they're not happy they should go back to their own country.

Focus group member 1: I think it's just the way of like, say in an argument, it's not really like attacking someone, like if you're arguing with somebody who's coloured and you're not, then it's just a way of making them feel worse.

Focus group member 3: It's the way you've been brought up as well, do you know what I mean? If you were brought up in a family where your brothers or sisters or whoever are racist, it's catching then you kind of say it.

Researcher: Do you think your friends influence your behaviour at all?

Focus group member 3: Yes

Focus group member 2: No

Focus group member 3: Yeah

Focus group member 4: Sometimes you'll hear people say this person is blah blah blah and you kind of want to agree with them just to fit in with the crowd.

Focus group member 3: Like smoking, if you don't smoke and all your friends smoke you do it just to

Focus group member 1: Be with them.

Focus group member 3: Yeah so you fit in and don't feel left out so that's the same with racism, if all your friends are racist and then they're all screaming at somebody being racist and you are sitting there and you don't want to be left out so you join in.

Researcher: Do you think that sections of the media perpetuate racism?

Focus group member 4: I do

Focus group member 2: Newspapers give a biased opinion against some people.

Focus group member 4: They do but sometimes it's hard not to believe what someone says.

Focus group member 2: Yeah

Focus group member 4: It's like if you see in special newspapers you see and then you hear your parents talking about it, like your parents debating about it you kind of question it yourself.

Researcher: So how the media present a story in newspapers, and their representation is important so a paper might not present a person or a group accurately at all they might present a group in a prejudiced way. The next question I have is do you think a homeless black person is more likely to experience racism than a wealthy black person?

Focus group member 3: Yes

Researcher: Why do you think that is?

Focus group member 4: I don't

Researcher: And you disagree Focus group member 4?

Focus group member 2: I agree with Focus group member 4.

Focus group member 1: I agree with Focus group member 3.

Focus group member 3: When you're walking past them you say something like scrubber or you know what I mean?

Focus group member 2: You'd do that to a white homeless person as well?

Focus group member 1: But you're more likely to

Focus group member 3: You're more likely to, ok so a white rich person.

Focus group member 2: Would get less prejudice than a wealthy black person because it's kind of biased in just generally you hear more about wealthy white people so the wealthy black person would get prejudice against them.

Focus group member 3: No they, no. A homeless black person is more likely like to, I don't know, it just is, do you know what I mean? It's like for a rich person.

Focus group member 1: You're more likely to get abuse from

Focus group member 3: From a, yeah than from a rich person, you don't see people going up to a rich person and shouting stuff to them but.

Researcher: Why do you think that is?

Focus group member 1: Because they look up to

Focus group member 3: Because they look up to rich people don't they because they want to be rich. I don't know it's really hard to say. White people and black people if they were both homeless they would both get the same.

Focus group member 1: laughs

Researcher: What do you think?

Focus group member 2: Well I would say a wealthy black person would get more abuse and stuff, because you've got the bias of the white people rich and the bias of the black people are homeless or poorer. Because if you look at like the poorer countries like Africa for an example people see poorer you know black people there then they wouldn't expect a black person to be rich and then they would get abuse for it because you don't so much expect it but it's more biased towards a black person being homeless.

Focus group member 1: That wouldn't happen.

Focus group member 3: That wouldn't happen.

Focus group member 1: It wouldn't happen as much

Focus group member 3: No I know, why would you, say you now, she's not racist by the way if you were a racist now you would, the rich person, you would like chops to the rich person and the homeless person?

Focus group member 2: Yeah because the rich person, has, they've got more money than you.

Focus group member 3: Whatever

Focus group member 2: Yeah because they are black the different skin colour would make you feel more prejudiced against them for being rich.

Focus group member 1: people in this country wouldn't.

Focus group member 3: Yeah they wouldn't.

Focus group member 2: I think they would.

Focus group member 3: That's what you're saying now Focus group member 2 that's a bit racist.

Focus group member 2: I'm not meaning it in a racist way.

Researcher: Focus group member 4 what do you think?

Focus group member 4: I agree with Focus group member 2 just because someone's different and the that maybe it is a jealousy thing.

Focus group member 2: Yeah.

Focus group member 3: You don't do racism because of jealousy.

Focus group member 2: Some people do.

Focus group member 4: For some people it's a natural reaction if someone's different they have more things than they do.

Researcher: Ok and with a white homeless person and a black homeless person, do you think the white homeless person is more likely to get a racist comment made at him or her than a black person?

Focus group member 2: I would say a white person.

Focus group member 3: I would say a black person. (\*\*\*)This contradicts what Focus group member 3 has said earlier in discussion on p. 13 (\*\*\*)

Laughing

Focus group member 1: The majority of people would be more against a homeless black person than a homeless white person.

Focus group member 3: Yeah than a homeless white person.

Focus group member 2: A homeless white person is the same as you

Focus group member 4: Yeah

Focus group member 3: Oh I disagree

Focus group member 2: But some people would feel oh a black person is different so they're homeless that's just you'd think of it because they're different rather than.

Focus group member 4: Yeah

Focus group member 3: Oh I wouldn't.

Focus group member 2: I don't think there would be any racism against a black homeless person who's just been there homeless but

Focus group member 3: You are what's it called, a stereotype black person view is a homeless person.

Focus group member 2: No, I'm not saying that I'm just saying you hear more. You don't really.

Focus group member 3: That's what you're saying though, that's what you're saying, there's a homeless person on the floor, oh.

Focus group member 1: Yeah.

Focus group member 2: I'm not saying it's more likely I'm just saying you don't expect. I don't know, I can't really explain it, you just don't expect it to be.

Focus group member 4: We're not saying they wouldn't get anything shouted at them at all but it's more likely to be racist towards a white homeless person.

Focus group member 3: No, I wouldn't say that.

Focus group member 2: I wouldn't say it's more likely to be racist to either person.

Focus group member 3: It's more likely to be a black person, one skin colour, two they are homeless and three, we think we're better than them and they're poor so, cos they're different from us.

Researcher: What types of emotion do you imagine are linked to racism or accompany racism from the perpetrator's perspective?

Focus group member 3: Oh, well they'll probably feel happy about doing it, won't they? A relief and all that.

Focus group member 1: They'll probably feel angry as well.

Focus group member 1: Happy for themselves but angry about the other person because that's what started it in the first place.

Researcher: Any other emotions that you think someone who is being racist would be feeling, why they do what they're doing?

Focus group member 3: They probably feel I don't know happy they're doing it and like proud.

Focus group member 1: And maybe they feel regret because they know they're doing wrong.

Focus group member 3: Yeah but they don't think about that then when they're.

Focus group member 1: But afterwards they would.

Researcher: Why do you think someone might be feeling proud when they are being racist?

Focus group member 1: They feel bigger than the person who feels really bad because they have been made fun of just because of their skin colour.

Researcher: Any other emotions that you can think of associated with the perpetrator?

Focus group member 3: No

Researcher: Ok what emotions might you imagine are linked to the perspective of a victim of racism?

Focus group member 3: Sad

Researcher: Ok, sad

Focus group member 3: You probably feel sad and like

Focus group member 4: Confused

Focus group member 3: Yeah, confused like you're doing wrong.

Focus group member 2: You probably feel disappointed that someone would actually do it.

Focus group member 3: And probably fed up, fed up

Researcher: So disappointed and fed up. Focus group member 1 can you think of anything that the victim would be feeling?

Focus group member 1: Just really angry with the person and you feel really bad

Researcher: What do you think the effects of racism are on its' victims and perpetrators. So we've looked at the emotions attached to racism from a perpetrator's point of view and a victim's point of view but what would the effects be after incidents?

Focus group member 3: I dunno

Focus group member 4: If something racist happened in school the first thing you'd get probably a warning.

Focus group member 3: No you wouldn't because the teacher.

Focus group member 4: You'd get kicked out but that's not going to stop him from saying something again.

Researcher: Do you think a victim of racism might be racist as a result of being a victim of racism?

Focus group member 3: No.

Focus group member 2: You could see.

Focus group member 3: No, because you know what happens to the person.

Focus group member 1: How you feel.

Focus group member 3: Yeah, you know what they would feel and how

Focus group member 2: You might become racist towards the people who are doing it to you.

Focus group member 3: Yeah, not to another person though.

Focus group member 2: Not in general but you might start being racist to the person doing it to you.

Focus group member 1: You wouldn't be as racist

Focus group member 3: No you wouldn't

Focus group member 1: You might be a bit like thingy because they are different.

Focus group member 3: But you wouldn't do it because you know what they feel like and what they went through and all that.

Focus group member 2: This one Jew shot a Nazi official because of the Jewish laws against them so and that was, it doesn't state a racist attack but you would say it was because he, this person didn't know the Nazi official or anything you know it was just because he was a Nazi official and he was being you know like, him and the Nazis were being racist against the Jews.

Researcher: Can you think of any valuable methods of tackling racism?

Focus group member 1: Nothing can really stop it, I think it's up to the person who is like doing it.

Focus group member 4: Yeah, yeah.

Focus group member 1: The only thing you can do is show them how people feel and stuff, like videos and.

Researcher: If someone had an anti-racist message in their music in their song somewhere would that have an impact do you think?

Focus group member 4: It would but it would have to, the song would have to be written or sung by someone who would be known

Focus group member 1: Someone people like

Focus group member 2: By a famous band or artist or something.

Focus group member 4: Yeah

Focus group member 3: Someone like Take That.

Focus group member 1: What about. Did he do things about racism?

Focus group member 3: Probably.

Focus group member 1: Can't remember.

Researcher: Can you think of any valuable methods of tackling racism on a personal level?

Focus group member 3: No, I don't know.

Focus group member 2: You'd just have to just try and tell the person.

Focus group member 3: But they won't listen.

Focus group member 1: No

Focus group member 2: Yeah, or just talk to the victim about it.

Focus group member 4: Like Focus group member 1 said earlier you could, racism could probably be reduced but it's not going to stop altogether, it is always going to be around.

Focus group member 1: You won't be able to stop it.

Focus group member 3: No it's never going to stop.

Researcher: Why do you think that is?

Focus group member 3: Because of the way that people are

Focus group member 1: Because of the way people have been brought up like we said earlier.

Researcher: And do you think policies in school can reduce racism?

Focus group member 3: No one listens to the teachers in school, I'm not being, I'm not being like.

Focus group member 2: Racism, I haven't heard about any incidents for a, for quite a long time now, I haven't heard about it for a couple of years.

Focus group member 4: In school

Focus group member 3: In our school, as we said earlier they do take a very strong view. (Laughing)

Focus group member 2: We've got lots of different nationalities in our school.

Focus group member 3: And we're all united.

Focus group member 3: We're like a big family in this school.

Focus group member 2: No we're not.

Focus group member 3: Yes we are (laughing)

Focus group member 1: Families have lots of arguments.

Researcher: Do you think that's quite a good tool then to tackle racism in school through anti-racism policies?



Focus group member 2: Race policies, yeah, it does help, but it doesn't stop people in school being racist it's just during school they're not racist but some people are still racist.

(School bell ringing)

End of focus group

## Transcript of Focus Group 2

(4 members: Focus group member 1, Focus group member 2, Focus group member 3, Focus group member 4)

Researcher: What is racism?

Focus group member 4: It's when you like make fun of someone because of their belief or their colour or what they're basically like and stuff.

Researcher: Any other ideas about what racism is?

Researcher: No? Ok, do you think that racism is a problem or do you think that racism is not a problem in society?

Focus group member 1: Yeah

Researcher: Ok you do Focus group member 1, why do you think it is a problem?

Focus group member 1: I don't know

Focus group member 2: Because, it's a problem because it's like really hurting people and that. (Laughing of others in group)

Focus group member 1: It's sad.

Focus group member 2: Yeah, and they shouldn't be able to be racist.

Focus group member 2: Most people get upset over it.

Focus group member 1: Yeah.

Focus group member 3: People who are victims of racism are scared to walk out of their front door because of it. (laughing of others in group)

Researcher: Where do you see racism happening?

Focus group member 2: Everywhere.

Focus group member 3: In a football match.

Researcher: Ok, everywhere and a football match, would you like to elaborate?

Focus group member 3: When Sean Wright-Phillips was playing in a football match, they started making monkey noises at him.

Researcher: And what happened because of that?

Focus group member 3: He got, they took him off I think.

Focus group member 1: And Big Brother.

Researcher: Big Brother Focus group member 1, do you want to talk about that?

Focus group member 1: Jade Goody

Researcher: Jade Goody was the woman who got kicked off.

Focus group member 1: She was being racist to.

Focus group member 1: Shilpa

Focus group member 1: She was calling her curry something

Focus group member 2: School

Researcher: Ok, school, yeah, so when you said everywhere Focus group member 2, racism does happen in many places so in football, t.v., school, on the streets, Ok, next question, what do you think causes racism?

Focus group member 3: Colour of people

Researcher: Ok, and beneath that, why do you think someone would want to be racist?

Focus group member 2: Cos it makes them feel better.

Focus group member 3: Good one

Researcher: Could you elaborate on that, how do you think it makes someone feel better?

Focus group member 1: Cos it makes them feel

Focus group member 2: In front of their friends it makes them feel bigger and they think ah I'll say something to this person. But it's not, it's not nice really.

Researcher: Ok, any other reasons why you might think someone could be racist?

Focus group member 4: You might not like the actual person so you find some way to annoy them and make fun of them.

Researcher: If someone's parents are racist do you think that might influence that person's views?

Focus group member 1: Yeah, Yeah.

Focus group member 2: Yeah.

Focus group member 1: Because you'd be hearing your parents say it all the time.

Focus group member 2: You'd be more confident to say it because you know your parents would be well done and all that.

Focus group member 1: They's back you up if you got in trouble.

Researcher: What about friends?

Focus group member 2: Yeah, a lot of people follow their friends more than family I reckon.

Focus group member 1: Yeah

Focus group member 2: Yeah, because people will have more confidence like when they go out, they'll have more confidence to do stuff the same as their friends.

Researcher: Ok, and Focus group member 4 and Focus group member 3 do you agree with that?

Focus group member 4: Yeah

Focus group member 3: You'd do anything that they say to you. I don't even talk to my mum she cheeses me off.

Researcher: So what friends think has an impact?

Focus group member 2: I follow my friends in some things.

Focus group member 1: And me.

Focus group member 3: You're a follower you are.

Researcher: Ok, do you think a homeless black person is more likely to experience racism, than a wealthy black person? Who do you think is more likely to get racist abuse or do you think they're equally likely?

Focus group member 2: Poorer

Focus group member 1: Poorer

Focus group member 2: Because, like you don't just have to be racist then can say stuff about them like you're on the streets and stuff like that.

Researcher: So you think a poorer person?

Focus group member 2: Yeah but then

Focus group member 3: A homeless person came up to me the other day and was trying to sell a dairy milk. Yeah, he said you don't want a dairy milk then, I saw you had a five pound note in your hand just now, so you don't want a dairy milk and I was like no get away.

Focus group member 2: But then the rich person could be bigger.

Focus group member 4: I think equal because if people, if a white person sees a rich black person, they might be jealous and start doing racist things saying oh you're better than me, some people think whites should be better than blacks and stuff.

Focus group member 3: There was a problem like that in our school before, it was all the coloured people versus the white people and they all had a fight on the bank.

Focus group member 4: A rich black person gets just the same amount of racism because the white people might just be a bit more jealous because they are more well off than them.

Researcher: Ok, and what type of emotions do you think accompany racism? If someone is being racist or if someone is a victim of racism?

Focus group member 1: Scared.

Researcher: Scared, ok, who would you be there the victim or the perpetrator?

Focus group member 1: Victim. I'd be mad. I'd be angry like.

Researcher: Ok, what about from the point of view of someone who is being racist?

What emotions do you think someone might be feeling?

Focus group member 2: Angry.

Researcher: Ok.

Focus group member 4: Joyful because you might enjoy it.

Focus group member 2: Hurtful, because you might do hurtful things.

Focus group member 2: Big.

Researcher: Ok, going back to what Focus group member 3 was saying earlier could you describe the incident you saw happening?

Focus group member 3: All the black people was like like most of the white people and then they were just all up there on the bank fighting against each other.

Researcher: And was that people outside of school or some people from school?

Focus group member 3: All the coloured people in school were from year 9 I think and then all the white people I don't know.

Researcher: So do you think that incident was about racism?

Focus group member 3: Yeah, they probably was like, all the white people was probably being racist to them.

Focus group member 1: But I reckon that black people can be racist to us as well.

Focus group member 3: yeah, but the police don't say nothing to like foreign people when they start chopsin to us but when we says it to them they bangs us straight up, straight to the old bill like.

Focus group member 1: No, I know.

Focus group member 2: I know when they say stuff, I know, I know, I don't reckon it's fair because we get racist comments as well not just them.

Focus group member 1: I know, you're not even meant to call a blackboard blackboard no more

Focus group member 1: But you can call a whiteboard a whiteboard?

Focus group member 2: It's not fair though.

Focus group member 1: Yeah.

Focus group member 2: Yeah.

Focus group member 4: It's our country.

Focus group member 1: Yeah, it's our country, yeah

Focus group member 3: I don't see why, they moves over here, they gets free houses and everything and we have to pay for them to get them.

Focus group member 1: Yeah, free house, free job.

Researcher: Has anyone got any reasons or can you think of any reasons why they've come over to the U.K.

Focus group member 4: To get better economies and jobs and stuff over here.

Researcher: That's maybe true for some people.

Focus group member 4: Just stay in your own country.

Researcher: The problem is that some people have come from countries where their lives are under threat. Do you think that racism is sometimes presented in the media?

Focus group member 4: They always bring out Middle Eastern people to be terrorists and stuff so everyone kind of fears them.

Focus group member 1: And um a bunch of coloured people like killed this white person in the day.

Focus group member 2: Oh yeah

Focus group member 1: What's his name, Ben something?

Focus group member 3: Oh um the Sikhs they ?

Focus group member 2: Oh, I know they cover everything

Focus group member 4: Yeah a man did that and he actually blew up a plane because he disguised himself as a woman with a bomb on him so they couldn't tell if it was a man or a woman so they should have. I don't mind the ones that shows their entire Researchere but the ones that just show their eyes, they shouldn't be allowed to wear them.

Focus group member 2: No.

Focus group member 1: But Muslims are allowed to wear headscarfs to school but if you're a Christian you're not allowed to wear a cross necklace.

Focus group member 4: Yeah, a girl got excluded for that.

Focus group member 2: Yeah excluded for wearing one.

Focus group member 1: Wearing a cross necklace.

Researcher: How is racism portrayed in television or in films that you've seen?

Focus group member 2: Oh I've seen 9/11

Focus group member 1: Oh, Hairspray

Researcher: Ok we'll go with 9/11, what were you going to say Focus group member 2.

Focus group member 2: There was a film out about 9/11 and um you know the Sikkers, that's what made it happen, cos they had a bomb on them.

Focus group member 3: The Sikkers?

Focus group member 2: Whatever they call them.

Focus group member 2: The terrorists and the London bombings.

Focus group member 1: Is that racist?

Researcher: Do you think that's maybe about religion as well?

Focus group member 2: Yeah but they can be racist to us that's why there's been so many bombings.

Focus group member 3: They probably used to care about, no they didn't used to care what colour we was before did they like? It didn't used to be like bad before, before, they never used to care like, they didn't care did they.

Focus group member 2: I know, it's gone really bad now.

Researcher: Before?

Focus group member 3: Like you didn't care about racism

Focus group member 2: Because that man, because that man

Focus group member 3: It was like Hairspray, they all liked each other.

Focus group member 1: Yeah, and like with negroes and stuff now you're not meant to say that are you?

Researcher: Focus group member 1, you mentioned Hairspray, how was racism tackled in that?

Focus group member 1: The black and the white people had to do the show together didn't they?

Focus group member 2: Bend it Like Beckham was racist.

Researcher: Going back to Hairspray, they weren't going to let them do the show together?

Focus group member 1: Yeah, they had separate shows, only black people were going to do one show and

Researcher: Have you all seen Hairspray?

Focus group member 2: Yeah

Focus group member 4: No

Focus group member 1: And then at the end they let the black people and the white people do the show together.

Researcher: Ok, and what were you saying about Bend it Like Beckham?

Focus group member 2: They play in a football match and because like the black girl was playing football and the white girl she goes like that get off me you Paki and then like she took offence then so she started and they started fighting.

Researcher: And what happened?

Focus group member 2: Um in the end she got to meet David Beckham

Researcher: Ok, so what point do you think they were trying to make about that racism that they showed in the film?

Focus group member 2: I dunno.

Researcher: What do you think the filmmaker was thinking when he thought I'll put this bit in the film?

Focus group member 2: I dunno because he was trying to say that racism can happen.

Researcher: So maybe by drawing attention to it and saying this is a problem?

Focus group member 2: Yeah

Focus group member 1: Yeah

Researcher: Any other films or books that you've seen or read?

Focus group member 4: This is England

Researcher: Has anyone else seen it?

Focus group member 2: Yeah I have.

Focus group member 1: Oh I've seen that, it's that boy and he hangs around with those older people.

Focus group member 4: And they become really racist by the end.

Focus group member 1: Yeah.

Researcher: Have you seen it Focus group member 2?

Focus group member 1: I've seen it, he goes into a shop and there's like a muslim working behind the shop and the young boy asks for alcohol and cigarette stuff and then he goes no and then they all come in and one of them tries to poo on the floor because a Muslim works there.

Researcher: Right, and how real do you think that is to real life?

Focus group member 4: Not really real, because it was in the 80s as well cos, there was quite a bit of racism back in the 80s.

Researcher: My last question is what do you think are valuable ways of tackling racism? And If you were Prime Minister what would you do to tackle racism?

Focus group member 2: Try and stop it.

Focus group member 4: Stop people coming into our country.



Focus group member 1: Yeah and me.

Focus group member 2: Yeah and me.

Researcher: But do you think that would stop racism?

Focus group member 4: If they come into our country they should respect our laws because if we go over their we have to respect their laws.

Focus group member 1: No one can stop racism

Researcher: What do you think about nationalism between the welsh and the English?

Focus group member 4: They took over our country so we always hate them.

Focus group member 1: No one can stop racism, no one can stop it really.

Focus group member 3: No way in the world you can stop it.

Focus group member 1: I know.

Researcher: Can you think of any other ideas?

Focus group member 4: Could just leave each other alone, let each other get on with their own lives and just get on with your own life just leave it.

Focus group member 1: Yeah

Researcher: And how do you think you could do that?

Focus group member 4: You should respect what they do and they should respect what you do and just leave them be.

Focus group member 3: I'm going to fall asleep. Stop them coming in that's all.

Focus group member 2: Yeah, don't let them come in.

**End of focus group**

### Transcript of Focus Group 3

(6 members: Focus group member 1, Focus group member 2, Focus group member 3, Focus group member 4, Focus group member 5 and Focus group member 6.)

Researcher: What is racism?

Focus group member 6: It's taking the mick out of someone because of their skin colour or religion.

Researcher: Any other ideas?

Researcher: Ok, what do you think it means to be Welsh?

Focus group member 2: From Wales.

Focus group member 5: Great.

Researcher: Great? Ok, so we've had from Wales and great is what it means to be Welsh. Has anyone else got any other ideas?

Focus group member 3: Where you come from.

Researcher: Where you come from, where you come from ok so a similar answer to the one we've had, where you come from.

Focus group member 6: It could be like like your relations, they could have come from Wales.

Researcher: Ok, any other ideas about what it means to be Welsh? If someone said to you what does it mean to be Welsh what would you say?

Focus group member 2: Language.

Researcher: Language, ok.

Focus group member 6: Proud.

Researcher: Ok anything else?

Focus group member 2: You've got to enjoy like things in Wales.

Researcher: Ok, could you elaborate on that?

Focus group member 2: Like watching the Welsh football team or rugby team.

Researcher: Anything else?

Focus group member 3: Sheep.

Researcher: Sheep ok anything else?

Focus group member 5: Leeks

Focus group member 3: Dafoddils.

Researcher: Dafoddils, ok moving on to the next question, do you think that racism is a problem in society?

Everyone: Yes.

Researcher: How is it a problem?

Focus group member 2: It makes people feel upset.

Researcher: Ok, anything else?

Focus group member 3: It's wrong

Focus group member 5: It makes them want to end their lives. (laughing)

Researcher: Ok, so how else do you think it's a problem? What do you think causes racism?

Focus group member 3: Nasty people.

Researcher: Could you elaborate on that?

Focus group member 3: People who you don't like.

Focus group member 2: Other people from different countries

Focus group member 3: Yeah

Researcher: Ok, and why do you think some people don't like people from different countries?

Focus group member 5: Skin colour.

Focus group member 2: Because they're like taking the jobs and stuff like that because they think that people from different countries are coming here to steal their jobs.

Focus group member 3: They feel threatened.

Focus group member 1: When you like the person who is the same as you.

Researcher: Ok so if someone meets someone different maybe that frightens that person? Anything else?

Focus group member 5: Skin colour.

Researcher: Could you elaborate on that?

Focus group member 6: Different religions.

Focus group member 1: Turbans and stuff, people wear.

Focus group member 5: Some people don't like different people like because they are different.

Researcher: And why do you think that is?

Focus group member 5: Not sure, it's just some people (Laughing)

Researcher: Ok, the next question is do you think racism is perpetuated or continued by one specific thing or do you think it is perpetuated by a number of different things?

Focus group member 6: No I think there's more than one. Because different people have like different reasons not to like them like like some people think they're stealing all the jobs, some just think they're, like religion, like taking all the houses and stuff like that.

Focus group member 5: Bombing

Focus group member 2: Yeah some people think that like some people are just terrorists but some people aren't.

Researcher: Do you think that family can influence what someone thinks?

Focus group member 3: Yeah

Focus group member 2: Yeah.

Researcher: Why do you think that might be?

Focus group member 3: If your parents are like black people for any reason then you won't.

Researcher: Ok, what does anyone else think about that?

Focus group member 2: Same thing

Focus group member 6: Yeah, same

Researcher: Ok, do you think that friends can influence what someone thinks?

Focus group member 6: Sometimes, if like some people like try to act cooler to like be like their friends to make them more popular.

Researcher: Do you think that the media can influence what someone thinks?

Focus group member 1: Yeah, cos like the papers say all muslims are terrorists.

Focus group member 3: Yeah

Researcher: Any other ideas of what maybe can influence somebody to be racist?

Focus group member 6: The sort of clothes they are wearing cos like women wear the face things and they're allowed to wear it but like hoodies they aren't allowed to wear them in like public places.

Researcher: So do you think that can cause racism?

Focus group member 6: Yeah.

Focus group member 3: People may not like them but they're just different.

Researcher What are the types of emotions that may be connected with someone who is being racist?

Focus group member 6: Angry

Focus group member 2: Upset

Researcher: Why angry and upset?

Focus group member 6: Because the other or different person could have done something to upset them or make them like if they started saying like picking on him or something they might turn and start being racist and get angry.

Focus group member 1: They've only just come in and people are being racist to a Muslim.

Researcher: Ok, we'll talk about someone who is a victim of racism in a minute but someone who is actually being racist, what would they feel, we've had angry and upset? Were you going to say something?

Focus group member 5: Yeah, the way they've been brought up.

Researcher: So what sort of emotions might that person be feeling?

Focus group member 5: Anger

Researcher: Anger, ok, any other emotions that someone who is being racist might be feeling?

Focus group member 5: Sorry

Researcher: Ok, what are the types of emotions that may be connected with someone who is a victim of racism?

Focus group member 6: Upset and lonely

Researcher: Any other emotions that someone who is a victim of racism might be feeling?

Focus group member 4: Angry

Focus group member 6: Like they don't deserve it because, it could be because they've heard of terrible terrorists and they could be getting stick because of what other people of their skin colour have done.

Researcher: Ok

Focus group member 3: Like outsiders

Researcher: Ok, so being stereotyped and used as a scapegoat. Do you see racism happening anywhere?

Focus group member 4: Everywhere

Focus group member 1: School

Focus group member 2: News, work.

Focus group member 1: Football.

Focus group member 3: Big Brother and everyday life.

Researcher: What do you mean by everyday life?

Focus group member 3: Papers, magazines, tele, in school, working, on the buses.

Focus group member 1: If someone loses their job they blame it on like an immigrant even though it's not their, it's because they're not working well but they blame it on someone else and usually they blame it on the immigrant.

Researcher: Have you seen or heard of any racist incident in your school or neighbourhood?

Focus group member 6: Yeah

Focus group member 2: Yeah I was on my way to school and I was walking round and there was just like an argument going on between a white gang and a black gang, they were just arguing over something, I think they were a bit drunk, I guess they'd just come out of the pub and they started arguing and the white gang started getting quite like offensive, taking the mick out of them, calling like saying the n word and all that, like proper taking the mick.

Researcher: Ok, and any other incidents that anyone has seen either in your neighbourhood or school?

Focus group member 1: In the park over there there was a firework fight between white and colours on bonfire night.

Researcher: And why did that start?

Focus group member 1: They just arranged it I think.

Researcher: Do you know why it happened?

Focus group member 1: Because they were taking over most of the houses in the area.

Focus group member 5: In the middle of the night someone, these polish men walked past my house and someone from another house shouted get back to your own country.

Researcher: Right, ok, right, and how do you think that would have made them feel?

Focus group member 5: Bad

Focus group member 1: There used to be a Polish boy in our school and he used to like (lots of laughing and talking)

Focus group member 6: He went out onto the stage and he started singing a Polish song on

Focus group member 5: On Welsh day

Focus group member 6: On Welsh day

Focus group member 1: One boy had a fight because Poland beat Wales 2 nil.

Focus group member 5: The same boy hit a girl on the back didn't he in the assembly?

Focus group member 2: He tried strangling me. (Laughing from others).

Focus group member 5: He just sort of went over the top when, he just went a bit angry and all that cos when he had class racism towards him he used to go a bit like angry and start kicking off and all that.

Researcher: Any other incidents of racism you've seen in your neighbourhood or school?

Focus group member 3: People's names

Focus group member 5: Abba Jeep

Focus group member 2: Some people have different names.

Focus group member 3: In religion someone will have a name like Abba Jeep

Focus group member 1: And they calls him Abba S\*\*\*

(Lots of laughing)

Researcher: Ok and you've heard people doing that?

Focus group member 3: Yeah

Researcher: Has anyone seen or heard of any racist incidents in the news or on television, or in books or films?

Focus group member 1: Big Brother

Researcher: Big Brother, ok. And what happened in Big Brother

Focus group member 1: Jade Goody called Shima

Focus group member 2: Shilpa Shetty Shilpa Poppadom

Focus group member 1: Yeah

Researcher: Ok, any other incidents of racism you've seen in the media?

Focus group member 1: This is England film.

Researcher: What is This is England about?

Focus group member 1: People being abusive to coloured people

Focus group member 6: There's a group of gangs in England who don't like black people and coloured people because they think they take our jobs and they just go out and they kill a couple of them.

Researcher: So do you think that could be a fair representation of Wales as well, do you think someone could make a programme called This is Wales like that?

Focus group member 6: We are racist and all that but I don't think people go out killing them like black people.

Researcher: What do you think the effects of racism might be on a victim? So for the Polish student you spoke about in school, how do you think he would have felt going home every day?

Focus group member 1: Sad cos he had no friends.

Focus group member 6: Angry, he just wanted to hit someone.

Focus group member 4: Worried because he knows he's got to come back in the morning.

Focus group member 1: Wanting to go back to his home country with all his friends.

Researcher: Have you seen or heard about anyone trying to tackle racism?

Focus group member 2: Martyn Luther King

Focus group member 1: Nike, they made a thing where they had a campaign, stand up and speak up against racism.

Focus group member 3: Yeah

Researcher: Ok and do you think that could have quite a big effect, big impact on tackling racism?

Focus group member 1: Yeah

Focus group member 3: Yeah

Focus group member 5: Nelson Mandela, he was in prison for being black or something.

Focus group member 1: They've got this campaign as well in football Kick Racism out of Football or something and it's on all the adverts and stuff.

Researcher: And do you think that's quite an effective campaign?

Focus group member 4: Yeah

Focus group member 2: Yeah, cos you get banned if you get caught doing racism, you get banned from the grounds and stuff.

Researcher: What strategies do you think could be valuable in tackling racism?

Focus group member 6: If you find someone being racist, fine them or arrest them or something like that?



Researcher: Ok, fine them or arrest them. Any other ideas of, if you were a primeminister what would you try and do to tackle racism?

Focus group member 5: Make new laws isn't it?

Focus group member 2: About what though?

Focus group member 5: About racism

Focus group member 2: That is a law.

Researcher: Any other ideas like the Kick racism out of football campaign or something else that might be effective at tackling racism?

Focus group member 6: I reckon like all the people, like all the celebrities that people look up to should do what they think about racism so people who look up to them can have an idea of what they have got to do to follow their example.

Researcher: Ok, any other ideas about how to tackle racism?

Focus group member 4: Make people more aware of it.

Researcher: Any ideas of how?

Focus group member 5: Posters

Focus group member 6: Put like media of what happened showing racism and how people feel and all that.

Focus group member 2: Adverts.

Focus group member 6: Yeah so that people know how they feel so that people who are racist know how bad it is.

Researcher: Any other ideas?

Focus group member 5: No

Researcher: Ok, what are the different mediums that you could use to campaign with an anti-racist message?

Focus group member 1: Radio

Focus group member 6: T.V.

Focus group member 1: Internet

Focus group member 2: Magazines

Focus group member 1: Beebo and MSN and stuff

Focus group member 1: Celebrities

Researcher: Do you think a homeless black person may be more likely to experience racism than a wealthy black person?

Focus group member 6: Yeah

Focus group member 2: Yeah

Focus group member 5: No

Focus group member 6: Because you'd get abused more for being like a tramp so people would take the mick out of you more because you are like a tramp and then they'd call you like racist names and a tramp as well.

Focus group member 2: I think as well it's like if you have money they're trying to be friends with you because you've got money so they wouldn't be racist to you.

Focus group member 3: No

Focus group member 6: They wouldn't be as racist to you.

Focus group member 1: Yeah they would be racist to you because they feel like they've come to the country and took loads of money with them.

Focus group member 6: I don't think they'd be as racist to you.

Researcher: Why do you think that a black homeless person wouldn't be more likely to get racist abuse?

Focus group member 5: Because they take jobs of certain people and they get more money.

Researcher: Ok and what about a white homeless person and a black homeless person who do you think is more likely to get racist abuse?

Focus group member 6: Black

Focus group member 5: The black homeless person

Researcher: And why's that?

Focus group member 6: Because he's different

Researcher: Ok, and any other reasons as to why a black homeless person may be more likely to get racist abuse than a white homeless person?

Focus group member 2: People would be like oh, serves you right, you shouldn't have come here cos you're homeless and stuff.

Focus group member 4: I think they'd be equally likely because it's not only white people who are racist.

End of focus group 3

# Survey

**Section 1:**

Please write your responses in the boxes below:

1. What is your nationality?

2. What does your nationality mean to you?

3. Can you describe or provide examples of any times when you have felt particularly aware of your nationality?

4. Do you feel your nationality gives you a sense of belonging? Please elaborate on your answer and provide examples.

# Survey

## Section 2:

5. What would you say are the main influences on your attitude in relation to racism?

6. Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by your parents' or guardians' attitudes in relation to racism? Please provide examples.

7. Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by your friends' attitudes in relation to racism? Please provide examples.

# Survey

## Section 2:

8. Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by anti-racist campaigns that use celebrities to promote them? Please provide examples including details of which celebrity or celebrities, why you might be influenced by the celebrity(ies) and which campaign(s).

9. If you read newspapers which do you read?

10. If your parents read newspapers which do they read?

11. Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by reporting in newspapers? Please provide examples.

# Survey

## Section 2:

12. Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by bullying? Please provide examples.

13. Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by a fear of difference? Please provide examples.

14. Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by politics? Please provide examples.

# Survey

## Section 2:

15. Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by religion? Please provide examples.

16. Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by nationality? Please provide examples.



# Survey

## Section 3:

Please tick one box for the newspaper headline in the table below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the headline and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add a different newspaper headline or headlines then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.

17.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
<b>Get British or Get Out of The Country.</b>							
Please provide reasons for your answer.							

18.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
<b>Racism is an everyday reality. If we keep it off our TV screens we're asking for trouble.</b>							
Please provide reasons for your answer.							



# Survey

## Section 3:

Please tick one box for the newspaper headline in the table below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the headline and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add a different newspaper headline or headlines then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.

19.

Britain's 'betrayed' white working classes believe immigrants receive better treatment..	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Please provide reasons for your answer:							

20.

Racism is learned behaviour and we have to unlearn it..	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Please provide reasons for your answer:							

# survey

## Section 3:

Please tick one box for the newspaper headline in the table below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the headline and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add a newspaper headline or headlines then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.

21.

British society is dripping in racism, but no one is prepared to admit it..	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Please provide reasons for your answer:							

Table to add a headline that you think might be relevant

22.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Please provide reasons for your answer:							

# Survey

## Section 3:

Table to add a headline that you think might be relevant

23.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Please provide reasons for your answer.							

# Survey

## Section 4:

Please tick one box for each statement in the tables below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add other statements that are not listed in the tables then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.

24.

A person is more likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Please provide reasons for your answer.							

25.

A person is less likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Please provide reasons for your answer.							



# Survey

## Section 4:

Please tick one box for each statement in the tables below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add other statements that are not listed in the tables then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.

26.

A person is just as likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person as a rich person.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Please provide reasons for your answer.							

27.

A person might behave in a racist way because parents or guardians behave in a racist way.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Please provide reasons for your answer.							

# Survey

## Section 4:

Please tick one box for each statement in the tables below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add other statements that are not listed in the tables then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.

28.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
A person might behave in a racist way because of a fear of difference.							
Please provide reasons for your answer:							

29.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
A person might behave in a racist way because of friends who behave in a racist way.							
Please provide reasons for your answer:							

# Survey

## Section 4:

Please tick one box for each statement in the tables below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add other statements that are not listed in the tables then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.

30.

A person might behave in a racist way because of newspapers reporting about people in a racist way.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Please provide reasons for your answer:							

31.

A person might behave in a racist way because he or she enjoys bullying other people.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Please provide reasons for your answer:							

# Survey

## Section 4:

Please tick one box for each statement in the tables below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add other statements that are not listed in the tables then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.

32.

A person might behave in a racist way because of the influence of extremist political parties.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
Please provide reasons for your answer:							



# Survey

## Section 4:

Tables to add other categories that you think might be relevant

33.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
<b>Please provide reasons for your answer:</b>							

34.

	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
<b>Please provide reasons for your answer:</b>							

# **Survey**

**End of Survey**

**Thank you!**

## Appendix 23: Survey 2 responses

### Question 1: What is your nationality?

#### Responses to Question 1

A: Afghan.

B: British

C: Poland

D: Welsh

E: British

F: British

G: Welsh

H: Welsh

I: British

J: Welsh

K: Welsh

L: Welsh <3

M: I'm Welsh

N: Welsh

O: British

P: Welsh

Q: British

R: British Welsh

S: No answer

T: Welsh

**Question 2: What does your nationality mean to you?**

**Responses to Question 2**

A: My nationality means exclusion.

B: It is where you belong

C: Nothing

D: I'm proud to be Welsh!

E: I am proud to be British.

F: I am proud to be British/Welsh

G: It means a lot.

H: Not much, good rugby.

I: I am quite proud of being British

J: That I am from Wales and proud of it.

K: I am proud to be Welsh.

L: I am proud to be Welsh and it means a lot.

M: It makes me proud to be Welsh.

N: I'm proud to be Welsh.

O: It makes me who I am.

P: My nationality means a lot to me. It makes me feel proud.

Q: Not a lot.

R: Not a lot, a nationality is a nationality, doesn't make you who you are.

S: No answer.

T: My nationality is important to me because I'm proud to be Welsh and my family's from here.

**Question 3: Can you describe or provide examples of any times when you have felt particularly aware of your nationality?**

**Responses to Question 3**

A: I am aware of my nationality all the time. E.g. walking in the street with different colour everybody look at me, because of my nationality.

B: No answer.

C: No answer.

D: In a rugby or football match, St David's Day.

E: When a rugby game wins a match, and when a football game has won.

F: When a rugby game is won or a match/football game is won.

G: When we won the grand slam in the 6 nations.

H: When people speak Welsh, when we win rugby.

I: Yes I am proud to be Welsh in a football or rugby match.

J: Watching football, rugby, etc.

K: Watching a football match and St David's day.

L: In a rugby/football match, St David's day.

M: St David's Day and rugby team.

N: St David's Day.

O: Certain events. St David's Day.

P: No answer.

Q: Not really.

R: St David's Day, Welsh rugby.

S: At a rugby match.

T: In a rugby match, St David's Day and football match.

**Question 4: Do you feel your nationality gives you a sense of belonging? Please elaborate on your answer and provide examples.**

**Responses to question 4**

A: Yes, my nationality means to me that I am belong to different country compare to U.K. E.g. every single moment, language, education system, culture and so on.

B: No answer.

C: Yes.

D: I think that Wales is the worst country around.

E: Saint David's Day- proud to be Welsh.

F: Saint David's Day- Proud to be Welsh.

G: Yes.

H: Not really, nationality ain't your friend is it.

I: Saint David's day- proud to be Welsh.

J: Yes because I'd rather be from Wales than England.

K: I think Wales is ok.

L: I think that Wales is ok.

M: Yes.

N: Welsh.

O: Sometimes. When in other countries, being surrounded by a different nationality feels very intimidating and makes you feel like you don't belong.

P: No answer.

Q: No answer.

R: No.

S: No answer.

T: I think that Wales is the worst country around!

**Question 5: What would you say are the main influences on your attitude in relation to racism?**

**Responses to question 5**

A: I will say the influence on my attitude to racism could make a big difference to the people, e.g. if you are racism to someone in a nasty way you could destroy their life.

B: Friends or family.

C: No answer.

D: School, media, family and friends.

E: Umm...tut?

F: Umm...tut

G: T.V., films, family.

H: School, family.

I: Um...tut

J: I'm not really sure.

K: Education influences and media influences.

L: School, media, family and friends.

M: I dislike people who are racist.

N: I hate racism.

O: I have different races in my family and have been brought up around them.

P: School influences me. I have friends who are of different race and culture.

Q: School influences my opinion on racism.

R: School, multicultural school, family when you grow up how you were treated.

S: T.V., parents and brothers and sisters.

T: School, media, family and friends.

**Question 6: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by your parents' or guardians' attitudes in relation to racism? Please provide examples.**

**Responses to question 6**

A: I think the attitude of the racism belong to the knowledge of the person, not to parents and guardians, e.g. if you check one family, two or three member of the family could be racism but one of them not, he can change this racism by his knowledge.

B: Yes.

C: No answer.

D: No because I think what I want to think about religion.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Don't know.

H: Yeah, my mother don't like it.

I: No answer.

J: No.

K: No because I think what I want to think.

L: No because I think what I want to think about religion.

M: No.

N: No.

O: Partly, because they are so close with my uncle and cousins who are muslims.

P: Yes. My parents grew up not to be racist and have taught me the same.

Q: Yes because they were brought up the same way during school.

R: My parents are not racist (see form for crossed out my parents are racist)

S: No answer.

T: No because I think what I want to think about religion.



**Question 7: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by your friends' attitudes in relation to racism? Please provide examples.**

**Responses to Question 7**

A: I think my attitude in relation to racism is always the same. I don't believe racism and against it and to me all humans are the same and nobody can influence me to be a racism.

B: Yes.

C: No answer.

D: No because we don't really talk about it!

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: No because it is my choice.

H: Not really, some of my friends are and I ain't.

I: No answer.

J: No because it is my opinion.

K: No because I think what I want to think.

L: No because we don't really talk about it.

M: No because my friend is black.

N: No.

O: No, they are different people and have different opinions.

P: No answer.

Q: Yes.

R: No.

S: No answer.

T: No because we don't really talk about it.

**Question 8. Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by anti-racist campaigns that use celebrities to promote them? Please provide examples including details of which celebrity or celebrities, why you might be influenced by the celebrity(ies) and which campaign(s).**

**Responses to Question 8**

A: I don't think the relation to racism work for celebrities or important person. E.g. President Obama he is a colour person and he is the president of one of the most powerful countries in the world.

B: No answer.

C: No answer.

D: I think you are influenced by celebrities because you look about to them and think the same as them.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Don't know

H: Um, tut, wink

I: No answer.

J: I'm not sure

K: Yes like band aid singing.

L: Yeah like band aid singing.

M: No I don't.

N: No.

O: No answer.

P: No answer.

Q: No.

R: No.

S: No answer.

T: I think you are influenced by celebrities because you look up to some and you think the same as them.

**Question 9: If you read newspapers which do you read?**

**Responses to question 9**

A: Evening Post.

B: Evening post.

C: No answer.

D: True stories.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Sun, Daily Sport, News of the World.

H: I don't read them.

I: No answer.

J: Daily Mirror, Evening Post.

K: The Sun.

L: The Sun!

M: Daily Mirror.

N: The Sun.

O: No answer.

P: No answer

Q: Evening Post.

R: The Sun, Evening Post.

S: No answer

T: True stories.

**Question 10: If your parents read newspapers which do they read?**

**Responses to question 10**

A: Evening Post.

B: Evening post.

C: No answer.

D: Sport.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Sun, Daily Sport, News of the World.

H: Evening Post.

I: No answer.

J: Daily Mail, The Times.

K: The Sun or Evening Post.

L: The Sun, Evening Post.

M: The Sun.

N: The Evening Post.

O: No answer.

P: No answer.

Q: Evening Post.

R: The Sun, Evening Post.

S: No answer.

T: Sport.

**Question 11: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by reporting in newspapers? Please provide examples.**

**Responses to Question 11**

A: It depends who is wrote the newspaper.

B: Yes.

C: No answer.

D: No because I don't read the religion stories.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Not me.

H: Not really don't read them.

I: No answer.

J: No because it is my opinion.

K: Yes like when knifing was happening due to racism.

L: Yes when knifing has happened due to racism.

M: No.

N: No.

O: No answer.

P: No.

Q: No, I make my own decisions.

R: No I make my own decisions.

S: No answer.

T: No because I don't read the religion stories.

**Question 12: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by bullying? Please provide examples.**

**Responses to question 12**

A: I think the relation to racism could influenced by bullying. E.g. Hitler influenced Germans to bully Jews.

B: Yes.

C: No answer.

D: Yeah because seeing someone bullied hurts you.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Don't know.

H: Yeah I don't like racist bullying.

I: No answer.

J: No because it is my opinion.

K: Yes because seeing people get hurt is horrible.

L: Yes because seeing people get hurt is horrible.

M: No.

N: No.

O: No answer.

P: No answer.

Q: No.

R: Yes I don't like bullying.

S: No answer.

T: Yes because seeing some bullied hurts you!

**Question 13: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by a fear of difference? Please provide examples.**

**Responses to Question 13**

A: I think it could influenced by fear. E.g. it's been happened for past years, it would be finished now.

B: Yes.

C: No answer.

D: No it don't make me hurt because I know that everyone is different.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: No.

H: Not really, I'm not afraid of being different.

I: No answer.

J: No.

K: No answer.

L: No answer.

M: No.

N: No.

O: No answer.

P: No answer.

Q: No.

R: No.

S: No answer.

T: No because everyone's different etc: different voices and look.

**Question 14: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by politics? Please provide examples.**

**Responses to Question 14**

A: Yes, I think it could influence by politics. E.g. George W. Bush influence people by politics because he is American.

B: Yes.

C: No answer.

D: No because politics is boring.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: No.

H: Nope.

I: No answer.

J: Not mine but maybe other people.

K: No answer.

L: No answer.

M: No.

N: No.

O: No answer.

P: No answer.

Q: No.

R: No.

S: No answer.

T: No because politics is boring!



**Question 15: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by religion? Please provide examples.**

**Responses to Question 15**

A: No answer.

B: Yes.

C: No answer.

D: Nah.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: No.

H: No.

I: No answer.

J: No.

K: No answer.

L: No answer.

M: No.

N: No.

O: No answer.

P: No answer.

Q: No.

R: No answer.

S: No answer.

T: Nope.

**Question 16: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by nationality? Please provide examples.**

**Responses to question 16**

A: No answer.

B: Yes.

C: No answer.

D: Nah.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: No.

H: No.

I: No answer.

J: No.

K: No answer.

L: No answer.

M: No.

N: No.

O: No answer.

P: No answer.

Q: No.

R: No answer.

S: No answer.

T: Nope.

**Question 17: (Get British or Get Out of the Country.) Please tick one box for the newspaper headline in the table below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the headline and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add a different newspaper headline or headlines then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.**

**Responses to Question 17**

A: No answer.

B: Strongly agree. If you aren't British you don't belong there.

C: No answer.

D: Agree. Because it's our country, no one else should be allowed in it!

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Disagree. I make my own decisions.

H: Agree.

I: No answer.

J: Undecided. I think that certain companies may use foreign cheap labourers.

K: Agree.

L: Agree.

M: Strongly disagree. If they want to live in our country who's to say they can't.

N: Somewhat disagree. Because foreigners come to Britain and take our jobs.

O: Strongly disagree. It's good to have different nationalities.

P: Somewhat disagree. It is a free world but people can sometimes cause problems.

Q: Disagree. Because you don't have to be British to live here.

R: Strongly disagree. Anyone is welcome in Britain.

S: Undecided. Don't understand.

T: Agree, Because it's our country! No one else should be allowed in it! haha

**Question 18: (Racism is an everyday reality. If we keep it off our TV screens we're asking for trouble.) Please tick one box for the newspaper headline in the table below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the headline and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add a different newspaper headline or headlines then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.**

**Responses to Question 18**

A: No answer.

B: Undecided.

C: No answer.

D: Undecided.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Undecided. Don't know.

H: Undecided.

I: No answer.

J: Undecided. Don't understand the question.

K: Undecided.

L: Strongly agree.

M: Undecided.

N: Undecided.

O: Undecided.

P: Undecided.

Q: Undecided.

R: Strongly disagree. Don't be blowing it out of proportion like the media does.

S: No answer.

T: Undecided. Not sure!

**Question 19: (Britain's 'betrayed' white working classes believe immigrants receive better treatment.) Please tick one box for the newspaper headline in the table below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the headline and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add a different newspaper headline or headlines then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.**

**Responses to Question 19**

A: No answer.

B: Strongly agree.

C: No answer.

D: Agree. Duno!

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Somewhat agree. I think they come over here for money by working cheaper than the original workers.

H: Undecided.

I: No answer.

J: Somewhat agree. I think companies are employing too many cheap foreign labourers.

K: Agree.

L: Agree.

M: Somewhat agree. Because they come into our country they get a house and money for nothing.

N: Agree. Because foreigners work for cheaper pay rather than British people who want a good pay.

O: Strongly disagree. Maybe they just deserve it.

P: Undecided.

Q: Disagree.

R: Strongly agree. They are working in loads of shops.

S: No answer.

T: Agree. Dunno.

**Question 20: (Racism is learned behaviour and we have to unlearn it.) Please tick one box for the newspaper headline in the table below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the headline and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add a different newspaper headline or headlines then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.**

**Responses to Question 20**

A: No answer.

B: Strongly disagree.

C: No answer.

D: Agree.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Undecided.

H: Disagree.

I: No answer.

J: Undecided. Don't understand the headline.

K: Agree.

L: Agree.

M: Somewhat disagree. Because people decide to be racist and they are not learning to be racist.

N: Agree. otherwise there will be many wars in the future.

O: Undecided.

P: Somewhat disagree.

Q: Agree.

R: Undecided.

S: No answer.

T: Agree.

**Question 21: (British society is dripping in racism, but no one is prepared to admit it.) Please tick one box for the newspaper headline (in the table below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the headline and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add a different newspaper headline or headlines then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.**

**Responses to Question 21**

A: No answer.

B: Strongly agree.

C: No answer.

D: Agree.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Undecided.

H: Somewhat disagree.

I: No answer.

J: Strongly agree. There is a lot of racism in the country.

K: Somewhat disagree.

L: Somewhat agree.

M: Undecided.

N: Strongly agree. There is a lot of racism in Britian.

O: Somewhat agree. People would rather ignore it.

P: Somewhat agree.

Q: Agree.

R: Disagree. Britain is a good place for different religions.

S: No answer.

T: Disagree.

**Question 22: Table to add a headline you think might be relevant**

**Responses to Question 8**

A: No answer.

B: No answer.

C: No answer.

D: (There's more children getting bullied than adults.) Agree.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: No answer.

H: No answer.

I: No answer.

J: No answer.

K: No answer.

L: No answer.

M: No answer.

N: No answer.

O: No answer.

P: No answer.

Q: No answer.

R: No answer.

S: No answer.

T: (There's more children getting bullied than adults.) Strongly agree. Schools.



**Question 23: Table to add a headline you think might be relevant**

**Responses to Question 23**

- A: No answer.
- B: No answer.
- C: No answer.
- D: (Teachers don't do enough to stop bullying.) Agree.
- E: No answer.
- F: No answer.
- G: Undecided.
- H: No answer.
- I: No answer.
- J: No answer.
- K: No answer.
- L: No answer.
- M: No answer.
- N: No answer.
- O: No answer.
- P: No answer.
- Q: No answer.
- R: No answer.
- S: No answer.
- T: (Teachers don't do enough to stop bullying.) Strongly agree.

**Question 24: (A person is more likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person.) Please tick one box for each statement in the tables below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add other statements that are not listed in the tables then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.**

**Responses to Question 24**

A: No answer.

B: Somewhat agree.

C: No answer.

D: Undecided.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Undecided.

H: Agree.

I: No answer.

J: Agree. Because the rich person has money.

K: No answer.

L: Agree.

M: Somewhat agree. It depends who it is that is behaving as a racist.

N: Agree. Because they want to be friends with the rich person because they have money.

O: Somewhat agree.

P: Agree.

Q: Agree.

R: Strongly agree. They don't have the luxuries they will have.

S: No answer.

T: Somewhat disagree.

**Question 25: (A person is less likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person.) Please tick one box for each statement in the tables below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add other statements that are not listed in the tables then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.**

**Responses to Question 25**

A: No answer.

B: Somewhat disagree.

C: No answer.

D: Undecided.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Undecided.

H: Undecided.

I: No answer.

J: Disagree. They prefer people with money.

K: No answer.

L: Agree.

M: Somewhat agree. It depends who is behaving in a racist way.

N: Disagree. Because they want to be friends with the rich person because they have money.

O: Somewhat agree.

P: Agree.

Q: Somewhat disagree.

R: Strongly disagree. They don't have the luxuries they will have.

S: No answer.

T: Undecided.

**26. (A person is just as likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person as a rich person.) Please tick one box for each statement in the tables below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add other statements that are not listed in the tables then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.**

**Responses to Question 26**

A: No answer.

B: Somewhat disagree.

C: No answer

D: Agree.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Undecided.

H: Somewhat agree.

I: No answer.

J: Somewhat disagree. Because the rich person has money.

K: No answer.

L: Undecided.

M: Somewhat agree. It depends on what person they are.

N: Disagree. Because they want to be friends with the rich person because they have money.

O: Somewhat agree.

P: Undecided.

Q: Undecided.

R: Undecided. They don't have the luxuries they will have.

S: No answer.

T: Agree

**Question 27: (A person might behave in a racist way because parents or guardians behave in a racist way.) Please tick one box for each statement in the tables below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add other statements that are not listed in the tables then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.**

**Responses to Question 27**

A: No answer.

B: Somewhat agree.

C: No answer.

D: Agree.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Undecided.

H: Somewhat agree.

I: No answer.

J: Agree. Because children follow their parents.

K: No answer.

L: Disagree.

M: Strongly agree. Because children tend to grow up to be like their parent or guardian because they idolise them and behave in the same way they would.

N: Agree. Because they get the habit of being racist. Monkey see Monkey do.

O: Strongly agree.

P: Undecided.

Q: Agree.

R: Strongly agree.

S: No answer.

T: Agree.

**Question 28: (A person might behave in a racist way because of a fear of difference.) Please tick one box for each statement in the tables below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add other statements that are not listed in the tables then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.**

**Responses to Question 28**

A: No answer.

B: Somewhat disagree. They behave in a racist way because people from other countries won't stay in their own countries.

C: No answer.

D: Agree.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Undecided.

H: Agree.

I: No answer.

J: Undecided.

K: No answer.

L: Agree.

M: Strongly agree. People would do it to fit in with their friends.

N: Agree. They may be racist to fit into a group.

O: Somewhat agree.

P: Somewhat agree.

Q: Somewhat agree.

R: Undecided.

S: No answer.

T: Agree.

**Question 29: (A person might behave in a racist way because of friends who behave in a racist way.) Please tick one box for each statement in the tables below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add other statements that are not listed in the tables then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.**

**Responses to Question 29**

A: No answer.

B: Somewhat agree.

C: No answer.

D: Agree.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: Undecided.

H: Strongly agree.

I: No answer.

J: Undecided.

K: No answer.

L: Undecided.

M: Strongly agree. Because they would want to fit in.

N: Agree. They want to look cool in front of their friends.

O: Agree.

P: Agree.

Q: Somewhat agree.

R: Undecided.

S: No answer.

T: Agree.

**Question 30: (A person might behave in a racist way because of newspapers reporting about people in a racist way.) Please tick one box for each statement in the tables below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add other statements that are not listed in the tables then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.**

**Responses to Question 30**

A: No answer.

B: Somewhat agree.

C: No answer.

D: Disagree.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: No answer.

H: Undecided.

I: No answer.

J: Undecided. Maybe true.

K: No answer.

L: Somewhat agree.

M: Undecided.

N: Disagree. I don't see how a newspaper could make a person racist.

O: Somewhat agree.

P: Agree.

Q: Undecided.

R: Strongly disagree.

S: No answer.

T: Disagree.



**Question 31: (A person might behave in a racist way because he or she enjoys bullying other people.) Please tick one box for each statement in the tables below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add other statements that are not listed in the tables then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.**

**Responses to Question 31**

A: No answer.

B: Somewhat agree.

C: No answer.

D: Undecided.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: No answer.

H: Undecided.

I: No answer.

J: Undecided. Maybe true.

K: No answer.

L: Undecided.

M: Strongly agree. Because it's the same as bullying other people.

N: Somewhat disagree. He or she may be racist because they want to look cool in front of people.

O: Somewhat agree.

P: Agree.

Q: Somewhat agree.

R: Strongly agree.

S: No answer.

T: Undecided.

**Question 32: (A person might behave in a racist way because of the influence of extremist political parties.) Please tick one box for each statement in the tables below to show the extent to which you agree or disagree with the statements and provide reasons for your answer in the space provided. If you would like to add other statements that are not listed in the tables then please add them in the tables provided at the end of this section.**

**Responses to Question 32**

A: No answer.

B: Somewhat agree.

C: No answer.

D: Disagree.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: No answer.

H: No answer.

I: No answer.

J: Undecided. Maybe true.

K: No answer.

L: Undecided.

M: Undecided.

N: Strongly disagree. They are stupid.

O: Undecided.

P: Undecided.

Q: Somewhat agree.

R: Somewhat agree.

S: No answer.

T: Disagree.

**Question 33: Table to add a headline you think might be relevant**

**Responses to Question 33**

A: No answer.

B: No answer.

C: No answer

D: (People might be racist because of peer pressure.) Agree.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: No answer.

H: No answer.

I: No answer

J: No answer.

K: No answer.

L: No answer.

M: No answer.

N: No answer.

O: No answer.

P: No answer

Q: No answer

R: No answer

S: No answer

T: (A person might be racist because of peer pressure.) Agree.

**Question 34: Table to add a headline you think might be relevant**

**Responses to Question 34**

A: No answer.

B: No answer.

C: No answer.

D: (Person might be racist because of teachers.) Disagree.

E: No answer.

F: No answer.

G: No answer.

H: No answer

I: No answer

J: No answer

K: No answer

L: No answer

M: No answer

N: No answer.

O: No answer.

P: No answer.

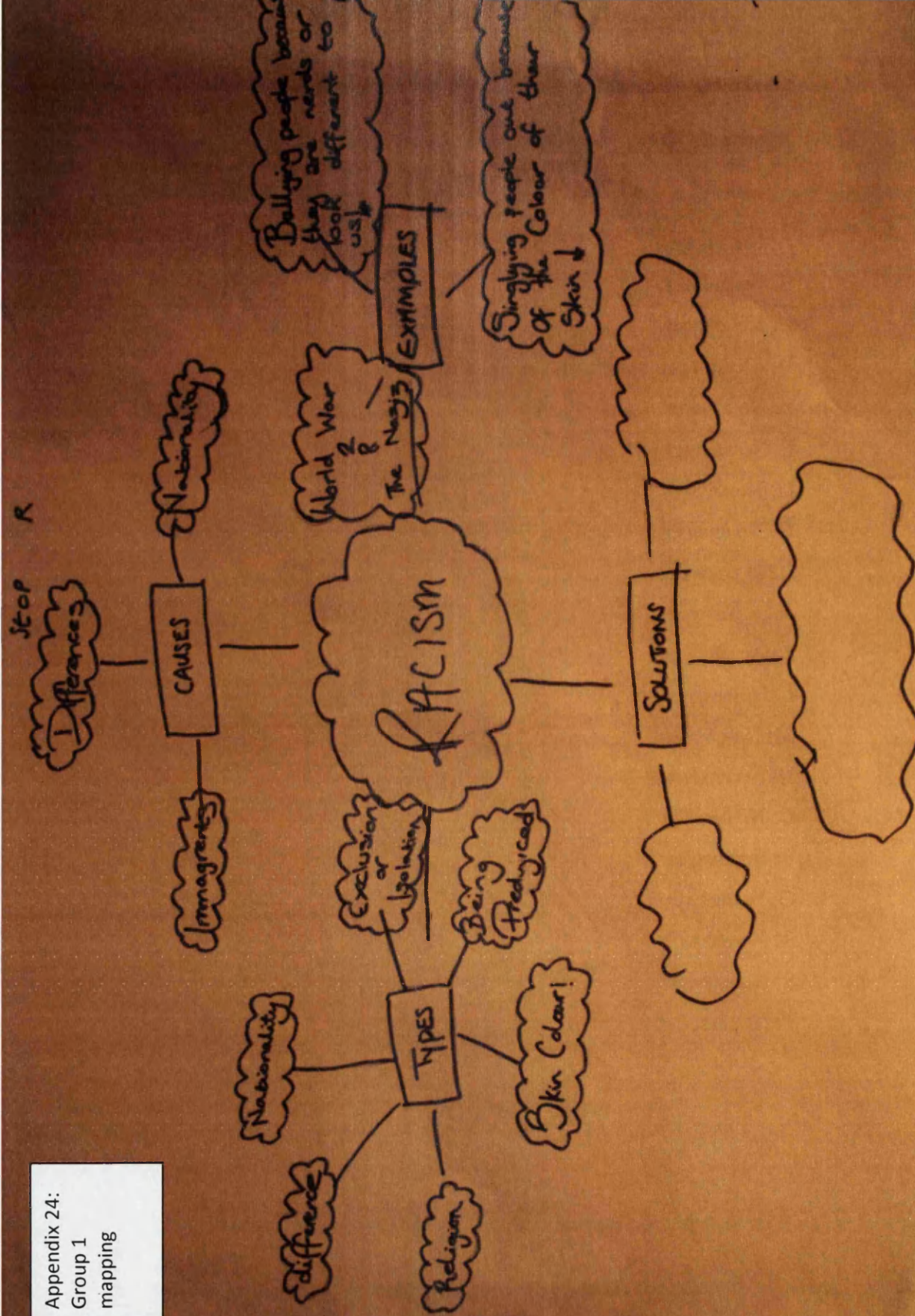
Q: No answer.

R: No answer.

S: No answer

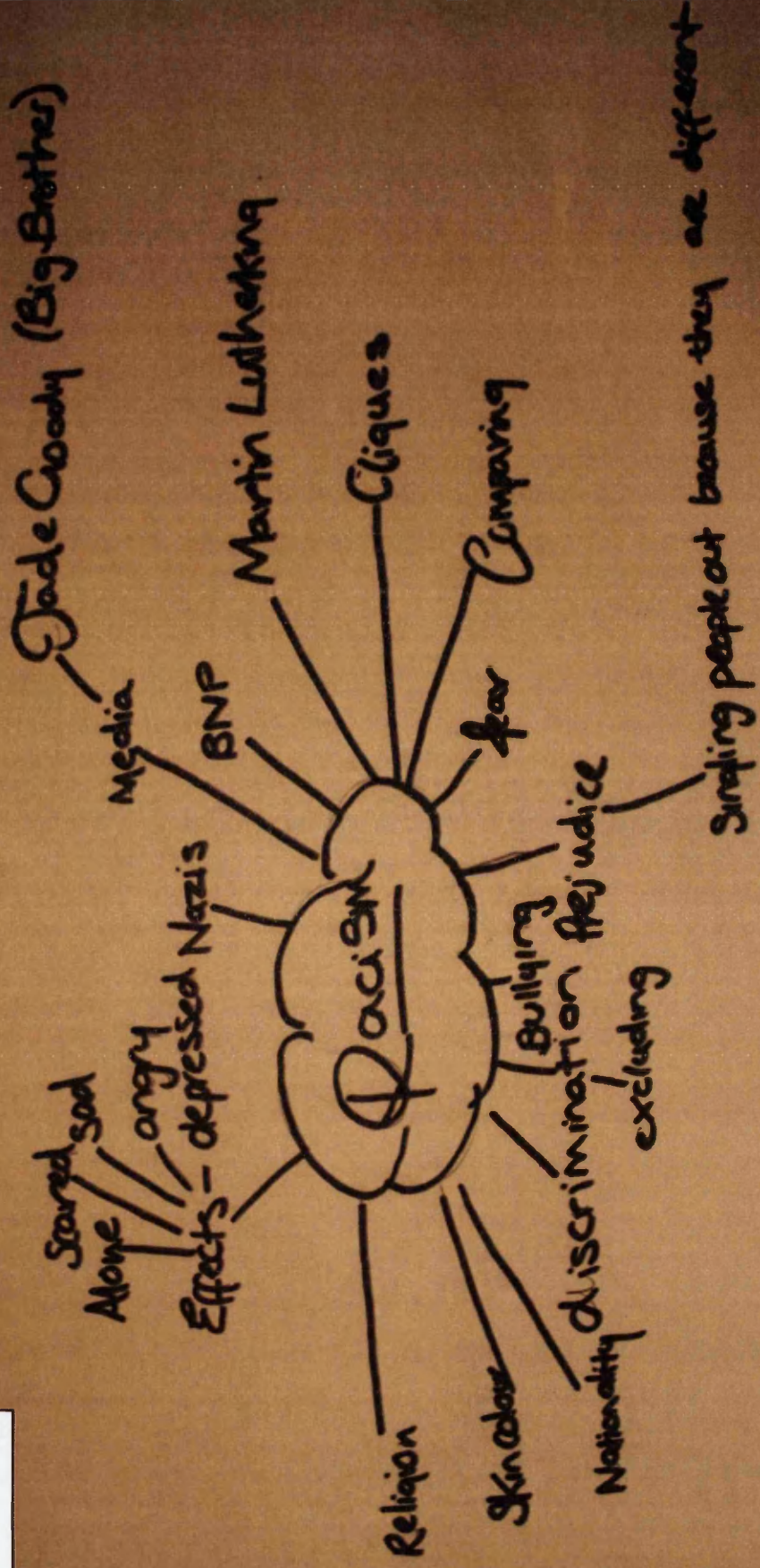
T: (A person might be racist because of teachers.) Disagree.

Appendix 24:  
Group 1  
mapping

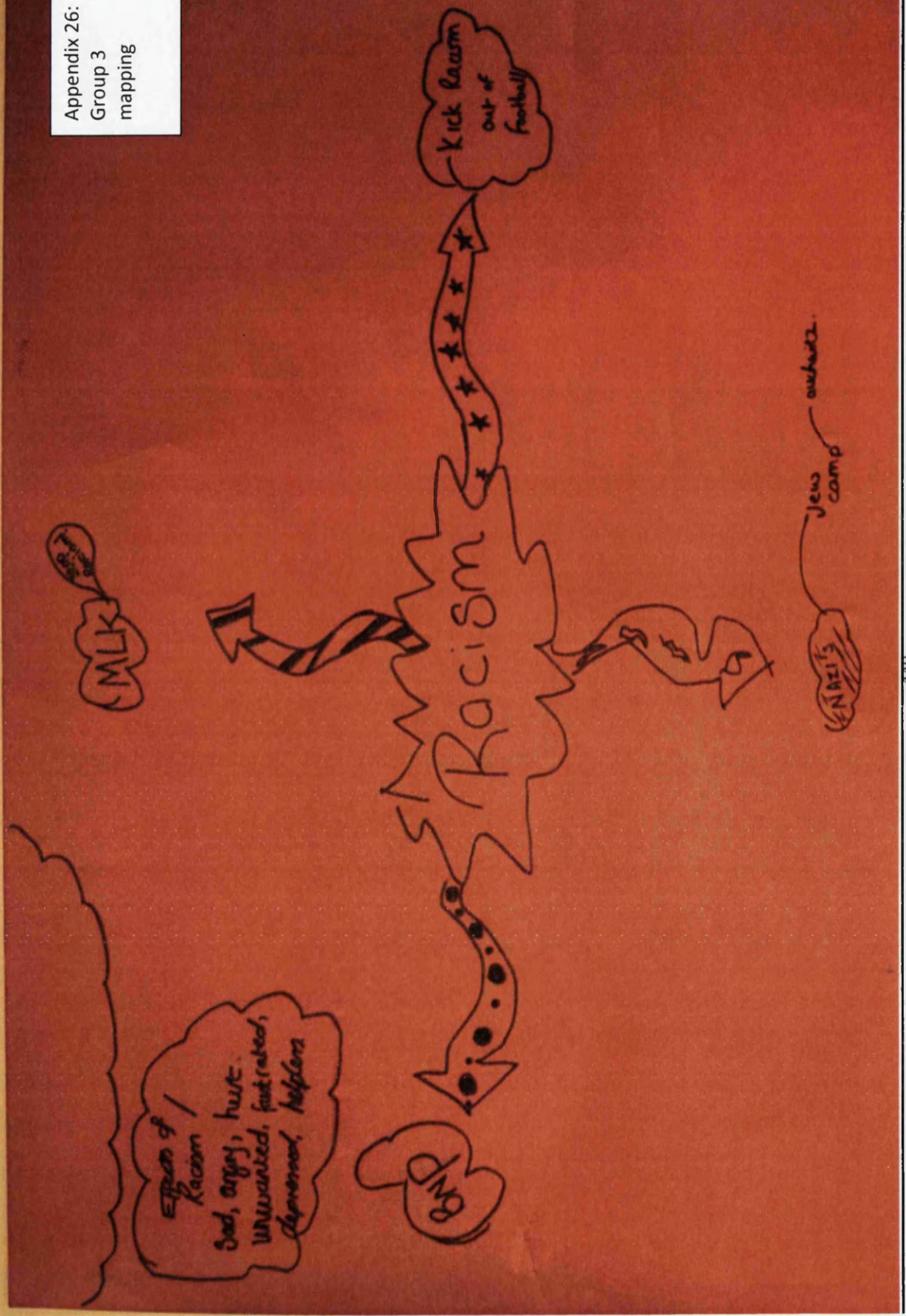




Appendix 25:  
Group 2  
mapping







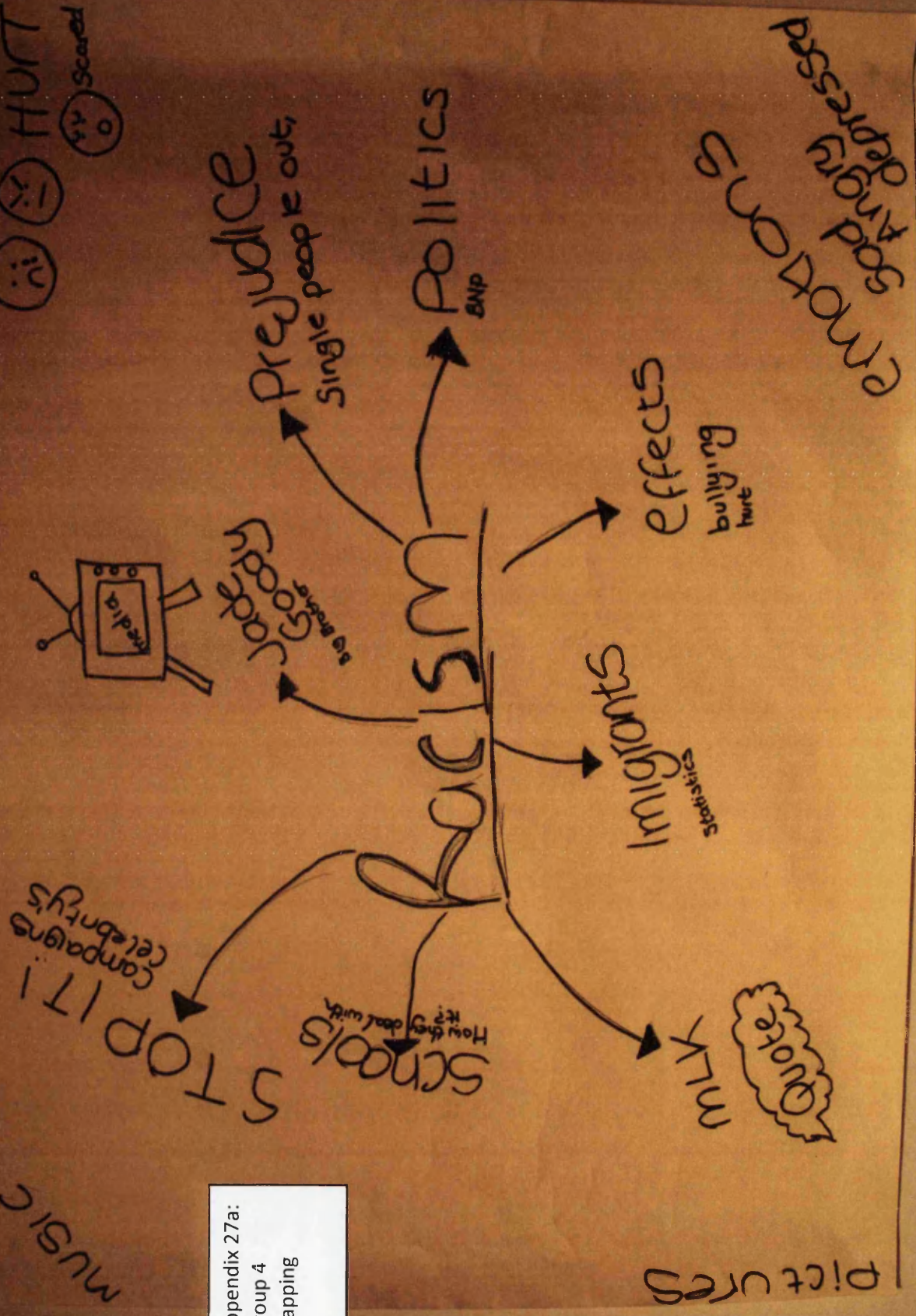


😊 😞 😡  
HURT  
Scared

MUSIC

Appendix 27a:  
Group 4  
mapping

PICTURES





Racism...

Bullying  
Fear

Single people out because different

Politics - 2

Media - 1

Skin colour - 3

Religion

Campaigns

Quotes - Fascist Remarks

Nationality

Hitler/murk

Effects

Schools

BNP - British National Party

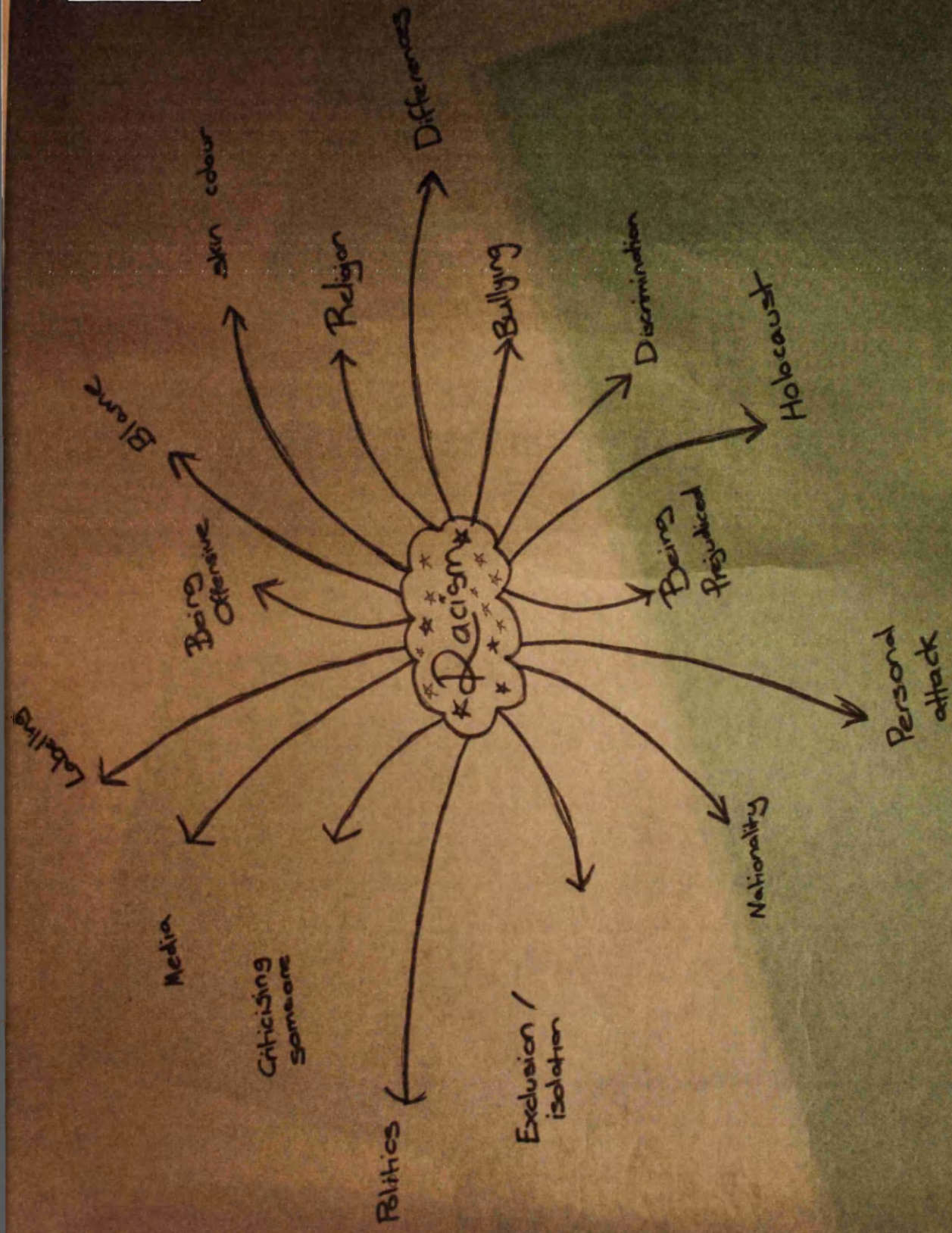
Holocaust

Discrimination - Behaviour

Attitude - Attitude

Prejudice





## **Appendix 29: Disaggregated Findings**

### **Findings from Exploratory structured survey (New York City)**

#### **Section 1**

Section 1 of the exploratory survey findings includes the following items:

- ❖ *Table 1 provides information about the exploratory survey participants.*
- ❖ *Tables 2, 3 and 4 show the likert scale and the scoring used.*
- ❖ *Table 5 shows the scores for participants from the exploratory survey responses.*
- ❖ *Appendix 4 shows the exploratory survey statements grouped according to themes with participants' responses and scores.*
- ❖ *Appendices 5-9 show the data by themes of statements in a variety of forms.*

#### **Section 2**

Section 2 includes summative frequency tables and analysis of participants responses analysed by statement themes.

See appendix 3 for the exploratory survey

## Findings from Exploratory structured survey (New York City)

### Section 1

Findings from the exploratory survey relate to assessing respondents' attitudes towards determinants of equality of access for developing children and young people's educational opportunities including attitudes towards the impact of diversity, economic status, state funding, citizenship status, racism and racial segregation in schools and neighbourhoods, the agency of children, and the UNCRC.

Table 11 below shows details of the exploratory survey participants:

**Table 11: Details of exploratory survey participants**

Participant's name: (pseudo name)	Ethnicity:	Borough of Residence:	Occupation:	Organisation worked for:	Location of work:	Age range of young people worked with:
Summer	white	Brooklyn	Youth Assets Coordinator	A non-profit community services organisation	Brooklyn and Manhattan	11-18
Maria	Hispanic	Queens	Youth Assets Coordinator	A non-profit community services organisation	Manhattan	11-18
Luke	white	Manhattan	Director of Community Development	A non-profit community development organisation	The Bronx	11-18

**The Likert scale and scoring of participants' responses in the exploratory survey:**

Table 12 below shows the 7 point likert scale used in the exploratory survey:

**Table 12: Exploratory survey likert scale**

<i>Strongly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Undecided</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>
-----------------------	--------------	-----------------------	------------------	--------------------------	-----------------	--------------------------

Tables 13 and 14 below show the scoring for the statements:

**Table 13: Scoring for statements that are considered facilitators of equality of access= Strongly Agree=7 Strongly Disagree=1**

<i>Strongly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Undecided</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>
7	6	5	4	3	2	1

**Table 14: Scoring for statements that are considered barriers to equality of access: Strongly Disagree=7 Strongly Agree=1**

<i>Strongly Agree</i>	<i>Agree</i>	<i>Somewhat Agree</i>	<i>Undecided</i>	<i>Somewhat Disagree</i>	<i>Disagree</i>	<i>Strongly Disagree</i>
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

## Exploratory Survey Findings

Table 15 below shows participants' scores for their responses to the 35 statements in the survey. Participants overall scores are high in the upper quartile.

**Table 15: Scores for participant's from exploratory survey responses**

Participant name ranked in order of total score obtained:	Participant's total score as a number:	Participant's total score as %	Total possible score:
Summer	211	86.1	245
Maria	203	82.9	245
Luke	202	82.4	245

A score of 245 would mean that a respondent had strongly agreed with every statement relating to facilitators of equality of access and strongly disagreed with every statement relating to barriers to equality of access. In effect this would mean that a respondent would be given the highest equality rating for his or her responses to the survey statements.

Tables in appendix 4 display the scoring of participants' responses to the statements in terms of the positivity or negativity of statements and are grouped according to statement themes. Charts in appendices 5-9 show the data by themes of statements.

Findings presented in the tables below are based on findings of all responses appearing in the highest or lowest level of agreement or disagreement on the scale.

Table 16: Findings of exploratory survey- barriers to equality

**Findings of exploratory survey- barriers to equality**

1. Schools in the wealthiest neighbourhoods receiving most state funding
2. Attitudes that do not perceive community centres' potential to support children and young people's development.

Table 17: Findings of exploratory survey- facilitators of equality

**Findings of exploratory survey- facilitators of equality**

1. Equal state provision of educational opportunities for children and young people of all ethnicities.
2. The same quality of education should be available for children and young people of all ethnicities.

**Equal state provision of educational opportunities for all children and young people of all ethnicities**

Noticeably as seen in figures 5-9 in the appendix consistency and parity of responses were given where participants respond that they strongly agree to statements 8 and 24 that the state should provide equal educational opportunities for all children and young people from all ethnic groups. Equally all participants strongly disagree that the state should not aim to provide equal educational opportunities for all children and young people from all ethnic groups.

8	<b>The state should not aim to provide children and young people from all ethnic groups with equal educational opportunities</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
								3

24	<b>The state should provide equal educational opportunities for children and young people from all ethnic groups</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		3						



**Attitudes towards differentiation of state funding for schools in areas of poverty and wealth**

Statements 22, 30 and 32 seek to test attitudes towards state funding for schools in areas of poverty and wealth. All participants responded that they strongly disagreed with statement 22 which states that schools situated in the wealthiest neighbourhoods should have the most financial support from the state. Two respondents agreed and one respondent somewhat agreed with statement 30 which contends that the state should provide the most financial support to schools located in the poorest neighbourhoods. Additionally, two respondents disagreed with statement 32 that the state should provide equal financial support to all schools in all neighbourhoods whereas one respondent was undecided.

22	<b>Schools situated in the wealthiest neighbourhoods should have the most financial support from the state</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
								3

30	<b>The state should provide the most financial support to schools located in the poorest neighbourhoods</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
			2	1				

32	<b>The state should provide equal financial support to all schools in all neighbourhoods</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
					1		2	

**Attitudes towards differentiation of state pay for teachers in areas of poverty and wealth**

Statements 4, 19 and 28 test attitudes to differentiation of state pay for teachers in poorer and wealthier areas. There is a fairly high level of agreement with participants' responses to statement 4 suggesting that the state should not allow schools in the wealthiest areas to offer the highest salaries. Responses to statement 19 are mixed. Whilst Summer disagrees that teachers of the same level of experience should be paid equally in all schools, Maria agrees and Luke strongly agrees. Whilst Summer strongly agreed with statement 28 which states that the state should ensure that schools in the poorest neighbourhoods offer the highest salaries in order to attract the most able teachers, Luke's level of agreement was lesser with somewhat agree and Maria's response was undecided.

4	<b>In order to attract the most able teachers the state should allow schools in the wealthiest neighbourhoods to offer the highest salaries</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
							1	2

19	<b>Teachers of the same level of experience should be paid equally in all schools</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		1	1				1	

28	<b>The state should ensure that schools in the poorest neighbourhoods offer the highest salaries in order to attract the most able teachers</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		1		1	1			

**Racism**

The majority of responses to statements 9, 15, 25 and 29 which seek to test racism do not suggest racism. However Luke's response of somewhat disagree to statement 9 which states that ethnicity has no impact whatsoever on a child or young person's intellectual abilities appears incongruous with his response of strongly disagree to statement 25 which states that a child or young person's ethnic group is a good indicator of his/her intellectual abilities. Similarly Summer's response of undecided to statement 29 which states that children and young people from some ethnic groups deserve a better quality of education than others appears incongruous with her response of strongly agree to statement 15 which contends that the same quality of education should be available to children and young people from all ethnic groups.

9	<b>Ethnicity has no impact whatsoever on a child or young person's intellectual abilities</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		1	1			1		

15	<b>The same quality of education should be available to children and young people from all ethnic groups</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		3						

25	<b>A Child or young person's ethnic group is a good indicator of his/her intellectual ability</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
							1	2

29	<b>Children and young people from some ethnic groups deserve a better quality of education than others.</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
					1			2

**Attitudes towards the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child**

Participants responses are mixed to statements 1 and 11. Summer strongly agrees with statement 1 which contends that children and young people’s access to and experience of educational services would be improved if the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child were endorsed, and Summer strongly disagrees with statement 11 which states that Endorsement of the UNCRC would not facilitate children and young people’s equality of access to and experience of educational services. In contrast with Summer’s responses to statements 1 and 11, Maria and Luke both respond with undecided showing their uncertainty concerning whether children and young people’s access to and experience of educational services would be improved if the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child were endorsed.

1	<b>Children and young people’s access to and experience of educational services would be improved if the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child were endorsed.</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		1			2			

11	<b>Endorsement of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child would not facilitate children and young people’s access to and experience of educational services</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
					2			1

**Attitudes towards children and young people’s participation rights:**

Participants’ responses to statements 17 and 26 which test attitudes to children and young people’s participation rights show a fairly high level of agreement that children and young people have a right to have their views listened to and consulted on important decisions affecting them.

17	<b>Children and young people do not have a right or the necessary experience and understanding to be able to participate in the process of making important decisions that affect them</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
							2	1
26	<b>Children and young people have a right to have their views listened to and consulted on important decisions affecting them</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		2	1					

**Attitudes towards impact of a family’s citizenship status and access to education**

Participants’ responses to statement 35 which seeks to test attitudes to the effect of citizenship status on access to education are mixed. Luke agrees that he considers non US citizenship status as a barrier to access of education. Maria somewhat agrees showing that she thinks non US citizenship status is also a barrier but agrees to a lesser extent than Luke. Whereas Summer’s response of ‘undecided’ shows that she is uncertain.

35	A family’s non US citizenship status often reduces their children’s access to educational services compared to families who have gained US citizenship	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
			1	1	1			

**Attitudes towards impact of ethnic diversity of neighbourhoods on children and young people’s cultural development**

Participants’ responses to statements 2, 12, 18, 20 and 34 which test attitudes to impact of ethnic diversity of neighbourhoods on attitudes are mixed. While all participants agree with statement 34 which states that children and young people’s cultural development is generally enriched by living in neighbourhoods with people from diverse ethnic groups other responses appear to conflict with this. Summer states that she is undecided in response to statement 18 which states that living in a neighbourhood mostly comprised of one ethnic group generally has a positive impact on a child or young person’s cultural development. Additionally whilst Maria agrees with statement 20 which states that children and young people who live in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods generally develop a greater respect and appreciation for people from different cultures, Summer somewhat disagrees and Luke is undecided.

2	<b>Children and young people who live in neighbourhoods with just members of their own ethnic group generally develop a greater respect and appreciation for people from different cultures than those living in ethnically mixed neighbourhoods</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
						1	1	1

12	<b>The ethnic diversity of a neighbourhood generally has no impact on a child or young person's cultural development</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
							2	1

18	<b>Living in a neighbourhood mostly comprised of one ethnic group generally has a positive impact on a child or young person's cultural development</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
				1	1		1	

20	<b>Children and young people who live in ethnically diverse neighbourhoods generally develop a greater respect and appreciation for people from different cultures than those living in neighbourhoods with members of one ethnic group</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
			1		1	1		

34	<b>Children and young people's cultural development is generally enriched by living in neighbourhoods with people from diverse ethnic groups</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
			3					

**Attitudes towards impact of ethnic diversity of a school on attitudes:**

Participants' responses to statements 6 and 23 show a fairly high level of agreement that greater ethnic diversity of a school body may facilitate an environment of greater cultural learning. However Summer and Luke somewhat disagree with statement 27 which states that schools that attract students from a variety of ethnic groups generally provide students with the best cultural learning environments.

6	<b>Ethnicity of a student body has no impact on the students' cultural development</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
							2	1

23	<b>The best cultural learning environments are generally found in schools with students from a single ethnic background</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
							2	1

27	<b>Schools that attract students from diverse ethnic groups generally provide students with the best cultural learning environments</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
			1			2		



**Attitudes towards the impact of economic status on education:**

Participants' responses to statements 3, 13, 16, 21, 31 and 33 which test impact of class on education suggest that respondents perceive a correlation between class and education where poverty acts as a barrier and wealth acts as a facilitator to a child or young person's educational development.

3	The children and young people that achieve the best level of education are generally those from poor homes	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
						1		2

13	Children and young people from wealthy homes generally have more opportunities to access and experience a variety of quality educational services than children from poor homes	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		1	1	1				

16	Children and young people from wealthy homes will generally achieve a better level of education than children and young people from poor homes	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
			1	1		1		

21	Whether a child or young person comes from a wealthy home or a poor home generally has no bearing on the level of education s/he achieves	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
							2	1

31	There are generally more opportunities for children and young people from poor homes to access and experience a variety of quality educational services than children and young people from wealthy homes	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
							2	1

33	Whether a child or young person comes from a wealthy home or a poor home generally has no bearing on a child or young person's opportunities to access and experience a variety of quality educational services	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
						1	2	

**Attitudes towards community centres**

Statements 5 and 14 seek to test attitudes towards community centres which provide services for children and young people. A fairly high level of agreement is demonstrated by participants' responses to statements 5 and 14 which indicate that they consider the services that community centres provide for children and young people can improve their educational development and are valuable.

5	<b>Community centres often attract trouble-makers and do more harm than good for children and young peoples' educational development</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
								3

14	<b>Community centres are valuable for children and young peoples' educational development</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		1	2					

**Attitudes towards the impact of parents and guardians on children and young people’s education**

Statements 7 and 10 seek to test attitudes towards the impact of parents’ behaviour on children’s educational development. A fairly high level of agreement is demonstrated by participants’ responses to statements 7 and 10 which suggests that participants consider there is a relationship between the positive behaviour of parents and the positive development of children’s education.

7	<b>Generally it is important for parents/guardians to act as positive role models for their children’s educational development.</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		2	1					
10	<b>The behaviour of parents/guardians generally has little influence on their children’s educational development</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
						1		2

## **Findings from Semi-structured Interviews (New York City)**

### **Findings of semi-structured interview with a professor at a university in a school of social work**

The semi-structured interview with Amelia a white female who was working as a professor at a university in a school of social work in New York City sought to explore her attitudes towards facilitating equality of access to education services. The interview was carried out in Amelia's university office in Manhattan on the 13<sup>th</sup> February 2007.

The findings are presented in two sections, the first in terms of the barriers and the second in terms of the facilitators.

Table \* below summarises the findings in terms of the barriers to equality and Table \* summarises the findings in terms of the facilitators of equality.

Table 18: Findings of interview with Amelia- barriers to equality

**Barriers to Equality**

1. Absence of federal government support for enforcing mandatory education in all states for children from 5 years of age.
2. Inequities of resources and quality of provision in school districts across all localities and states and absence of Federal government support for mandate that requires every school in each state to offer the same level of resources to children.
3. Insufficient federal funding to cover all children with mandatory education programme Head Start.
4. Lack of access to early childhood education and care.
5. Lack of cultural, political and financial support for improving children and young people's access to and experience of services.
6. Non US ratification of the UNCRC
7. Lack of use of millennium development goals as part of a combined approach to identify determinants of equality of access to services for children and young people.
8. Insufficient international systematic data collection on child welfare, foster care, adoption, and protective services for children.

**Barriers to equality identified by researcher in interviewees' discourse**

9. Western imperialism and complacency.

**1. Absence of federal government support for enforcing mandatory education in all states for children from 5 years old.**

Here Amelia highlights that there is no age across all states and localities where education for children is compulsory. Furthermore Amelia argues that in order to have a fuller coverage of education provision for children mandatory legislation is required.

**2. Inequities of resources and quality of provision in school districts across all localities and states and absence of Federal government support for mandate that requires every school in each state to offer the same level of resources to children.**

Here Amelia stresses the inequities in provision of education across different states; *'there are significant differences in resources across states and across localities.'*

**3. Insufficient federal funding to cover all children with mandatory education programme Head Start.**

Amelia highlights the inequalities in the way the education system is funded in the U.S., pointing to the inequalities of the funding through property taxes scheme. Further Amelia emphasises the insufficiency of federal funding of mandatory education programmes like Headstart and Leave No Child Behind to meet needs.

**4. Lack of access to early childhood education and care.**

Notably Amelia points to the deficiency of access to early childhood education and care services in New York City.

**5. Lack of cultural, political and financial support for improving children and young people's access to and experience of services.**

Amelia states that significant facilitators of improving children and young people's access to and experience of services are *'a combination of culture, resources and political support'* which clearly suggests that a lack of these will act as significant barriers.

**6. Non-ratification by the U.S. of the UNCRC**

Amelia highlights that whilst she sees problems with the UNCRC, she perceives non ratification as a barrier because of the symbolic value the UNCRC holds.

**7. Lack of use of millennium development goals as part of a combined approach to identify determinants of equality of access to services for children and young people.**

Amelia argues that the MDG's are a better development tool to use than the UNCRC as they are measurable and quantifiable.

**8. Insufficient international systematic data collection on child welfare, foster care, adoption, and protective services for children.**

Amelia underlines the barrier of an inadequate evidence base highlighting the deficiency in collection of international systematic data on child welfare, foster care, adoption, and protective services for children which means that comparative work is not feasible.

**Barriers to equality identified by researcher in interviewees' discourse**

**9. Western imperialism and complacency**

In discussion of the Millennium Development Goals that Amelia highlights part of her discourse she presents could be interpreted as a dichotomized discourse that suggests Western imperialism and Western complacency where she distinguishes the U.S. from developing countries underlining US compliance with the MDGs in contrast with other countries' non-compliance in her statement stating that; '*achieving the goals doesn't mean anything to us.*'



Table 19: Findings of interview with Amelia- barriers to equality

**Facilitators of Equality**

1. Federal government support for lowering the age of mandatory education across all states to 5 years old.
2. Federal government support to enable equity of resources and quality of provision in school districts across all localities and states.
3. Increase federal funding for mandatory education programmes like Head Start.
4. Debate on the use of standardised testing.
5. Increase access to early childhood education and care.
6. A combination of culture, resources and political will can improve children and young people's access to and experience of services.
7. Potential value in usage of multidimensional concept of social exclusion as part of a combined approach to identify determinants of equality of access to services for children and young people.
8. US ratification of the UNCRC
9. Increase use of millennium development goals as part of a combined approach to identify determinants of equality of access to services for children and young people.
10. Building an early childhood education model emulating strategies of the Swedish high quality model and the French universal pre-school model.
11. Increase in international systematic data collection on child welfare, foster care, adoption, and protective services for children.
12. Increase use of child social indicators as measures of child well-being as part of a combined approach to assess the needs of children and the extent to which they are being met.

**1. Mandatory legislation for lowering the age of mandatory education across all states to 5 years of age.**

Amelia argues that in order to have a fuller coverage of education provision for children mandatory legislation is required *'mandatory legislation as far as participation or enrolment in school is critical'* and she gives the example of mandatory legislation in the U.K. which states that education is compulsory for children from the age of 5 pointing out that if the mandatory age is higher than 5 then education coverage for children is not as extensive; *'one of the reasons that Britain for example has such complete cover of 5 year olds is because education is mandatory at the age of 5 and if you have education mandatory at the age of 7 you don't have as full coverage.'*

Amelia highlights that if the federal government issued mandatory legislation like the U.K. that would mean that all states would have a duty to increase their coverage to include education provision for children from the age of 5 years old and upwards as opposed to the current situation where different states mandate different ages for compulsory education; *'As far as state and local governments are concerned there is no single age at which education becomes compulsory, it ranges between the ages of 5 and 8, so it depends on the state in which you live, county, and locality in which you live.'*

**2. Federal government support to enable equity of resources and quality of provision in school districts across all localities and states.**

Here again Amelia underscores the inequities in provision of education across states and argues that if the federal government mandated that every state had to offer the same level of resources for children and young people then there would be greater equality and quality in the system:

*'There are significant differences in resources across states and across localities and clearly if the federal government were to take a stance that said every school district should offer the same level of resources to children as any other you would also have a different kind of result, we don't have that in place at the present time.'*

**3. Increase federal funding for mandatory education programmes like Head Start.**

Amelia highlights how education in the U.S. is to a large extent funded by property taxes; *'you have to keep in mind that education is often funded by local school districts based on property taxes'*, and argues that the federal government need to invest more in

education particularly to help support children who come from low income families and areas where revenue from property taxes are lower and so accordingly investment is lower in education. In particular Amelia underlines how federal funding of a mandatory education programmes like Headstart and Leave No Child Behind have been criticised for being insufficient to meet the needs of all children; *'headstart which is a compulsory education programme has federal funding but it is not sufficient to cover all children who would qualify for it.'*

#### **4. Debate on the use of standardised testing.**

In discussion of the federal programme under the former Bush administration Leave No Child Behind, Amelia emphasises how there is contestation over the use of standardised testing in schools.

#### **5. Increase access to early childhood education and care.**

In response to a question about the barriers and facilitators of children's access to services in New York City Amelia states that *'there may be limitations on access to early childhood education and care.'*

#### **6. A combination of culture, resources and political will can improve children and young people's access to and experience of services.**

Amelia highlights that *'I think a combination of culture, resources and political support'* can improve children and young people's access to and experience of services.

#### **7. Potential value in usage of multidimensional concept of social exclusion as part of a combined approach to identify determinants of equality of access to services for children and young people.**

Here Amelia emphasises that she considers that social exclusion could be a valuable measure but highlights that there are difficulties with implementing this measure in the US as the framework is not understood or used in the U.S.

## **8. US ratification of the UNCRC**

Amelia underlines that *'there are problems in a document that does not necessarily reflect the reality in our society.'* However in spite of these problems she points to the symbolic value of the UNCRC saying *'I think you know it has symbolic meaning and I for one wish we'd signed it.'*

## **9. Increase use of millennium development goals as part of a combined approach to identify determinants of equality of access to services for children and young people.**

Amelia contrasts the UNCRC with the MDGs arguing that the MDG's *'are a more concrete measure that could be addressed and could get more attention.'* In response to being asked why, Amelia argues that the MDGs are a better measure because *'they are measurable and quantifiable and by and large they are also feasible, they are reasonable.'*

## **10. Building an early childhood education model emulating strategies of the Swedish high quality model and the French universal pre-school model.**

Here Amelia highlights the Swedish early childhood education model where class sizes are small, there are high staff to child ratios and staff are trained and paid well and also points to the French pre-school model which is in place throughout France.

## **11. Increase in international systematic data collection on child welfare, foster care, adoption, and protective services for children.**

Amelia stresses the need for further collection of international systematic data on child welfare, foster care, adoption, and protective services for children as she claims that at the moment comparative work is not feasible because of the lack of international systematic data;

*'Then there is the issue of child welfare services, foster care, adoption, protective services for children. There it is very difficult to, there are no international systematic data that covers those services and that would provide a basis for being able to talk comparatively about it, that's an area in which the data are just very inadequate.'*

**12. Increase use of child social indicators as measures of child well-being as part of a combined approach to assess the needs of children and the extent to which they are being met.**

Here Amelia underscores the value in using child social indicators for assessing and meeting the needs of children because these 'objective standards and indicators' are very useful as there is a large amount of data relating to childhood social indicators in existence which can be put to use in order to help determine if needs are being met or not.

## **Findings from Semi-structured Interviews (New York City)**

### **Findings of semi-structured interview with a senior strategic policy officer at an international development organisation**

The semi-structured interview with Arnav an Asian male who was working as a Senior strategic policy officer at an international development organisation in Manhattan sought to explore his attitudes towards facilitating equality of access to education services.

The interview was carried out in Arnav's office at the international development organisation in Manhattan on the 14<sup>th</sup> February 2007.

The findings are presented in two sections, the first in terms of the barriers and the second in terms of the facilitators.

Table \* below summarises the findings in terms of the barriers to equality and Table \* summarises the findings in terms of the facilitators of equality.

#### **Table 20: Findings of interview with Arnav - barriers to equality**

##### **Barriers to equality**

1. Exclusions based on geography, ethnicity and gender.
2. Dichotomy between policy and practice.
3. Economic and social barriers at state and community levels.
4. Disparities to access, retention and completion in education.
5. Poor quality of education provision.
6. Migration and immigration policies of the U.S.
7. Taking a moralistic attitude in programming.
8. Ignoring that there are duty bearers of rights at all levels of society and the state.

### **1. Exclusions based on geography, ethnicity and gender**

Here Lakshmi points to exclusions relating to geography, ethnicity or gender. In particular Arnav underlines the UN Girls Education Initiative and points out how exclusions may be at both family and systematic levels.

### **2. Dichotomy between policy and practice**

Here Arnav highlights the dichotomy between policy and practice and underscores how barriers in practice result in problems with implementing policy in the way it was designed.

### **3. Economic and social barriers at state and community levels**

Arnav stresses the number of economic and social barriers at both state and community levels and points out how even if the state is persuaded to abolish school fees and make education universal, compulsory and free for all children there may still be a cost to education from a family's perspective.

### **4. Disparities to access, retention and completion in education**

Markedly Arnav underlines how his organisation tries to identify the barriers in assessing indicators relating to inequalities in access, retention and completion of students' education in school.

### **5. Poor quality of education provision**

Arnav underlines how his organisation emphasises the importance of improving quality in education provision and points out that better quality of educational provision increases children's access to education and increases their '*retention, completion and achievement*' in school.

### **6. Migration and immigration policies of the U.S.**

In response to a question about the main barriers that children in New York City face in relation to access to educational services Arnav highlights U.S. migration and immigration policies as being linked to issues which act as barriers.

## **7. Taking a moralistic attitude in programming**

Here Arnav stresses how taking '*a moralistic attitude*' in relation to an organisation's programming strategy can be detrimental to development as responses to '*a moralistic attitude*' may create further exclusions for children and Arnav points out how rights are '*double edged.*'

## **8. Ignoring that there are duty bearers of rights at all levels of society and the state**

In discussion of advocating for human rights Arnav emphasises the rights and responsibilities paradigm of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) pointing out that the responsibilities part is sometimes overlooked.

Table 21: Findings of interview with Arnav- facilitators of equality

### **Facilitators of Equality**

1. Using indicators to help identify who may be excluded.
2. Increase in initiatives like the UN Girls Education Initiative.
3. Interrogating a variety of social and economic barriers to help facilitate access to education.
4. '*Education is a good vehicle for peace building initiatives.*'
5. Building quality incrementally into systems to achieve greater sustainable development.
6. Increase in initiatives which increase children and young people's participation in decision making.
7. Improve access to information and data for children and young people.
8. Role and pattern analysis to identify capacity gaps in communities and emphasise rights and responsibilities of duty bearers at all levels of society and the state.



### **1. Using indicators to help identify who may be excluded.**

Arnav underlines the value in using indicators to help identify who may be excluded and points out that his organisation bases its programming on analysing data from different regions by ethnicity, gender and age group pointing out a number of different exclusionary practices. Further Arnav emphasises how his organisation assesses *'children's readiness for entering school'* at both local and system levels and points out that the indicators they focus on centre on *'parents' education'*, *'pre-school education'* and *'children's ability to reach a level of developmentally mature state to enter primary school'*. Arnav also highlights how a key strategy of the organisation focuses on how to increase equality of *'access, retention and completion'* and *'quality'* in education and to emphasise *'core commitments in emergencies to education'* because restarting school education as soon as possible after an emergency situation arises acts as a very important catalyst for a community to move forward.

### **2. Increase in initiatives like the UN Girls Education Initiative.**

Here Arnav stresses the importance of the UN Girls Education Initiative in tackling gender inequalities in order to increase girl's access to education and underlines how gender discrimination also occurs at a familial level. Further Arnav highlights that exclusionary practices can be explained in terms of systemic reasons such as: *'there is no woman teacher or there are issues of quality of education in terms of educational spaces, not having girls toilet which is secluded from the boys, the issues of safety and security for girls.'*

### **3. Interrogating a variety of social and economic barriers to help facilitate children and young people's access to education.**

Arnav stresses the importance of interrogating a variety of social and economic barriers to help facilitate children and young people's access to education and highlights the UNICEF and World Bank report on the abolition of the user fee for school education which emphasises the need to address multiple barriers as whilst education may be made free there may be many other social and economic barriers in place: *'You may make it free but then there are still other social and economic barriers, even if you abolish a user fee or a school fee it does not mean that there is no cost to education when you look at it from the family point of view.'*

**4. 'Education is a good vehicle for peace building initiatives.'**

Here Laskshmi points to how his organisation stresses the need to resume education as soon as possible following man-made or natural disasters and highlights the value in resuming education in that it can act as *'a good vehicle for peace building initiatives and addressing trauma.'*

**5. Building quality incrementally into systems to achieve greater sustainable development.**

Arnav emphasises how in trying to support development of education systems at a community level it is very important *'to progressively build quality'* into systems to achieve more sustainable development as opposed to immediate programming where if project organisers leave or funding runs out for a project then it may collapse.

**6. Increase in initiatives which increase children and young people's participation in decision making.**

Arnav points towards the need to increase children and young people's participation in decision making and he highlights the *Special Session on A World Fit For Children* (2002) and underlines the involvement of children in the meetings noting that children participated in online discussion groups.

**7. Improve access to information and data for children and young people.**

Notably, Arnav emphasises the need to increase children and young people's access to information so that they can participate in the policy dialogue.

**8. Role and pattern analysis to identify capacity gaps in communities and emphasise rights and responsibilities of duty bearers at all levels of society and the state.**

Here Arnav underlines how in discussion of rights the fact that there exist rights and responsibilities and that there are duty bearers at all levels which often gets ignored. Further Arnav emphasises how when *'translating the conventions into rights based programming'* his organisation stress the relationship *'between rights holders and the duty bearers'*. Additionally Arnav points to the value in a role and pattern analysis.

## Findings from Semi-structured Interviews (New York City)

### Findings of semi-structured interview with a youth asset coordinator in a community service organization

The semi-structured interview with Summer a white female who was working as a youth asset coordinator in a community service organization with young people in Manhattan sought to explore her attitudes towards facilitating equality of access to education services.

The interview was carried out in a meeting room in Summer's organisation in Manhattan on the 5<sup>th</sup> March 2007.

The findings are presented in two sections, the first in terms of the barriers and the second in terms of the facilitators.

Table \* below summarises the findings in terms of the barriers to equality and Table \* summarises the findings in terms of the facilitators of equality.

Table 22: Findings of interview with Summer- barriers to equality

#### Barriers to Equality

1. Violations of children and teens human rights in the public school system.
2. Undemocratic systems of governance.
3. Inequities of class, race and geography.
4. Segregation.
5. Bureaucracy of mainstream organisations as a barrier to encouraging civic participation and political action for change.
6. Lack of resources.
7. Lack of investment in infrastructure for youth development.
8. Lack of working coalitions with smaller organisations as it is mostly the larger organisations that get to influence policy makers.
9. State cuts in financial support for the summer and youth employment programme in NYC.

## 1. **Violations of children and teens human rights in the public school system.**

Summer argues that from the basis that education is a human right there are a number of violations of children and teens human rights in the New York City school system. Summer underlines how there needs to be 'more equity and quality' in the system and communities need to have 'more of a stake in the school system' in local schools as well as in the larger school system. Further Summer points to the need for classes to be smaller. Additionally Summer highlights the very limited provision in high school curriculums of 1 or 2 weeks on sex education which lots of students may miss being such a small part of the curriculum:

*'I mean sex education is crazy it's incredible, in NYC high school students are mandated to have at least 1 semester of health that's it and there are supposed to be 1 or 2 wks in there about sex education and of course many students never actually get that so its pretty astounding there are just so many areas.'*

In particular Summer points to the lack of use of the human rights framework in the U.S. and argues for its use, pointing out that if education is recognised as a human right so violations of provision of this human right need to be addressed:

*'Some of the work I've done outside of here is looking at education as a human right which doesn't happen as much in this country as it does in other countries. The human rights framework is not so much used but it is totally applicable and so looking at education as a human right and looking at some of the violations in the New York city school system, violations of children and teens human rights is important.'*

## 2. **Undemocratic systems of governance.**

Summer emphasises that she considers the mayoral control over the school system in New York City is an undemocratic system of governance arguing that it is 'a paradox in terms of any kind of democratic processes' as she considers that it is 'crazy to give 1 person control over a whole school system.' Summer gives an example of this where former mayor Bloomberg allegedly fired 2 committee members of New York's committee on the education system and replaced them overnight because they opposed plans to fail 3<sup>rd</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> grade students who did not pass tests:

*'So it was a huge, huge, contentious issue so the educational panel whatever that entity is called went to debate it and there was real deadlock and he ended up firing, in the middle of the night replaced the 2 people who were opposed to his plan, just took them out like puppets and put in people that would agree, I mean it's kind of sick, that's not how decisions should get made so that's one example of why I think.'*

### **3. Inequities of class, race and geography.**

Here Summer underlines how inequities are very much related to issues of class, race and geography highlighting that *'Inequities are totally about class, race and geography.'*

### **4. Segregation.**

Summer stresses how whilst segregation is illegal it is still found across the U.S. in many places and areas in schools and in neighbourhoods; *'legally segregation is no longer allowed, de facto segregation is 100 % in effect all over the country.'* Notably Summer highlights how 50 years since the Brown Versus the Board of Education law case and the rationale of 'separate but equal' despite very significant law reforms segregation very often related to institutional racism and everyday racism still persists.

### **5. Bureaucracy of mainstream organisations as a barrier to encouraging civic participation and political action for change.**

Summer underlines the problems of working in the organisation she does which is related to the organisation being *'very mainstream'* and bureaucratic where it lacks connections with *'civic participation'* and *'political action.'* Further she points out that whilst 'good' work is carried out in her organisation 'it's not the stuff that's more likely to be about change.'

### **6. Lack of resources.**

Summer emphasises that whilst in terms of *'quality'* and *'quantity'* of development work with young people in New York along with San Francisco it is the *'most advanced'* city in terms of its work she highlights the significant lack of and need for more investment in resources; *'it doesn't mean there's not a million gaps and holes, there's such a need for resources more resources.'*

### **7. Lack of investment in infrastructure for youth development in New York and across the U.S.**

Summer points to the lack of investment in infrastructure for development work with young people in New York and across the U.S. In particular Summer points to the lack of provision for young people in post industrial cities like Baltimore, Philadelphia, Detroit, and Michigan cities that were built and prospered around the car industry.

Summer points out that the connection between the decline of the car industry and high poverty and drug use and a lack of investment in infrastructure for young people maintaining that Baltimore has, *'the highest rate of heroin use and syphilis in the country with very little infrastructure for youth development.'* Further, Summer points to communities in New York that are very marginalised and very poor with few resources underlining how East New York and the \*\*\* area in the South Bronx *'have a huge amount of imports and exports which in turn means there are high rates of prostitution and HIV Aids like the \*\*\* area in the South Bronx which has the highest rate of prostitution in the city.'*

**8. Lack of working coalitions with smaller organisations as it is mostly the larger organisations that get to influence policy makers.**

Summer stresses the lack of working coalitions with smaller organisations in New York City indicating the inequalities of representation that are at work where it is normally only the larger organisations with *'huge bureaucracies'* who are involved in shaping policy who *'sit at the table with policy makers.'*

**7. State cuts in financial support for the summer and youth employment programme in NYC.**

Summer highlights the value of the Summer and Youth Employment Programme which provides 5000 jobs to high school students in the summer and underlines how every year funding for it is cut by the state.

Table 23: Findings of interview with Summer- barriers to equality

**Facilitators of Equality**

1. Developing young people's social capital.
2. Working towards making the education system more equitable and of better quality where communities have more of a stake in the school system.
3. Advocating for human rights.
4. Schools that provide support for young people who are marginalised.
5. Students unions.
6. Initiatives like the beacons programmes for young people in schools for after school and weekends.
7. Community development/organising.
8. More coalitions between different youth organisations and collective training and advocacy centres for youth organisations.
9. More funding for initiatives like the SYEP.

### **1. Developing young people's social capital.**

Summer points to the strategy guiding the groups she works within which is related to developing young people's social capital, to developing their assets and notes that one way in which building assets with young people can be achieved is through hip hop. Summer underlines how in the groups she works with, the young people are involved in designing and developing peer education in a variety of ways; *'they've been working on creating peer education to share with other young people in interactive and dynamic way so peer education really created by them.'* Further Summer spotlights the youth conference which her organisation is involved in running each year and underlines the potential value the work towards it and presentation of it has for the young people involved:

*'As a group it is a huge learning moment in their life where they get to create something which they are in charge of and that impresses and inspires and teaches other people and is fun and is a huge accomplishment for them and also for all the other youth who will attend to be able to see them leading it, they'll be really inspired, it can be like almost like travelling, an eye opening experience, so it's exciting.'*

Additionally Summer highlights the aim of the asset youth council initialised by her organisation which was designed to create a coalition of young people from across the city with youth representatives from 18 schools and youth organisations.

### **2. Working towards making the education system more equitable and of better quality where communities have more of a stake in the school system.**

Summer stresses the need to make the education system more equitable with better quality of service provision where communities have *'more of a stake in the school system'* and where the system is *'more responsive'* to the needs of the children, young people and families involved.

### **3. Advocating for human rights.**

Summer underlines the symbolic and practical value of rights based approaches and points to how the symbolism of conventions like the UNCRC is crucial; *'well rights mean everything and symbolism is crucial. It is meaningful, it gives you a grounded agenda.'* Further Summer suggests that utilising the framework of human rights is an effective way to help support people in the battle for equality and points to its lack of



use in the U.S.; *'the human rights framework is not so much used but it is totally applicable.'* Additionally Summer points out that because healthcare is not viewed as a right in the U.S. people *'lack the vehicle to fight for something.'* Notably Summer points out how in an organisation called Global Kids she established a programme called the *'human rights activists project'* which was designed to teach young people to be human rights advocates.

**4. Schools that provide support for young people who are marginalised.**

Summer underlines the value in the provision of schools that provide support for young people who are marginalised and she highlights the work of the international schools which are a consortium of schools based in New York and points to the opening of a new international school in partnership with a Latin American immigrants' rights group in Queens.

**5. Students unions.**

Summer identifies student unions in New York as a facilitator of equality and spotlights a coalition of young people called the *'Urban Youth Collaborative'* who campaign for equity and educational justice underlining how its goal is *'to try and make changes in the education system to create a unified voice to struggle around certain demands that they have.'*

**6. More initiatives like the Beacons programmes for young people in schools for after school and weekends.**

The Beacons programmes and centres are an initiative set up in schools and centres in New York City in the early 1990s where young people could hang out at a beacons programme in after school hours and on weekends. Summer emphasises the importance of providing spaces and infrastructure for young people underlining the value of the Beacons programmes for young people and the need for more Beacons programmes pointing out that with their provision *'there's always a place for young people to go, there's a drop in place and there's a basketball court and there's always a counsellor to talk to, it's a really fundamental thing we need more of them and new better ones too.'*

## **7. Community development/organising.**

Summer underscores the value of community development and organising for improving children and young people's equality of access to services and highlights a community organisation called Groundwork set up by an individual from the same community in East New York. Summer highlights how the organisation tries to tackle issues connected with poverty and a lack of resources in the community by trying to work with the community to create and build more resources. Additionally Summer spotlights the work of the Harlem children's zone which is an organisation that focuses on supporting the community and building resources within it noting how the organisation is an 'anomaly' in its commitment to the community pointing out how the Harlem children's zone focuses on a particular area and works intensively in a variety of areas to try and increase all the well-being indicators:

*'They are focussing on a 10 block radius of giving those 10 blocks every single resource they can so they work with families and children since birth they go to houses and they are really trying to participatively increase every well-being indicator from infant mortality rates to income to education and they're compelling, very comprehensive.'*

Further on in the interview Summer discusses how in her neighbourhood the nearest park is 8 blocks away and she highlights how she is going to be involved in community organising in order to campaign for a playground to be build. In particular Summer points to the longevity of community campaigns commenting that:

*'I know that it'll take forever to get a little playground so I know how it has to happen and it's going to be a long laborious effort working with different local youth organisations and community groups and I know who they are and then the community board, it's going to be a long haul but that's how you make stuff happen on a small level.'*

## **8. More coalitions between different youth organisations and collective training and advocacy centres for youth organisations.**

In this part of the interview Summer emphasises the need for more coalitions between youth organisations especially with smaller organisations who don't get a chance to meet with policy makers as much as the bigger youth organisations like the 'Y, United Way, Big Brothers and Big Sisters.' Further Summer stresses the need for more collective training and advocacy centres for youth organisations highlighting the work of the Soro Sownini partnership for after school education which provides 'collective training' and 'advocacy' for youth organisations across New York City.

## **9. More funding for initiatives like the SYEP.**

Summer highlights the need for more funding for the Summer and Youth Employment Programme which is organised by the state and provides 5000 jobs to high school students in the summer and points out that each year the state makes cuts. Further Summer points out the value of the programme underlining how for most young people finding jobs in New York City can be very difficult; *'they're so sought after because you can imagine all the teens that want to work that have such a hard time finding jobs so every year Albany cuts money so every year we go up to advocate for more jobs.'*

## Findings from Semi-structured Interviews (New York City)

### Findings of semi-structured interview with a director of community development at a non profit organisation

The semi-structured interview with Luke a white male director of community development at a non- profit organization in New York City sought to explore his attitudes towards facilitating equality of access to education services.

The interview was carried out in Luke's office at the community development organisation in the Bronx on the 18<sup>th</sup> April 2007.

The findings are presented in two sections, the first in terms of the barriers and the second in terms of the facilitators.

Table \* below summarises the findings in terms of the barriers to equality and Table \* summarises the findings in terms of the facilitators of equality.

Table 24: Findings of interview with Luke- barriers to equality

#### Barriers to Equality

1. A lack of provision of money and resources.
2. New York City public school system is '*strained at best*'- with overcrowded classrooms and overworked teachers.
3. Families from '*communities of colour*' in poverty where survival takes precedence over education.
4. Lack of parks in the South Bronx.
5. Lack of US citizenship status acting as a barrier to accessing available services, preventing '*reaching out for help.*'
6. A number of detention centres and jails built in the Bronx and disregard for consultation with the Bronx community.

### **1. A lack of provision of money and resources.**

Luke emphasises that a lack of money and resources is the largest barrier to education that children and young people experience, stating that *'the biggest barrier is money and resources.'*

### **2. New York City public school system is 'strained at best'- with overcrowded classrooms and overworked teachers.**

Here Luke underlines that due to a lack of investment of finance and resources the public school system that most children and young people attend in New York City struggles to cope with overcrowded classrooms and overworked teachers who are not always sufficiently qualified:

*'The biggest barrier is money and resources so you know the large majority will go to public school and the New York City public school system is strained at best. It's pretty weak and so classrooms are overcrowded, teachers are not always underqualified but they are overworked, overburdened and so it's not a healthy learning environment in the public schools.'*

### **3. Families from 'communities of colour' in poverty-survival taking precedence over education.**

Luke stresses how in addition to a lack of investment in the public school system which means that classes are often overcrowded and teachers overworked, poverty is a significant factor which can mean that survival takes precedence over education:

*'And then on top of that you've got all the outside forces a typical low income community of colour is going to go through where education doesn't always receive the stress it should where you've got matter of life questions at home you know and so the child isn't able to devote maybe the same amount of time to school and education when there are a lot bigger problems going on at home and in their neighbourhoods and you know bigger things to worry about and so really that's the biggest issue.'*

### **4. Lack of parks in \*\*\*.**

Luke underlines how another barrier is insufficient provision of parks in the \*\*\*area. Luke notes that 2 new parks had recently been provided in \*\*\*\* but stresses the lack of provision of open spaces in the area pointing out that whilst *'recently 2 new parks have come into the system here at \*\*\*\* before that we had one of the worst open space per resident stats in the city.'*

**5. Lack of US citizenship status acting as a barrier to people's access of available services, preventing 'reaching out for help.'**

In response to a question about whether a family's non US citizen status has an effect on children's access to educational services Luke underlines how undocumented families may be concerned about what accessing a service may mean if their undocumented status is noted so emphasising that undocumented families may be afraid to access help from services in the system. Luke highlights this by pointing out that those undocumented families may be less inclined to access psychological support for their family:

*'What it could prevent is reaching out for help you know because they're afraid to put up red flags you know, um using some of the services, public service that may be available but families that are undocumented don't want to draw attention to themselves so they are going to be less inclined to you know go for the mental health check-up or go to the outside expert to help their child, if they're afraid that maybe it'll register in the system that they're here.'*

**6. A number of detention centres and jails built in the Bronx and disregard for consultation with the Bronx community.**

In response to a question about the anti-jail coalition which the ACTION group is involved with (Luke is the director of ACTION which is a team activist programme at \*\*\* (name of organisation Luke works for) Luke criticises the disregard shown for the Bronx community with proposals to build another jail on a 28 acre area of land in the South Bronx where there are already a number of youth detention centres and jails. Luke further questions why it has been proposed to build a jail in the South Bronx underlining that land is especially scarce and precious in New York City. Luke emphasises how a large number of organisations across the South Bronx formed an anti-jail coalition and highlights the disregard shown for the community as there appeared to be no consultation with the community about the proposals- Luke notes that the community first discovered the plans through reading a news article and stresses how the young people in ACTION feel 'insulted' by the proposal to build a jail in the area:

*'It's a particularly contested topic because we were never informed, the community found out by reading an article in the news so the point is involved in the anti jail organisation and in the point the kids in action feel it really strongly as well you know they're insulted by it, here is a 28 acre plot of land, land is a precious resource in New York City, why would you put a jail there?'*

Table 25: Findings of interview with Luke- facilitators of equality

**Facilitators of Equality**

1. Advocacy, critical thinking and community development.
2. Youth development- bringing arts to the community and support with preparation for SAT tests and with access to and preparation for going to college/university.
3. Increase linking between organisations that helps support young people.
4. Increase provision of resources and financial investment in public school system.
5. Increase provision of parks in low income areas.
6. Increase access to services for families who are undocumented.
7. Decrease monopolies of state power and increase sharing of decision making between the state and society.

**1. Advocacy, critical thinking and community development.**

Luke discusses the advocacy arm of an after school team activist programme (which he is director of) that meets for 2 and a half hours 3 times a week. He describes the programme as having a focus on *'community organising and community development'* and underlines that the advocacy part of the programme is designed to encourage *'critical thinking'* and enable young people to be *'involved in their communities so that they see themselves as having a stake in their community and to see themselves being able to shape their own future....'* Luke notes how they participate in a number of areas of social action underlining how the organisation *'is involved in a lot of environmental justice issues and community organising, community development issues.'* Luke also highlights that some of the work the young people are involved with includes making phone calls and handing out flyers connected with social action issues. Luke notes further on in the interview that the young people who are members of the group are given a stipend every fortnight and underlines how this is designed as an incentive to

encourage participation from many teenagers who may need to work after school to help support their family.

**2. Youth development- bringing arts to the community and support with preparation for SAT tests and with access to and preparation for going to college/university.**

Luke highlights the other part of the programme which focuses on offering support and links for young people to assist with preparation for SAT tests and with access to and preparation for going to college. Also Luke emphasises how bringing arts to the community is a focus in the organisation and he points out that in the after school programme for students in younger grades they hold dance, circus, theatre, music and art classes:

*'It's also very arts centred you know the idea of bringing arts to the community, so I mean you'll see that we don't have a gym here for basketball but our students in the younger grades after school programme have dance class, circus classes, they do theatre, music art everything like that.'*

**3. Increase linking between organisations that helps support young people.**

Luke highlights that the organisation connect the young people involved in the team activist programme with other groups in the area which provides increased resources to help support the young people:

*'so we link the kids in action up with other groups in the area like other resources to get help with SAT tests, help with college preparation and access, all of that stuff, we try to do a lot of leadership skills, so public speaking, résumé writing, job interview practice, and creative outlets so it can still be a fun youth orientated youth development programme for after school.'*

**4. Increase provision of resources and financial investment in the public school system.**

Luke stresses the problems facing many children and young people in the public school system and highlights the need for greater investment of resources and finances so that there is *'a healthy learning environment'* in all schools where there is provision of more schools with high staff to student ratios so classrooms are not *'overcrowded'* and where teachers are well qualified and are not *'overworked and overburdened'* so that this investment in schools acts as a facilitator in children and young people's access to and experience of education.



**5. Increase provision of parks in low income areas.**

Luke highlights the need for the provision of more parks in the \*\*\* area and emphasises that whilst 2 new parks had recently been provided in \*\*\*\* there is still a problem with lack of provision of open spaces in the area pointing out the inequality in access to parks compared with other areas that have more access to park space; *'recently 2 new parks have come into the system here at \*\*\*\* before that we had one of the worst open space per resident stats in the city.'*

**6. Increase access to services for families who are undocumented.**

In response to a question about whether or not a family's non US citizen status has an effect on a child's or children's access to educational services Luke highlights how undocumented statuses of families could act as a barrier in that they *'don't want to draw attention to themselves so they are going to be less inclined to you know go for the mental health check-up or go to the outside expert to help their child, if they're afraid that maybe it'll register in the system that they're here.'* Luke's response here highlights the barriers to accessing services that undocumented families face and the need to find pathways to increase undocumented families access to services.

**7. Decrease monopolies of state power and equalise decision making between the state and society.**

Luke highlights the inequalities of power where the community first learnt about the proposals to build another jail in their area through a news article. Luke also highlights the counter response by the people in the community who support the anti-jail coalition underlining the size of the campaign and the fact that there are already a number of jails and detention centres in the area; it's *'a huge project and many, many, organisations all over the \*\*\*\* are involved, they formed a coalition community and unity to stop this jail, there's already a number of jails in the \*\*\*\*, juvenile detention centres.'* This suggests the need for working towards decreasing the monopolising of power by the state and equalising decision making by the state and society.

## **Findings from semi-structured interviews (New York City)**

### **Findings from semi-structured interview with a director of a non profit group and short-term psychotherapy centre**

The semi-structured interview with Dana a white female director of a non profit group and short-term psychotherapy centre in Manhattan sought to explore her attitudes towards facilitating equality of access to education services.

The interview was carried out in Dana's office at the psychotherapy centre in Manhattan on the 20<sup>th</sup> April 2007.

The findings are presented in two sections, the first in terms of the barriers and the second in terms of the facilitators.

Table \* below summarises the findings in terms of the barriers to equality and Table \* summarises the findings in terms of the facilitators of equality.

**Table 26: Findings of interview with Dana- barriers to equality**

#### **Barriers to Equality**

1. Too much emphasis on acquisitional learning in education.
2. Stereotyping and internalisation of a societal identity.
3. Institutional racism.
4. Lack of choices of homes and areas for people on low incomes to live in.
5. Universality of UNCRC.
6. UNCRC hampered by capitalism where there is a conflict between what people say and what people do.

## **1. Too much emphasis on acquisitional learning in education.**

Here Dana suggests that there is too much emphasis on acquisitional learning in education as opposed to developmental learning; *'Schools are more and more focused on the acquisition of knowledge and skills and they leave very little room for what I would call developmental learning, and the experience of anybody,.... not learning the matter but being a learner.'* Dana also points to the difficulties in emphasising developmental learning within *'very, very structured and coercive and acquisitional orientated environment of schools.'*

## **2. Stereotyping and internalisation of a societal identity.**

Dana emphasises the negative effects of stereotyping and 'internalisation of a societal identity' which categorise and homogenise people. Dana suggests that this is perhaps particularly relevant for teenagers;

*'(...)Because by the time kids are I don't know 14, 16, they have internalised, accepted a societal identity: " I'm this kind of person". So if you talk to teenagers or if you just watch some TV where the representation of everyone is in the group, I mean it's like worse than when I went to school and its heartbreaking to hear kids say I couldn't possibly do that because that's not the kind of person I am, I'm this kind of person.'*

Dana stresses that there are some labels that people do like and there are some labels that people don't like but she argues that whether or not they are liked 'they keep you from creating the performances of yourself.' Further Dana underlines the power of stereotyping, pointing out that;

*'It's as practical as the inner city African American kid who is in the development school for youths and he's gone to some multinational cooperation for one of the trainings and he's wearing a suit and his buddies come up to him and they say do you have, are you going to court, because the only reason you'd where a suit is....'*

### **3. Institutional racism.**

Here Dana highlights the barrier of institutional racism and points to how education is part funded by property taxes and suggests that the state disguises racism by arguing that inequalities in provision are only the result of differences in property taxes;

*'the institutions of this country are racist there's no question about that and if you look at (...)the figures on schools and the funding they get which is supposedly based on property taxes, is yeah the white areas the suburbs get more stuff and more money than the poor areas and they can hide the racism because they say it's property taxes.'*

### **4. Lack of choices of homes and areas for people on low incomes to live in.**

Here Dana highlights the barriers that many people on low incomes face where there are insufficient choices of homes and areas to live in; *'at the poor income level you are, there's not a whole lot of choices that you actually can pick up.'*

### **5. Universality of UNCRC.**

In response to a question about whether Dana was an advocate of children's rights Dana asserts; *'I'm not a proponent of any monumentalising or institutionalising of anything.'* Further in her discourse about the UNCRC Dana suggests there are problems with the universalist claims of the UNCRC, 'I bet there are some that I should think children should have that aren't on that list.'

### **6. UNCRC hampered by capitalism where there is a conflict between what people say and what people do.**

Dana draws attention to the fact that there are contradictions between what people say and what people do and suggests that whilst most people would agree that every child has the right not to be hungry, in practice this is not supported which in part is due to capitalism that depends on establishing and maintaining inequalities:

*'It seems to me there's a conflict between for example it must be a right that every child has a right to not be hungry, um and I would imagine that every single person in this country or in the world would agree with that but there is a conflict between that and how people live their lives, how production is organised, I'm not going to just say because it's capitalistic, it's, because, well whatever, so I don't quite understand what it means.'*

Table 27: Findings of interview with Dana- facilitators of equality

**Facilitators of equality**

1. The All stars project.<sup>9</sup>
2. Emphasising a developmental learning/Vygotskyian based approach.
3. Emphasising a Vygotsky style performance approach in learning and teaching- Using improvisation comedy in the classroom.
4. Let's talk about it- Group therapy for young people.
5. Youth programmes that are multi-generational and multi-ethnic and facilitate becoming more worldly.

**1. The All stars project.**

Dana highlights the work of the non-profit All Stars project in New York City and points out that it has four youth programmes that use performance based learning methods. The first programme is '*a talent show network for young people around the city*' the second is '*a leadership training program/development school for youth*' for high school students which students can apply for and if selected they have a 13 week '*performance based approach to learning about the world of work.*' The third programme Dana highlights is a youth theatre '*called youth on stage that creates and puts on politically relevant plays*'. The fourth programme Dana details is '*the production of youth by youth*' which has a cultural focus. Dana points out that this programme shares similarities with '*the development school for youth*' and also points out the distinction between the two programmes underlining that the '*production of youth by youth*' has a cultural focus as opposed to the finance and business focus of '*the development school for youth*' noting how the '*production of youth by youth*'

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<sup>9</sup> 'The ASP creates outside of school, educational and performing arts activities for thousands of poor and minority young people. It sponsors community and experimental theatre, develops leadership training and pursues volunteer initiatives that build and strengthen communities.'

*programme* works *'so young people can become producers of culture and they make site visits and have mentors that are in all the cultural institutions of New York City.'*

## **2. Emphasising a developmental learning/Vygotskyian based approach.**

Dana describes some of the programmes the short term psychotherapy centre, of which she is co-director, has run and highlights the Barbara Taylor school which the centre ran for 12 years in New York. Dana describes the school as *'very radically experimental'* and emphasises how the school was run *'performatorially in its last few years, literally saying to the kids and the learning directors there how are we going to perform school today, there was not a curriculum.'* Dana stresses that the closure of the school was due to the school's radical nature and resistance to it and explains that *'it was impossible to sustain financially and it was a little too radical or a lot too radical for it to grow. Parents had a hard time sending their kids there so we closed it.'* Additionally Dana underlines that following the school's closure the centre's education work has been focused on *'going into a school and either working with a staff there on team building or whatever it is they want help with and also working with the kids.'* Further, Dana highlights *'The Developing Teachers Fellowship Programme* which the centre set up and stresses how the centre was looking to find *'creative public school teachers'* to participate in the programme that focused on teaching the centre's *'performance approach to learning and to teaching.'*

Dana highlights the work of Vygotsky and points to the influence his work has had on her own work and the centre's work in connection with emphasising a performance approach in education as opposed to the dominant acquisitional approach taken. Further, Dana highlights Vygotsky's zone of proximal development which points to how during childhood babies and toddlers learn through performance.

## **3. Emphasising a Vygotsky style performance approach in learning and teaching- Using improvisation comedy in the classroom.**

Dana underlines how her organisation try to bring developmental learning through performance techniques into *'the very, very structured and coercive and acquisitional orientated environment of schools.'* Furthermore, Dana emphasises *'a performance approach to learning and teaching in education'* underlining the value of using improvisation comedy in the classroom and suggests that it invites every person in the

classroom to create something together and does so in a way that doesn't require acquisitional knowledge.

Further Dana points to the need to relate to children, young people and adults as performers and improvisers of their lives and stresses the value of using this approach with teenagers who may have *'internalised and accept a societal identity.'*

**4. Let's talk about it- Group therapy for young people.**

Dana highlights how group therapy can be every effective in helping to talk about issues and building a sense of shared understanding and support. Markedly Dana spotlights the work of a voluntary drop in group called *'let's talk about it,'* organised by students and a school social worker in a health clinic for young people based in a school in Brooklyn.

**5. Youth programmes that are multi-generational and multi-ethnic and facilitate becoming more worldly.**

In response to a question about institutional racism and the impact of different ethnic communities living largely segregated lives Dana underscores the value in the multi-generational and multi-ethnic profile of the All star programmes underlining how a number of young people who are involved in the All Stars programmes have seldom been out of their neighbourhoods and so benefit from getting outside.

## **Findings from Semi-structured Interviews (South Wales)**

### **Findings from semi-structured interview with a community education officer in a community education council department**

The semi-structured interview with Rebecca a white female community education officer sought to explore her attitudes towards facilitating equality of access to education services.

Table \* summarises the findings in terms of the barriers to equality and Table \* summarises the findings in terms of the facilitators of equality. The findings are presented in two sections, the first in terms of the barriers and the second in terms of the facilitators.



Table 28: Findings of interview with Rebecca- barriers to equality

**Barriers to equality (Interview with Rebecca)**

1. Institutional barriers: families' alienation from the education system.
2. Culture of devaluating education.
3. Lack of skewed state funding for particular target areas.
4. School absence linked with 'Family sickness,' holidays, visiting relatives.
5. 'Inability of parents to support children.'
6. 'A number of factors' that act as barriers for disadvantaged communities.
7. Lack of basic reading skills of parents and children.
8. Prejudice stemming from family background.
9. Ignorance and fear of other cultures.
10. Narrowly focused, top down, tokenistic, process driven targets orientated cultures.
11. The UNCRC.

**1. Institutional barriers: families' alienation from the education system.**

Rebecca highlights the institutional barriers which can act as barriers and points to family disengagement with and alienation from education stemming from a failure by school to 'engage parents and parents' parents where education is not considered as valuable:

*'Some of the structures, some of the institutions themselves provide barriers but that's a whole new argument.'..... if you come from a background where school actually failed your parents and your parents parents lets say, they didn't have engagment with school and education and see it as a valuable way forward then you are less likely to be able to see it as a motivating factor.'....*

## **2. Culture of devaluing education.**

Here Rebecca cites a culture of opposition and devaluation of education as a key barrier; *'the problem is often our own indigenous people not respecting and not taking advantage of education.'*

## **3. Lack of skewed state funding for particular target areas.**

In the excerpt below Rebecca states that funding should be *'skewed'* and frontloaded to help children from particular target areas get a better start with programmes like Flying Start and Sure Start. Again Rebecca shows her desire to defend her position and the council's from scrutiny:

*Researcher: And would you say that there's any room for improvement in state funding for schools?*

*Rebecca: Are you interviewing me as an Officer of the Council or are you interviewing me as a personal person? (Rebecca laughs) I can't speak, my private opinions. If you're interviewing me as a council member I can't give you what I personally think except to say that I think the funding should be skewed and actually is in a way if you've got things like Flying Start and Sure Start, frontloading educational funding to give the children in the particular target areas extra funds to help them come up to, to address that deficit so that they do get a better start, that strikes me as being.*

## **4. School absence linked with 'Family sickness', holidays, visiting relatives.**

In the extract below Rebecca discusses the barriers in *'family practice'* and highlights how family learning from the community education department is designed to support families with engagement in education. Rebecca states that holiday, day trips, sickness and helping out with siblings because parents can't cope are all factors which interfere *'with a child's ability to take the most out of education.'* Rebecca also points out that culturally it may be as valid for students who visit family members abroad as students who miss school to visit the fair. In particular Rebecca emphasises that absence from school can affect educational development; *'that's often the way that we see people when they come to us as adult basic skills students, they've missed something crucial and they've never caught up'* Rebecca is also keen to highlight the barriers in family practice of the *'British born'* students; *'but that that's not contextualised in terms of the British born and remaining children who may miss school because the family values conflict with the structural values.'*

## **5. 'Inability of parents to support children.'**

Rebecca also highlights the barrier of parents are not able to support their children; *'It might be inability of parents to support the children in what I might think is an inappropriate fashion those are the sort of things I think'.*

## **6. A number of factors that act as barriers for disadvantaged communities.**

Here Rebecca suggests there are multiple factors which act as barriers to equality of access to education services; *'a number of different factors conspire together to make the universal provision for education we have in this country less likely to be taken up by certain sectors, disadvantaged sectors than others.'* In the excerpt below Rebecca highlights deprivation as a key barrier and points out that that \*\*\* has 2 or 3 of the most deprived (community first designated) areas and most wealthy areas in Wales:

*'Primarily, community first areas, and the community \*\*\* areas are worked out on the basis of a number of different socio-economic indicators that WAG, um the senders ue the the the the. Out of a 100 significant areas, micro wards as well in in in Wales, I think \*\*\*\* has about 10, and probably 2 or 3 of the top ten if you like in Wales. But also we have 2 or 3 of the wealthiest let's say um areas so so so quite a big difference, divergence in in catchment.'*

## **7. Lack of basic reading skills of parents and children.**

Rebecca underlines how enjoyment of reading and reading skills are often handed down from parents to children and points out that if that has not been a parent's experience then that parent is not likely to see any value in it and pass it on to his or her child:

*'That's another thing, if you if you had your parents telling you bedtime stories and things then you know what it's like, if your parents haven't done that or haven't been accustomed to do that then it doesn't come back to routine, you don't feel you've got to do it, if you've got a thing about not being good public speakers or reading out loud, if your basic skills yourselves if your own basic skills are not good reading a story out loud isn't going to be a number one priority.'*

## **8. Prejudice stemming from family background.**

In discussion of the negative portrayal of ethnic minority groups in the media and the impact this can have on people Rebecca suggests that prejudice derives from family background and how the school community has a duty to 'diffuse' it:

*'I I I I suppose that's where the role of the school community is vital isn't it to diffuse that sort of notion and to disarm the people and and of course the other children who are calling these names they that doesn't come out of nowhere that*

*comes from their background so the schools job then is to educate those children that that is not the way to behave.'*

### **9. Ignorance and fear of other cultures.**

In response to a question about the aims of fostering international relations in schools Rebecca stresses that discrimination is the result of a lack of knowledge and fear of difference; *'discrimination is a function of ignorance, ignorance and fear you know and the more you know the less afraid you are the less likely you are to hit out at people.'*

### **10. Narrowly focused, top down, tokenistic, process driven targets orientated cultures.**

In response to the question of how can the state, society and NGO organisations guard against children's rights in the UNCRC or the MDGs from being used in a largely rhetorical way Rebecca shows a strong dislike for the tick box culture:

*'If you're talking about er um um targets orientated cultures and the sort of outcomes related funding that you sometimes get I would personally I feel strongly that the whole culture of targets, box ticking, performance related outcomes is totally inimical to education it's not education its fascist, its void of educational purpose.'*

However Rebecca also recognises the need for setting standards and maintaining them; *'however, (laughing) however everybody subscribes to these values then I can see why the burocracy is we've got to get them doing it lets make sure the schools do such and such. I can see why its done.'* Rebecca also asserts that if schools and teachers are well motivated and have adequate resources then intervention should not be necessary:

*'But it's sledgehammer and nut time isn't it, whereas if you if you have a trained supported motivated teaching workforce who believe which believes in the process and what they are trying to do, you could say there are lots of different viewpoints nowadays aren't there about what is appropriate but if you have a well-motivated school, um well motivated teachers with resources adequate to the variety of issues that come their way then you should be able to I would think that you should be able to trust the head teacher and the senior management and the individual teachers to teach the best they can.'*

Here Rebecca points out that whilst she can see value in the arguments for and against target driven cultures, she gives the example of testing like SATS to demonstrate her view that target driven assessments like that are too narrowly focused and are often more about politics than education:

*'However for the past 20 years if not longer it's been process driven top down driven and they've been forced to focus on issues which might have been neglected in the past I can see both sides but the result has been more perhaps in England than Wales that it's been narrowly focused on on outcomes and SATS and testing which is not necessarily educational but its politics isn't it.'*

#### **11. The UNCRC.**

In response to the question how useful do you think the UNCRC is in a practical sense, Rebecca's answer suggests she perceives problems with the UNCRC as many of its values are not universally accepted: *'but of course they are value laden and not all the values are values which have universal consent some are particularly about the right of girls to education which you know is not universally accepted so.'*

Table 29: Findings of interview with Rebecca- facilitators of equality

**Facilitators of Equality (Interview with Rebecca)**

1. Funding to tackle discrimination.
2. More skewed, frontloading of educational funding for particular target areas.
3. Confidence in own skills e.g. reading.
4. State programmes like free school meals,  
Flying Start, Sure Start and Language of Play.
5. Family learning programme.
6. Support for ethnic minority communities from family learning programme.
7. EMLAS Ethinc Minority Language Achievement Service.
8. Race awareness scheme and advisor.
9. Community relations groups run by police in a town in South Wales.
10. School councils in developing active citizens.
11. Curriculum requirement: Diversity, and Education for Sustainable Development and Global Citizenship.
12. Training tutors in the philosophy for children creating a community of enquiry which centre on the entitlement dimensions of the UNCRC in developing active citizens.
13. Showing children and young people how they can make a difference.
14. School communities that diffuse prejudice addressing what lies beneath manifestations' of racism and zenophobia.
15. The impact of the media in supporting immigrants and asylum seekers and dispelling myths.
16. Multiculturalist approach of international linking and exchanges between schools.

### **1. Funding to tackle discrimination.**

In response to the question how do you think witting or unwitting racial discrimination affects children in terms of their experience of education Rebecca emphasises that there are '*considerable funds*', '*I can tell you that there are considerable funds put to trying to address the needs.*'

### **2. More skewed, frontloading of educational funding for particular target areas.**

In response to the question what are the main barriers to children and young people's equality of access to education services Rebecca suggests that more funding should be directed into service provision in target areas;

*'I think the funding should be skewed and actually is in a way if you've got things like Flying Start and Sure Start, frontloading educational funding to give the children in the particular target areas extra funds to help them come up to, to address that deficit so that they do get a better start, that strikes me as being.'*

### **3. Confidence in own skills e.g. reading.**

In the following text Rebecca illustrates how the family learning programme can help a parent and child gain enjoyment in reading and confidence in his or her own reading skills which will then facilitate enjoyment of reading and educational development; '*All this is conducive to helping the child enjoy learning and enjoy read, just sitting reading and talking.*'

*'The schools have found that the children quickly get to appreciate that either mum or dad or grandmamma or even a friend sometimes of the mum who is out at work a friend will come in and do it for the mum er so that they can model it for the um mum when they are home um the children really appreciate it, don't miss a session, oh mum you've got to you can't miss Thursday. They really enjoy it, they get a lot out of it and of course the parents get more confidence themselves in their capacity.'*

### **4. State programmes like free school meals, Flying Start, Sure Start and Language of Play.**

Here Rebecca highlights a number of state run programmes that help to support children and young people's engagement in education;

*'We've got the structures, we've got the provision, things like Flying Start, Sure Start, Language of Play, what we do Family Learning are all their to support engagement in education. if you've got things like Flying Start and Sure Start,*

*frontloading educational funding to give the children in the particular target areas extra funds to help them come up to, to address that deficit model so that they do get a better start, that strikes me as being.'*

### **5. Family learning programme.**

Rebecca showcases the work of the community education department in the family learning programme and outlines the processes involved emphasising that the *'idea is that we show the parents how to support the children in simple things. All this is is conducive to helping the ch, the child enjoy learning and enjoy read, just sitting reading and talking, all that sort of thing.'* Rebecca describes the process of how tutors work with parents and their children to support them in developing education and gives an example of work with primary age children and their parents:

*'It might be looking at a storybook, a common book like the very hungry caterpillar, and they've got a story sack so the, the, our tutor will go through the story use the little um story sack of items that we have got in there to look at, the caterpillar eating then turning into a butterfly and showing the parents how to tell a story, interact with the children and ask questions about the number of items the caterpillar is eating, do you see what I mean. It might be a story it might be number rhymes. It depends on what the teacher in the school has said that they actually want to focus on.'*

In response to a question about how the support is received by the students and parents Rebecca states that it is received well; *'Yeah I would say and the schools yeah, well it is well received... They really enjoy it, they get a lot out of it and of course the parents get more confidence themselves in their capacity.'* Rebecca continues by highlighting how it is well funded by the council, the county, schools agency funds and European funds; *'and the county has historically supported it very well much better than in other local authorities. So we use European funds, we use basic schools agency funds but we also have core money from the council which has enabled us to do it so.'*

### **6. Support for ethnic minority communities from the family learning programme.**

In discussion of asylum seekers and immigrant children who may be included in family learning programmes Rebecca highlights the family learning classes that the department runs for ethnic minority families who may need extra support and notes that they put on an extra class to try and encourage more engagement with the Bangladeshi community;

*'this last year we thought well we're not getting the Bangladeshi mothers, just use that as a short-hand we're not getting them coming along to the family learning programme so we put on a special programme, an extra class if you*



*like this year with an English native Bangladeshi speaker but also English uh um you know mother tongue speaker as well um member of staff to help translate for various mums who weren't very good at English so we have another programme to show them various things and actually it was a little bit difficult because trying to capture a viable group, it was a really good group of about 12 or 13 you know um meant that we were working across a number of different age groups so not just in reception but higher up in um key stage 2 as well so you have to differentiate some of the stories and some of the resources.'*

## **7. EMLAS Ethnic Minority Language Achievement Service.**

In response to a question about how racial discrimination affects children in terms of their experience of education Rebecca highlights the work that the Ethnic Minority Language Achievement Service carries out with ethnic minority communities to help support language learning;

*'So we've got a system, most places do but in \*\*\* its called EMLAS Ethnic Minority Language Achievement Service And they provide, I think they use Home Office funding, section 11 funding it seems to me and other additional funding strings to provide um language support for teachers to give particular instruction for children and to support the families as well. So some of the ethnic minority support workers, the bilingual support workers work with the children in schools and sometimes also the parents to aid that understanding. So that's gotta be a good thing.'*

## **8. Race awareness scheme and advisor.**

When asked how she dealt with issues related to racial discrimination in schools or in community groups, Rebecca highlights the race awareness scheme and advisor from the education department and describes the protocol for dealing with racial discrimination;

*'I know that there's a structure for dealing with issues to do with race awareness and um the education department has a representative \*\*\*\* who is one of the advisors who is designated as the person responsible for addressing these things. Now there's a race awareness scheme, well corporate strategists set up this scheme a number of years ago and um I think all schools are involved, the idea being that if anybody became aware of any issue that needed attention they then would report it to the head teacher who would take action and so er obviously if if you're not satisfied with that then you would refer to \*\*\* \*\*\* And he would then look into it further.'*

## **9. Community relations groups run by police in town in South Wales.**

Similarly, when asked how she dealt with issues related to racial discrimination in schools or in community groups, Rebecca highlights the police organised communities relations group which she used to attend which try to get a diverse representation of people who practice different religions:

*'I know the police have set up a communities' relations group. Um I used to go along to it actually for a while but you know my workload has changed and my focus has changed so I I I don't any longer unfortunately but um I know they have, used to I'd be surprised if they didn't actually have regular meetings with community groups to get a broad representation from a number of different faith based and also ethnic based um peoples and I know that \*\*\* \*\*\*.'*

## **10. School councils in developing active citizens.**

In response to a question about the influence of the UNCRC and the dangers of tokenism Rebecca suggests that school councils help model democracy and help to develop children and young people into becoming active citizens;

*'If you are educating children at all you will be educating all the time in conflict resolution because the playground arguments for instance is part of looking at justice and equity and all that sort of thing well that's not tokenistic that's real education for citizenship so all these things and school councils deciding on appropriate policies for the schools and what we think is going to be the rule of this school and how we behave to each other if those are the things that are worked out by the school council, representative school councils elected by the children in each class well then they're modelling representative democracy which is the way we work things, well that can't be tokenistic if it's done properly.'*

## **11. Curriculum requirement: Diversity and Education for sustainable development and global citizenship.**

In the following excerpt Rebecca emphasises the importance of the concept of diversity being integrated throughout the curriculum:

*'Diversity really is is the key isn't it and I think that if you if you found a school that didn't have celebrating diversity as one of their focae then that would be an unusual school all the primary schools have schools councils and I think that may well be a good way to develop them as active citizens. Education for sustainable development and global citizenship: The Welsh Assembly actually is is I don't know if it's using it but its unusual because it's got a focus on looking outwards you know so they've got this emphasis on addressing issues of education for sustainable development and global citizenship.'*

Also Rebecca highlights a distinction between Welsh and English programming where the Welsh emphasis is on global citizenship and she contrasts this with the counterpart

programme in England that emphasises citizenship as opposed to global citizenship; *'In England they teach citizenship, here it's global citizenship so there's a slight difference but of course it isn't only one word.'*

Notably here Rebecca highlights that the schools have a statutory duty and the children and young people have an entitlement to learn about diversity in all subject areas and that Wales is the only country that has ESB in its constitution:

*'Um when they setup the Welsh Assembly in the devolution instrument they set up a statutory duty to promote the SD, and the sustainable development is a central priority and consequently sustainability and the global nature of the way we live is one of the, the I don't think there's any other country that has that in their enabling or in their constitution which is quite you know quite good um and so if you look at the curricula instruments, requirements, then, uh, ESB is sort of suffused throughout the whole thing so all the schools have got to teach it in all different ways and not just putting it in a little box.'*

## **12. Training tutors in the philosophy for children creating a community of enquiry which centres on the entitlement dimensions of the UNCRC in developing active citizens.**

In response to a question about the influence of the UNCRC on her work Rebecca highlights the philosophy for children training session which the council are supporting that has the aim of developing schools as 'a community of enquiry' and is centred around forwarding entitlement dimensions connected with the UNCRC:

*'I'm putting on a training session for our tutors in December on philosophy for children now philosophy for children is becoming quite big. So the idea is to develop schools as a community of enquiry, obviously you know education is about thinking about issues not just received opinions. The chap who is organising it part of what he wants to talk about is the rights of the child about entitlement dimensions and about how important it is to think about the processes you know not just going to school because you have to but what it's for, how it can help you what the process is and how to make, how to help children become active citizens.'*

## **13. Showing children and young people how they can make a difference.**

In response to a question about how to prevent children and young people's rights being used in a rhetorical, tokenistic manner Rebecca suggests that teaching has to provide particular examples of:

*'How children and young people can make a difference and make sure that they understand that if they do do something active it can have an effect.'*  
*'I think you've got to make sure that the teaching you do show's examples of how children and young people can make a difference and and make sure that*

*the the teachers and I'm sure that I'm I'm I'm barely happy that they will do this because that's how you engage with children isn't is to take the general and give particular instances.'*

#### **14. School communities that diffuse prejudice addressing what lies beneath manifestations' of racism and xenophobia.**

In the following excerpt, in response to discussion of the impact of the negative portrayal of immigrants and asylum seekers by sections of the media Rebecca underlines the role of the school community in diffusing prejudice and racism and suggests the need to focus on the background of children as a way of tackling prejudice:

*'I suppose that's where the role of the school community is vital isn't it to diffuse that sort of notion and to disarm the people and of course the other children who are calling these names they that doesn't come out of nowhere that comes from their background so the schools job then is to educate those children that that is not the way to behave.'*

#### **15. The Impact of the Media in supporting immigrants and asylum seekers and dispelling myths.**

In response to discussion of the impact of the negative portrayal of immigrants and asylum seekers by sections of the media, Rebecca highlights how the media can play a part in raising public awareness of the difficulties immigrants and asylum seekers often face and for gaining public support of immigrants and asylum seekers:

*'There's been a huge furore about this, what's the matter with the people you know, let the man, let the boy go to the college and so that's where the media can be really helpful um like the chap from Nepal who's VC and had been turned down by some functional bureaucrat somewhere, well there was a huge firth about that and eventually they obviously.'*

Also Rebecca points out how the myths and stereotypes about immigrants and asylum seekers which are often forwarded by sections of the media can be dispelled by getting to know immigrant and asylum seekers families in the community and perceiving commonalities:

*'You see the thing is sometimes if you read the paper you think all asylum-seekers are invaders and job robbers and whathaveyou, terrorists, but if you live near a community and you get to know individual families you find out that that we're all looking for the same thing, aren't we, we all want to look after our children and so families who are in a community where communities can see that they are good people and well they take to them and they'll fight for them and so there'll be lots of cases like that, aren't there, not enough.'*

## **16. Multiculturalist approach of international linking and exchanges between schools.**

In response to a question about the impact of fostering international relations on children and young people in schools Rebecca highlights a number of programmes and funders and gives some examples of inter-school project topics which have focussed on areas like anti-bullying, access to water and issues connected with AIDS. Rebecca asserts that it would be more educationally valuable if more secondary schools participated in international linking programmes; *'There are so many lessons that they learn. And of course its valuable in primary school it would be even more valuable if more secondary schools got doing it and we're we're hoping to get more secondary schools doing linking this year.'* Additionally Rebecca emphasises a multiculturalist approach in education with a focus on setting up links and exchanges with schools and highlights the application of a statutory plan to help secondary schools with funding for exchanges. In discussion of a school exchange between a school in Orkney and a school in Johannesburg, Rebecca highlights the significant inequalities of access to education that the students from the partner school in Johannesburg contend with compared to schools in the U.K. Rebecca describes how one student a week from the partner school in Johannesburg is awarded half an hour on a computer for good motivation or good behaviour and has to walk for miles to charge the battery that runs the computer and says, *'now if you tell children that in this country isn't that a powerful thing for them to learn isn't it and also the value that children place on school over there, it's brilliant.'*

## **Findings from semi-structured interviews (North England)**

### **Findings from semi-structured interview with a professor of social policy/social work in a university**

The semi-structured interview with Emily a black female professor of social policy and social work sought to explore her attitudes towards facilitating equality of access to education services.

Table \* summarises the findings in terms of the barriers to equality and Table \* summarises the findings in terms of the facilitators of equality. The findings are presented in two sections, the first in terms of the barriers and the second in terms of the facilitators.

**Barriers to equality (Interview with Emily)**

1. Lack of information about available services.
2. Gatekeepers who deny people access to services.
3. Influential community mediators who assist in excluding people from accessing services.
4. Non-identification with services offered.
5. Institutional cultures which inhibit equality.
6. Mistrust of advice from people representing organisations.
7. Social services not getting information into particular communities.
8. Lack of ethnic diversity in an organisation.
9. Physical barriers to access like transport and rural locations.
10. Lack of commitment to legislative changes in equality law.
11. Deep discriminations embedded in society.
12. Less progressive attitudes in society towards disability.
13. A homogenisation/generic dealing of inequalities by the impending Equality Act.
14. 'Lethargy in public services' and 'tick box approaches.'
15. 'Those who speak loudest take control' –issues of power and participation.
16. Racism, tokenism and multiculturalism.
17. Favouring ethnocentric policy and practice for the white Welsh majority.
18. Narrow, ethnocentric definitions of national identity in society and the state.
19. Low confidence/low self-esteem and link to perceiving difference as a threat.
20. Equality directives in education which don't focus on monitoring and assessing the student and staff profiles in schools highlighting how many students and staff of ethnic minority backgrounds are in schools.
21. '*A profound sense of unbelonging, of lack of fit*' and feeling like '*an outsider*' due to being perceived as not being part of the national collective because of skin colour.
22. The oppression by some people who adhere to the Imagined communities and narrowly defined national identity conceptualisation of 'proper Welsh' on ethnic minority people in Wales.
23. The oppression and exploitation of people by the global sugar and slate industry in former colonies and in Wales.

### **Barriers to equality continued (Interview with Emily)**

24. Bland universalism of all arms of the state in 50s and 60s Wales with an absence of emphasis on diversity and multiculturalism.
25. Messages of unbelonging in intellectual Wales.
26. A friend of Emily's who is a member of a black community in Cardiff has a strong local identity '*a kind of Welsh blackness*' but did not identify with any sense of Welsh national identity.
27. Difficulties the Commission for racial equality faced meant that its impact was more limited.
28. Equality commission has been quite '*inward looking.*'

### **Findings of semi-structured Interview with Emily**

#### **Barriers to equality**

##### **1. Lack of information about available services.**

Here Emily asserts that a lack of information is a significant barrier to equality and highlights the need to address the dissemination of information through assessment of how people use information, how they access it and how they interpret what they are being given:

*'You don't know what you don't know so information must be a huge barrier if you um are not aware of services that are available to you or things that you could have or opportunities you're hardly likely to be putting yourself forward and you're certainly not going to access them so there's a whole big issue there about getting information to people and how people use information um and how they access information and how they interpret what you're giving them so I think that can be one big area.'*



## **2. Gatekeepers who deny people access to services.**

In the excerpt below Emily highlights how gatekeepers can deny people access to services and underlines how vulnerable groups may be especially reliant on gatekeepers:

*'They're very significant in young people's lives in terms of facilitating or denying um access to certain things whether they encourage and support people, whether they advocate for them, whether they you know they're quite reliant on these mediators. So you know that particularly for the young and vulnerable, you know even if you're not young if you're older, but more in one of the more vulnerable groups you may be reliant on key gatekeepers and that could be somebody like a receptionist or it could be somebody like a social worker or it could be somebody like a careers advisor.'*

## **3. Influential community mediators who assist in excluding people from accessing services.**

Here Emily points to the importance of trust in making decisions and the barrier of influential mediators in the community who may assist in excluding people from accessing services and who are approached because they are recognised in the community as trustworthy:

*'There are important kind of community mediators and if people say to you oh that's good you can go or you should go or that's not good, there are kind of key credible people in certain communities or networks who push people towards services or assist in excluding them from services and that was particularly prevalent in minority groups because there's a lot of things there's a big thing about trust you know whether you trust a service um to be good.'*

## **4. Non identification with services offered.**

Emily emphasis in the following excerpt highlights how non identification with a service is a barrier as it puts the potential service user off from using it. In particular Emily stresses how this non-identification is often linked to fear of stigmatisation and who people perceive services are designed for:

*'There's certainly um a whole dimension that's to do with is that for me you know where the person either identifies with what's on offer and therefore takes it up and can you know utilise it or they see it as either stigmatising or um you know they don't fit it or um you know they classify themselves out or they classify themselves in so there's again another big area there I suppose about um identification, um a big area I suppose about stigma and um I mean if you just think about something like free school meals or um I don't know going to have um sex education or whatever you know um how that person sees who that service is for or and whether they're part of that group or not will affect whether they take it up.'*

## **5. Institutional cultures which inhibit equality.**

Emily underlines how the set-up of institutions and the people who work in them can inhibit equality in a myriad of ways which may either attract or detract individuals from using services. In particular Emily highlights institutions which have a lot of discretion:

*'Institutional cultures you know the way they operate and who they think their services are for and the kind of decisions that are made within them um institutions where there's a lot of discretion you know um social work is a very good example of that, where they each individual is operating either in a discriminatory or a facilitating way...in the whole way the institution presents itself, its staffing profile, um the kind of visual images it has put about, um layout, where it is, um you know a whole number of things can be affecting whether people come forward or whether they don't for a service.'*

## **6. Mistrust of advice from people representing organisations.**

Here Emily points to one of the findings from a study she carried out with people from ethnic communities where she found that participants said they depended on the advice of other members of their community as they trusted that advice more than advice from officialdom:

*'They prefer to ask family and friends for advice about things you know um and there's this whole thing about um whether they trust the advice of the CAB worker or the you know welfare rights worker, or whatever it's more mediated within the community, oh that's a good person to go to or don't bother with that one or they won't take any notice or they don't understand you know it was like that kind of thing.'*

## **7. Social services not getting information into particular communities.**

In the extract below Emily underscores the importance of looking at the most effective ways of communicating messages into particular communities and suggests that social services are not as good at disseminating messages as public health services are; *'and I suppose that people in things like public health know all of this about how to get messages into particular communities and about how to get information into particular communities but maybe we're not so good at that in social services perhaps.'*

## **8. Lack of ethnic diversity in an organisation.**

The lack of ethnic diversity in an organisation's staff presents itself as a barrier to some people from ethnic minority communities who do not feel that the organisation identifies with them or that they can identify with the organisation:

*'People do feel that you know ethnic or tribal differences that are carried cross nationally might be applying um certainly I remember when I was working in*

*the race equality network in Cardiff the fact that it was seen to be largely a black afro-Caribbean organisation rather than an Asian organisation meant that you know some people were deterred from it so you know those things do pertain.'*

### **9. Physical barriers to access like transport and rural locations.**

Here Emily identifies physical barriers which may prevent people from accessing services. These include living in rural locations where people may experience a lack of close access to services and a lack of access to transport:

*'um just the fact that physically there are barriers for some people they can't ac, it might be transport barriers or you know the fact they live in rural areas or you know the fact that those facilities aren't you know in their communities but are some distance away or you know those kinds of barriers.'*

### **10. Lack of commitment to legislative changes in equality law.**

Emily stresses that a key barrier to equality is tied to a resistance to, a lack of commitment to and a lack of knowledge about how to interpret legislative changes in equality law; noting that legislation is *'an important driver but often a weak one'* as there is *'lack of commitment to it, ignorance about interpreting it, 'a lot of resistance to it', where 'people interpret that it means a lot of power for them.'*

### **11. Deep discriminations embedded in society.**

Here Emily points to the challenges to equality in the face of tackling 'deep discriminations' which have become normalised in 'everyday encounters' and are 'culturally embedded' in society:

*'I think um there's a whole area that is very hard to tackle at the level of the banal the everyday, how we relate to each other and our expectations, who we think we are and who we think others are and um deep deep discriminations are embedded in our society and I don't just mean in relation to race, I mean in relation to able bodiness and gender and you know all kinds of things and we have everyday encounters with those and um that's the work of equality.'*

In particular Emily points towards gender discrimination as being especially hard to tackle as to a large extent it has become normalised and accepted in society:

*'I think gender is probably one of the hardest for us to see because you know it's one of the hardest inequalities for us to see and acknowledge because it's kind of hm I can't say it's not because it's not conspicuous because it is it's just kind of women and men have accepted the prevailing order of the prevailing discourse to a large extent and it's so culturally embedded it's very difficult for us to you know push it.'*

## **12. Less progressive attitudes in society towards disability.**

In the following extract Emily asserts that society is very much segregated in relation to those who have disabilities and those who do not and suggests that public attitudes are lagging behind the legislation and public policy on disability:

*'Less progressive attitudes towards disability for example on the whole are appalling people are inept despite the clear messages that are coming from legislation and policy. People don't have the language or the way of working with it because we've lived in a very segregated society in terms of ability and disability.'*

## **13. A homogenisation/generic dealing of inequalities by the impending Equality Act.**

Here Emily highlights concerns with the 2010 Equality Act. Emily points out that the generic groupings of inequalities in the impending Equality Act could be viewed as a basis for the state to provide fewer services and less appropriate services. In particular Emily points out that many inequalities are not represented in the groupings; *'there are many forms of inequality that aren't accommodated by those 5 or 9 of 7 big groupings depending on which of the nations you are in that are recognised.'* Furthermore, Emily argues that the 2010 Equality act seems to obscure the fact that whilst sharing commonalities inequalities are different, and should not be approached as exactly the same;

*'The difficulty that I have is that different levels of inequality that you experience even in terms of someone who is managing multiple identity or multiple discriminations they're different they're not the same and there's this kind of rush to sameness that I think suggests that we're assuming that the processes involved in how people are treated and what the way forward is for them and um what will address their experiences of inequality are somehow the same, I think that's a false assumption.'*

Additionally, further on towards the end of the interview Emily highlights the Stephen Lawrence inquiry which established a very important amendment to the race relations act which meant that all authorities throughout the U.K. were required by law to address a race equality agenda. In discussion of this Emily underlines her concerns that institutions who are only starting to address a race equality agenda might be able to hide from their responsibilities under the more homogenized generic approach of the 2010 equality act: *'That's another fear about the new equality bill that those authorities that*

*were only just you know clocking onto the idea that they did have a responsibility might find plenty of places to hide under this more homogenized generic approach.'*

#### **14. 'Lethargy in public services' and 'tick box approaches.'**

Here Emily underlines the dangers of institutional lethargy and the adoption of tick box approaches noting that these are particular concerns in relation to the generic construction of the 2010 Equality Act stating that historically institutions have been incompetent at responding to tackling inequalities, consequently Emily doubts that the 2010 Equality Act will mean that institutions will be more competent at tackling inequalities:

*'Because institutions up to now have been inept at responding to those issues on an individual level on a group level they've been inept and they've been reluctant and we know that, there's plenty of evidence to suggest that so why are they going to be doubly or more competent now when they have to consider things in a much more generic way, they're actually not more competent so there's a worry about um a lethargy in local government, a lethargy in public services around this issue or the tick box kind of approach.'*

#### **15. 'Those who speak loudest take control' –issues of power and participation.**

Here Emily highlights issues of power and participation which were faced through the implementation of the communities first anti-poverty strategy and emphasised that whilst the strategy had good aims its working out was problematical in terms of gaining equality of representation as not all voices were heard;

*'It falls foul of all the issues that we know about participation, about um you know those who speak loudest um take control and it's not necessarily all voices that get heard, about people not necessarily having the capacity or feeling equipped to um engage appropriately.'*

#### **16. Racism, tokenism and multiculturalism.**

In the following excerpt Emily underlines the dangers of tokenistic approaches to forwarding equality and outlines the need for a politics of interrogation of the national majority, of what it means to be Welsh suggesting an interrogation '*about those deep, searching questions of national identity.*'

*'The true issue for Wales isn't about um focusing on minority difference , celebrating it and you know exalting it by putting it on posters and all the rest of it, it's much more about questioning what is Welshness, what is Wales, what is the national story, what are we constructing through devolution is it a Welsh assembly based on some idea of Welsh ethnicity that is exclusive or are we telling a new story in Wales and are we questioning where we've been where we*

*are now and where we're going so the interrogation is of the national majority not of looking and celebrating and speculating about um the range of minority groups that we've got in Wales and aren't they.'*

Further Emily points to the need to interrogate the embedding and implementation of multiculturalism in education, assessing its impact, how teachers are trained:

*'I also know that then they went into a lot of, they developed a lot of strategies in terms of um embedding multicultural what they call multicultural education into the curriculum in Wales. And I don't think anybody's really written about what it is, how its impacted has it made a difference, how are the teachers trained, has teacher training changed um you know how are schools approaching that agenda.'*

Additionally Emily points to the need to interrogate and to challenge tokenistic approaches to multiculturalism which focus largely on looking at superficial manifestations of culture; *'and I'm sure schools continue to have these days when um they have you know somebody from the local community comes in and cooks different food and they talk about different countries but that's not multicultural education.'*

#### **17. Favouring ethnocentric policy and practice for the white Welsh majority.**

Here Emily criticises the exclusive, narrow versions of national identity, of what it is to be Welsh pointing out the prevalence of ethnicised constructions of national identity:

*'We've um actually fallen foul of some very very exclusive and small, narrow versions of what it what it is to be Welsh and and they're quite exclusive and it's often associated with the language or with history or where you live or who your parents are, blood, soil and you know language kind of thing um very much based on ethnicized versions of national identity.'*

Furthermore Emily also criticises ethnocentric policy and practice which aims at prioritising the white Welsh majority and warns of the dangers in too great a prevalence of Welsh language only posts. Additionally Emily highlights that this ethnocentrism is seen in practice in North Wales:

*'In practice we actually see some very exclusive, ringfenced practice, which is a little bit troubling and particularly in the North of Wales. For example in the North of Wales you might have um a linguistic minority who select and offer jobs and opportunities and posts based on Welsh language, which you can understand, but on the other hand it's not going to make for a diverse, vibrant, up to date, contemporary Wales with that, if it prevails too much, that might be training opportunities for nursing, it might be you know selection of I don't know key public service post or even in schools to a certain level.'*

**18. Narrow, ethnocentric definitions of national identity in society and the state.**

Here Emily points to ethnocentrism in society and the state and notes that whilst Plaid Cymru has tried to move away from exclusive, narrow versions of being Welsh in society some people still identify themselves with a narrow and exclusive understanding of Welsh national identity and by doing so exclude others who do not fit their narrow ethnicised constructions of national identity:

*'Plaid Cymru as the nationalist party has changed its tune significantly over the past 10 years, it signals itself as the party of the people of Wales and it's been very keen to kind of disassociate itself from that quite narrow um definition of national identity that it carried before um but at the everyday level people still think in those kind of tramlines and act in those kind of tramlines.'*

**19. Low confidence/low self-esteem and link to perceiving difference as a threat.**

In the following extract Emily makes a link between Wales not being 'a very confident nation' and manifestations of ethnocentrism pointing out how low confidence often means that difference is perceived as a threat as opposed to feeling able to welcome it:

*'I suppose the real issue we've got in Wales is that we're not a very confident nation so people perceive difference as a threat rather than feeling they can accommodate it and we can still have a strong Welsh nation and so we've got that kind of tension that runs through a lot of things we do in Wales.'*

**20. Equality directives in education which don't focus on monitoring and assessing the student and staff profiles in schools highlighting how many students and staff of ethnic minority backgrounds are in schools.**

Here Emily emphasises how she considers that historically equality directives in education have not focused on monitoring and assessing the curriculum or the student and staff profiles in schools with a focus on interrogating the curriculum and highlighting how many students and staff of ethnic minority backgrounds are in schools:

*'I think it's been much more about the monitoring um collecting data and not you know student pupil data, student profiles, that kind of thing ...' 'I couldn't comment on the extent to which they have really looked at the curriculum, developed the curriculum, whether they're looking at staff profiles across Wales in terms of records of ethnic minority teachers, teachers from ethnic minority backgrounds etc. etc.'*

**21. A profound sense of unbelonging, of lack of fit and feeling like an outsider due to being perceived as not being part of the national collective because of skin colour.**

In the excerpt that follows Emily underlines ‘*a profound sense of unbelonging, of lack of fit*’ that she has experienced living in Wales feeling excluded from the national collective because of the colour of her skin:

*‘Well, my mother’s Welsh, and Welsh by hundreds and hundreds and hundreds of years of heritage if you know what I mean, Welsh speaking and in terms of how people profile Welsh identity you know proper Welsh that’s what she was and of course my father’s from the Caribbean from Guyana and my entire education has been In Wales from the age of you know 4 when I stepped into the school right until I got my PhD yeah, I’ve grown up entirely in Wales and my home is still remains in Wales and I married a Welshman etc etc. However, the sense that I grew up with was that I clearly wasn’t Welsh um the kind of I mean I think it’s changed now I have to say um but I’m talking about what I described in um \*\*\* was a profound sense of unbelonging of lack of fit of the fact that there wasn’t a perception of you as being part of the national collective, but you were somehow an outsider and would always be an outsider simply by virtue of the colour of your skin and that kind of was what I tried to illustrate in a lot of different stories and different ways in \*\*\* to er, as part of that interrogation project.’*

**22. The oppression by some people who adhere to the Imagined communities, narrowly defined conceptualisation of national identity of ‘proper Welsh’ upon ethnic minority people in Wales.**

In the extract below Emily underlines the dichotomy between belonging and not belonging, between inclusion and exclusion where she contrasts herself through her mother challenging the narrow ethnicised versions of national identity at work and arguing instead for a plurality of ways of being Welsh:

*‘And I kind of contrast myself through the book through my mother who would be clearly identifiable in the imagined community as proper Welsh because she had the linguistic ability, she had the heritage and she came from a very well-known Welsh community...so I was trying to contrast my identity with that acceptable identity and say hey you know there are many ways of being Welsh and just anybody stand up and tell me that I’m not kind of thing.’*

**23. The oppression and exploitation of people by the global sugar and slate industry in former colonies and in Wales.**

In the following text Emily’s deliberate construction of an ‘*awkward juxtaposition*’ between sugar and slate is designed to highlight the ‘*commodities of empire and exploitation*’ related to the global sugar and slate industries drawing parallels with the oppression and exploitation of people by the global industries in the sugar plantation communities of former British colonies and in the mining communities of Wales:



*'A community that had been largely oppressed by the um massive er global slate industry... So that is the kind of message of \*\*\* um and it's a message of contrasts because everybody expects it to be sugar and spice and of course its \*\*\* and \*\*\* which is an awkward juxtaposition, you know why are you putting those two commodities together, well they're both commodities of empire, they're both commodities of exploitation etc.'*

#### **24. Bland universalism of all arms of the state in 50s and 60s Wales with an absence of emphasis on diversity and multiculturalism.**

Here Emily emphasises the dangers of universalism where there is no space given for diversity. In particular Emily criticises the state for showing no regard for forwarding multiculturalism:

*'As I was growing up there was no messages coming from the state in whichever of its arms you look at, legislatively, through the media, through policy and practice through you know local government or whatever there were no absolutely no messages that suggested um the notion of multiculturalism, the notion that you know Wales is made up of a number of different people with different heritages etc etc.'*

Furthermore, Emily illustrates this failure of the state to engage with multiculturalism with the experience she had growing up where there was no emphasis on diversity and multiculturalism, there was no 'sense of interchange' and underlines the negative effect that can have 'that can be very damaging':

*'It wasn't in my schooling I think in the period of my schooling I think described how I would go um away to Africa to my father's birth place and then come back into the classroom in North Wales and it was a though you'd just stepped out to the loo nobody would ask you anything about it you know you didn't have anything to bring or to offer um the whole sense of interchange it was just bland universalism um and you know that can be that can be very damaging.'*

#### **25. Messages of unbelonging in intellectual Wales.**

In the following excerpt Emily highlights the racism and the 'messages of unbelonging' which exist within 'intellectual and intelligent Wales'. Here Emily highlights an incident where the intention of the perpetrator seems to be to make Emily feel like she has only succeeded in her career because of being noticed more because of the colour of her skin being brought up in a largely white community in North Wales:

*'A woman said to me oh it's funny isn't it if you had been brought up in \*\*\* or \*\*\* you would have been totally unremarkable, nobody would have um noticed you know or you wouldn't have been kind of an important or anything of interest because you come from North Wales you have struck an interesting kind of story and I thought that was highly offensive because I thought what she was saying was this is tokenism, oh we're interested in you momentarily because you're actually not what we know or where we think black people belong ie \*\*\* or*

*\*\*\*...so even in kind of intellectual and intelligent Wales there are these um messages of unbelonging.'*

**26. A friend of Emily's who is a member of a black community in Cardiff has a strong local identity 'a kind of Welsh blackness' but does not identify with any sense of Welsh national identity.**

Here Emily stresses the impact of discourses of unbelonging and exclusion which stem from narrow definitions of what it means to be Welsh. Emily underlines that whilst a friend of hers has a strong local identity 'a kind of Welsh blackness' she does not identify with any sense of a collective Welsh national identity:

*'They didn't identify with Wales per se in any or either sense of Welsh national identity...she would have said I'm from Cardiff (with a Cardiff accent) you know she would have just said a local identity if you know what I mean I don't think she would have said I'm Welsh in that respect or she might have said I'm from Wales but um you know I don't think she at that time certainly she would have identified with Welshness.'*

**27. Difficulties the Commission for racial equality faced meant that its impact was more limited.**

Emily highlights that the commission had a difficult time because particularly pre devolution 'it wasn't a high profile body' and additionally it 'grappled' with issues connected to 'Welsh language' and 'underresourcing.' In the following passage Emily points to the difficulties that the commission for racial equality encountered pre and post devolution which meant that it was not as effective as it could have been in bringing about change:

*'How effective it was in terms of reaching communities and engaging with the community I doubt it probably was very effective, how effective it was in tackling issues of discrimination in Wales more broadly at an institutional level um it was patchy, probably did some good work with some organisations and everything or highlighted some key discrimination cases that sent messages and so on but I don't think it was ever a very strong body. And of course I stayed up with it until its demise when it became the equality part of the equality commission in 2007... I don't think it had huge impact I think it had presence but I'm not sure it had huge impact in terms of um shifting the agenda....'*

**28. Equality commission has been quite 'inward looking.'**

Here Emily points to the dangers of the equality commission being too 'inward looking' in that its impact across Wales in all areas may be hampered because of that:

*'The general sense is that it's been inward looking trying to sort out its own business and find its level and work out how its going to work for the last 2 or 3*

*years or so. It has done some good its produced some good research papers and some good evidence but that's kind of my sense of it I haven't really felt its arms er reaching out across Wales yet.'*

### **Facilitators of equality (Interview with Emily)**

1. More access to appropriate information about services.
2. Gatekeepers who facilitate people's access to services.
3. Influential community mediators who facilitate people's access to services.
4. Address the stigmatisation often attached to service provision.
5. A critical/significant other/event which/who has helped to support an individual.
6. Legislation.
7. Changing attitudes and providing role models through imaging society by powerful forms of media with representation from different minority backgrounds.
8. The work of equality – tackling inequality in everyday interactions, shaping, reshaping and negotiating in society.
9. Bottom up multiculturalism.
10. Influence of progressive informal and formal attitudes, movements and directives on one another.
11. Vehicles which will help provide minoritised people with a standpoint, a voice and an expression for commonality of experiences.
12. Long term strategies that tackle inequalities ensuring that they involve as many people as possible from 'different walks of life in a collective effort for change.'
13. A vibrant interrogation of national identity as a civic status in all areas-Interrogating the national majority- what is Welshness, what is Wales and what is the national story?
14. Local, national and global networks are important for the resilience of many individuals and groups and can particularly help build ethnic minority individuals' and groups' resilience in diasporic situations.
15. Rigorous monitoring to make evidence base stronger and strengthening of the formerly named commission for racial equality has been improved through devolution.
16. Analyse ethnic minority attainment and translate into specific policies and actions to promote higher attainment for ethnic minority groups e.g. EMLAS.
18. Evaluate how multicultural education is embedded in the curriculum and what impact it has had.
19. Raising awareness of diversity and difference in education.

### **Facilitators of equality (Interview with Emily)**

20. Welsh Assembly policy that tries to take an inclusive line in its directives.
21. Recognising multiple ways of being Welsh.
22. Young people from ethnic minority groups today may be more able to identify with sense of Welsh national identity than previous generations.
23. The Welsh assembly has had a significant impact in driving equality in Wales through legislation because it can and has tackled a variety of issues through public policy drive that effect people's lives and wellbeing.
24. The Stephen Lawrence enquiry brought about a significant amendment to the relations act so every institution has to address a race equality agenda.
25. Challenging one dimensional perceptions of ethnic minority communities.

#### **1. More access to appropriate information about services.**

In the following text Emily suggests that better dissemination of appropriate information about services and better evaluation of how services users may interpret advertised services in order to ensure that services are presented and provided in a way that is culturally sensitive and not stigmatising will help to improve equality of access to services:

*'Information must be a huge barrier if you are not aware of services that are available to you or things that you could have or opportunities you're hardly likely to be putting yourself forward and you're certainly not going to access them so there's a whole big issue there about getting information to people and how people use information and how they access information and how they interpret what you're giving them.'*

#### **2. Gatekeepers who facilitate people's access to services.**

Here Emily highlights the need for gatekeepers who facilitate people's access to services in terms of providing encouragement and support and advocating services, stating that gatekeepers *'are very significant in young people's lives in terms of*

*facilitating or denying um access to certain things whether they encourage and support people, whether they advocate for them.'*

**3. Influential community mediators who facilitate people's access to services.**

Emily points to how ethnic minority groups are often especially reliant on community mediators for accessing services and highlights the influence of and need for more community mediators who help people to access services:

*'There are important kind of community mediators and if people say to you oh that's good you can go or you should go or that's not good, there are kind of key credible people in certain communities or networks who push people towards services and that was particularly prevalent in minority groups because there's a big thing about trust you know whether you trust a service um to be good.'*

**4. Address the stigmatisation often attached to service provision.**

In the following extract Emily highlights the need to address the stigmatisation often attached to service provision which will mean that more people will be able to identify with services which will encourage more people to access services:

*'There's certainly a whole dimension that's to do with is that for me you know where the person either identifies with what's on offer and therefore takes it up and can you know utilise it or they see it as either stigmatising....how that person sees who that service is for or and whether they're part of that group or not will affect whether they take it up.'*

**5. A critical/significant other/event which/who has helped to support an individual.**

Emily highlights how important a critical/significant other/event appears in ethnic minority accounts especially in adolescents' discourses noting that *'one thing I've noticed in minority accounts is that they often talk about maybe some kind of um critical other in their, moment in their life you know, oh that teacher de de de de and that turned me around.'*

**6. Legislation.**

Here Emily highlights that whilst legislation alone can be limited in terms of increasing equality it is essential as it acts as an elemental base in society that has power to drive change:

*'In formal terms I think legislation is important it's very limited, very very limited but it is important, it's kind of a baseline, it's kind of the society saying these are you know the starting points, this is what, it's symbolic in what it*

*signals you know its saying this is how we want to be or this is the what we're striving towards and this is the statement about society so legislation is a very very important driver.'*

**7. Changing attitudes and providing role models through imaging society by powerful forms of media with representation from different minority backgrounds.**

Emily emphasises the importance of imaging diversity in society through the media which acts as an important facilitator of equality in challenging narrow attitudes and acceptable norms as well as providing role models for people from minority groups:

*'Imaging the society we want is important to equality so powerful media, television, radio, magazines, posters, outputs you know powerful media sending very strong messages about the portrait of a society is another big driver, because it becomes a norm you know because even if at first people think that it might be tokenistic or what's that black person doing reading the news was you know how it was when I was growing up.'*

**8. 'The work of equality' – tackling inequality in 'everyday interactions, shaping, reshaping and negotiating in society.'**

Emily points to how discrimination has become deeply embedded in society and the importance of challenging this at the banal every day level in society which she argues is 'the work of equality':

*'Deep deep discriminations are embedded in our society and I don't just mean in relation to race, I mean in relation to able bodiness and gender and you know all kinds of things and we have everyday encounters with those and um that's the work of equality, in our everyday interactions and shaping and reshaping and negotiating at that level of exchange in society.'*

**9. Bottom up multiculturalism.**

Emily underlines the importance of bottom up multiculturalism and the social movements which drive it to effect change and notes that whilst the state can effect change through legislation the heart of the work is carried out at a grass roots level:

*'Formally governments can impose or we can drive things through legislation policy and so on but where it happens is actually how you and I and others work with it, um bottom up, so I suppose that I am a bottom up multiculturalist ultimately because I think that's where the real work is being done and the shifts and the changes.'*

**10. Influence of progressive informal and formal attitudes, movements and directives on one another.**

Here Emily emphasises the relationship between informal and formal attitudes and underscores how informal attitudes can be ahead of formal attitudes demarcated in legislation and vice versa and gives the example of attitudes towards gay and lesbian people in society:

*'The legislation was way lagging behind, but at the level of this everyday interaction, the banal, we had began to be more relaxed, accommodative of you know the fact that our loved ones, our friends, our you know, people we know, our work mates, were gay and lesbian people.'*

**11. Vehicles which will help provide minoritised people with a standpoint, a voice and an expression for commonality of experiences.**

Emily stresses the importance and need for more vehicles through NGOs and civil society which will provide people with 'an expression for commonality of their experiences' especially if the government is going to have less involvement in providing these vehicles as perhaps indicated by the 2010 equality act:

*'People still need a standpoint, people still need a voice, people still need an expression and will seek an expression for commonality of their experiences so the NGOs and the organs of civil society that provided them with that voice must still be there even if the government is saying we're standing back a little bit upon that and we're taking a more generic equality approach.'*

**12. Long term strategies that tackle inequalities ensuring that they involve as many people as possible from 'different walks of life in a collective effort for change.'**

In discussion of the communities first anti-poverty strategy in Wales Emily points to how in order to change civil society the strategy should not be viewed as short term. Furthermore Emily underlines that one of the core aims of it is to give people more power so they can be more independent of local government in 'a collective effort for change.' Emily asserts that the strategy is; *'a really long term strategy in terms of altering the nature of civil society so that people can participate appropriately, truly have some kind of voice, work things out together, negotiate things um be perhaps um more autonomous of um local government leaders.'*

**13. A vibrant interrogation of national identity as a civic status in all areas- Interrogating the national majority- what is Welshness, what is Wales and what is the national story?**

In discussion of how the multicultural project in Wales may be hampered by an emphasis on the politics of recognition as opposed to the politics of interrogation Emily



highlights the need for an interrogation of the national majority in challenging narrow definitions of Welshness and asks; *'what are we constructing through devolution is it a Welsh assembly based on some idea of Welsh ethnicity that is exclusive or are we telling a new story in Wales and are we questioning where we've been where we are now and where we're going?'*

Also Emily asserts the need for an interrogation in 'policy, practice, of thinking, of stereotypes, of history, of you know imaging what Welshness is, of expressions of identity'.... so that there is 'a vibrant interrogation of national identity as a civic status in all areas... in order that people who are in minoritised positions can be included in the national collective. Notably Emily underlines that whilst this interrogation is visible in policy she casts doubt on whether it is visible in practice; *'I think that's what we've seen in policy I don't know if it's what we see in practice but it's certainly the message that the assembly are sending out'*.

**14. Local, national and global networks are important for the resilience of many individuals and groups and can particularly help build ethnic minority individuals' and groups' resilience in diasporic situations.**

In discussion of Anderson's theory of imagined communities and how nationalism between Wales and England often denies space for marginalised communities in Wales Emily points to the importance of establishing local, national and global networks for people who are in diaspora as this networking, this support and belonging is important for their resilience. Furthermore, Emily challenges the narrow conceptions of national identity which suggests that because people may establish different networks they should not be included as part of the national collective:

*'That is particularly true of ethnic minority groups you know national networks, UK wide networks and global networks and those are very important to their resilience in diasporic situations, but that doesn't mean they can't say we actually feel Welsh we've subscribed to what this nation is about we've been here a long time, we work we contribute you know that kind of thing so both are kind of important.'*

**15. Rigorous monitoring to make evidence base stronger and strengthening of the formerly named commission for racial equality has been improved through devolution.**

In discussion of Emily's 2003 chapter on social inclusion and race equality in Wales which underlined key issues including *'the lack of a coherent picture of minority access*

to educational services from nursery to post compulsory education' (Williams, 2003, p. 148) Emily notes that there has been some improvement in this area. Also in response to a question about whether the assembly have fulfilled their commitments outlined in the WAG 2001 strategy A Pacing Document: A Comprehensive Education and Lifelong Learning Programme to 2010 in Wales Emily also comments that there has been some improvement. Whilst Emily asserts that there is still much to achieve in terms of equality she stresses the importance of devolution in making the evidence base stronger for tackling equality issues; *'one of the really good things about devolution I mean we've still got a long way to go is that the statistical evidence is greater, the monitoring is greater and you know the research base is stronger than it ever it was.'*

In relation to the work of the commission for racial equality Emily underlines how devolution helped to reinforce the commission; *'the CRE became strengthened by the fact that the assembly the presence of an assembly in Wales was strengthening it and through its alliances with the equality opportunities commission and the disability rights commission'* However, whilst Emily underlines that devolution helped to bolster the commission perhaps devolution only went so far in helping to support the commission as Emily comments, *'I don't think it had huge impact I think it had presence.'*

#### **16. Analyse ethnic minority attainment and translate into specific policies and actions to promote higher attainment for ethnic minority groups e.g. EMLAS.**

In the following finding Emily highlights the work of EMLAS in Wales who monitor ethnic minority attainment and underlines the importance of translating this evaluation into policies:

*'I do know that this group EMLAS have been working for some time to look at ethnic minority attainment by publicity and to sort of drill down and characterise what was happening um whether that monitoring translated into specific policies and actions to um promote higher attainment amongst various certain groups I'm not sure.'*

#### **17. Evaluate how multicultural education is embedded in the curriculum and what impact it has had.**

In the following extract Emily underscores the need to evaluate how multiculturalism is embedded and implemented in education and suggests that a rigorous interrogation has not been made and is necessary:

*'I also know that then they developed a lot of strategies in terms of embedding multicultural what they call multicultural education into the curriculum in Wales. And I don't think anybody's really written about to my knowledge has really written about that what it is, how its impacted has it made a difference, how are the teachers trained, has teacher training changed um you know how are schools approaching that agenda...'*

#### **18. Raising awareness of diversity and difference in education.**

Emily highlights that implementing multiculturalism education is about raising the profile of diversity and difference and argues that this intervention should not be focused mostly in areas where there are greater proportions of ethnic minority communities but should be implemented across Wales; *'It's a Wales wide initiative, it's about raising pupils awareness to diversity and difference wherever they are, whether there are 2 black pupils in the classroom or 15.'*

#### **19. Welsh Assembly policy that tries to take an inclusive line in its directives.**

In response to discussion about the ethnocentrism of nationalist parties in Wales Emily highlights that the Welsh Assembly is now trying to forward inclusivity in its policies; *'I think in policy terms I think I've been heartened by the fact that the Assembly tries at least to take quite an inclusive line in its directives.'*

#### **20. Recognising multiple ways of being Welsh.**

In discussion of Emily's autobiography, Emily underlines the need to interrogate the narrow understandings of being Welsh and says *'so I was trying to contrast my identity with that acceptable identity and say hey you know there are many ways of being Welsh and just anybody stand up and tell me that I'm not kind of thing.'*

#### **21. Young people from ethnic minority groups today may be more able to identify with a sense of Welsh national identity than previous generations.**

Here Emily emphasises how whilst some people from ethnic minorities of her generation might not identify with a Welsh national identity she suggests that this may not be the case for younger generations of people from ethnic minorities and comments that she doesn't think her girls would identify with Welshness in the same way that she has. Noticeably In connection with 13-15 year olds Emily suggests that this change may be explained by the age group and states that 'ethnicity grows with age':

*'Again I think maybe that's changed, I think if you went into schools now in Cardiff you'd hear different messages from young people, in particularly in the age group you're talking about.... I don't think my girls would now either in the way that I have I think um there's a generational thing there but also ethnicity grows with age you know as they say as you grow old you reflect on who am I, where am I from, what's my heritage, you know there's that process which I think is part of a more midlife project.'*

**22. The Welsh assembly has had the most impact in driving equality in Wales through legislation because it can and has tackled a variety of issues through public policy drivers that effect 'people's lives and wellbeing.'**

Here Emily emphasises that the Welsh assembly has had the most impact in relation to 'shifting the agenda' because it can have a direct effect on tackling inequalities related to poverty and health and other issues:

*'From my perspective I think things that the assembly have um put in place, legislatively in its policy drivers have had more felt effect than the equality commission. I mean because the assembly is touching public policy and areas of public policy that touch people's lives and wellbeing isn't it you know poverty and um health.'*

**23. The Stephen Lawrence enquiry brought about a significant amendment to the race relations act so every institution has to address a race equality agenda.**

In response to a question about the impact the Stephen Lawrence inquiry has had Emily highlights that it had a very significant impact because it brought about an important amendment to the race relations act which meant that 'every authority' in the UK 'had to address a race equality agenda':

*'Well that had a huge impact because that brought about the amendment to the race relations act and it was such an important amendment because it meant that in some respects it was potentially revolutionary because it meant that every authority everywhere, it doesn't matter if its Anglesey or you know wherever it is, had to address a race equality agenda.'*

**24. Challenging one dimensional perceptions of ethnic minority communities.**

Emily points to the findings of a recent research study she carried out which focused on analysing ethnic minority communities participation in rural areas of North Wales and aimed to challenge the one dimensional perceptions of ethnic minority rural communities that largely perceive ethnic minority communities in rural areas in terms of having victim status, 'that they were victims of rural racism.' In particular she highlights the depth of participation the ethnic minority communities have in their

communities; 'living, working, contributing, enjoying and part of rural communities in every sense.' Emily also highlights some of the frustrations ethnic minority communities in rural areas contend with connected to public services and planning decisions and underlines that they have:

*'Negotiated ways of um getting things like appropriate burial grounds if they were Muslims um, buying food and everyday things that they wanted er you know specific foods um now that they've got internet they had programmes from their own you know countries of origin if they wanted.'*

Furthermore, Emily highlights that what she underlines in the study aims at challenging one dimensional discourses, that whilst minority ethnic communities want to make connections with other co-ethnics they also *'find ways of living in very white communities knowing their neighbours relating to their neighbours.... my study is a bit like mythbusting, it's about this is the discourse that's prevailed, here's another one.'*

## **School Survey 1 Findings (South Wales)**

### **Survey 1 Summary of findings**

Findings from analysis of respondents' answers to question 1 concerning defining racism show that significant numbers of respondents link racism with discrimination in relation to skin colour, and religion. Further, difference is highlighted by a number of respondents whilst defining racism for example one respondent states that; *'racism is when you abuse people that are different, e.g. skin colour'*. Furthermore bullying is highlighted in terms of how racism works. Findings from a number of responses to question 2 concerning methods to challenge racism through education emphasise showing the effect racism has upon people, for example one respondent suggests showing; *'how it affects people and how they feel,'* learning through film, performance and celebrities and emphasising the equality of all people from of all nationalities, ethnicities and religions. Additionally law enforcement is suggested as a valuable way to challenge racism for example one respondent suggestion is to; *'give bigger penalties for being racist'*. Possible reflections of anti-immigrant attitudes publicised by certain sections of the media are visible in some responses to question 3 concerning anti-racism methods where racist attitudes are expressed by a number of respondents who suggest *'stop coloured people coming into the country'* as a valuable method to tackle racism. Notably, these racist attitudes conflict with the anti-racist attitudes expressed by the same respondents to question 2. Further, the relationship between relative deprivation, poverty and racism seems apparent in some cases. For example two respondents display resentment possibly directed towards refugees and asylum seekers in response to question 4 remarking *'coloured people get free houses but homeless people don't'* and *'No because I still think that they shouldn't be here.'* Also in relation to respondents' evaluation of the iEARN learning circle in response to question 8 just over 50% of respondents said they would not like to participate in a future iEARN learning circle which may be linked to their desire for further contact with iEARN learning circle partners through video and web cameras expressed in response to question 7. See the methodology for the research design of survey 1 and see appendix 20 for respondents answers to survey 1.

Table 32: Findings of survey 1- barriers to equality

**Barriers to equality identified by respondents**

1. Colour racism.
2. Religious racism.
3. Prejudice related to difference.
4. Bullying, racism, peer pressure and lack of confidence to express opinions in front of peers.

**Barriers to equality identified by researcher in respondents' responses**

5. Tokenistic multiculturalism.
6. Determinism.
7. Nationalistic, racist and xenophobic attitudes.

**Barriers faced in iEARN learning circle**

8. Communication barriers.

Table 33: Findings of survey 1- facilitators of equality

**Facilitators of equality identified by respondents**

1. Advocating the equality of all people of all nationalities, colours, and religions.
2. Emphasising values and ethics.
3. Challenging racism with knowledge.
4. Emphasising the relationship between bullying and racism.
5. Educating about the impact racism has on people.
6. Learning about racism and anti-racism through film, performance and celebrities.
7. Tackling racism through law enforcement.
8. Anti-racism campaigns promoted by celebrities.
9. Challenging racism through anti-racism education.

**Respondents' suggested improvements to iEARN learning circle**

11. Increased focus on learning more about other cultures.
12. Increased size of learning circle.
13. Increased capacity for further communication between learning circle partners to help tackle communication barriers.



The following section of Survey 1 findings highlights the findings in order of the surveys questions.

## **Interrogating racism**

Question 1: What do you think racism is?

### **Barriers to equality identified by respondents**

Respondents linked racism with 'race', 'nationality', '*calling people names*', '*bullying*', '*offence/offends/offending*', '*discrimination/discriminating against*', '*people who are against*', '*prejudice*' '*personal attack*', '*taking the mick*', '*bad*' or '*wrong*' '*excluding or isolating.*'

### **Colour racism**

Noticeably two thirds of respondents refer to either '*skin*' or '*colour*', '*skin colour*', '*black*' or '*coloured people*' in their answers.

### **Religious racism**

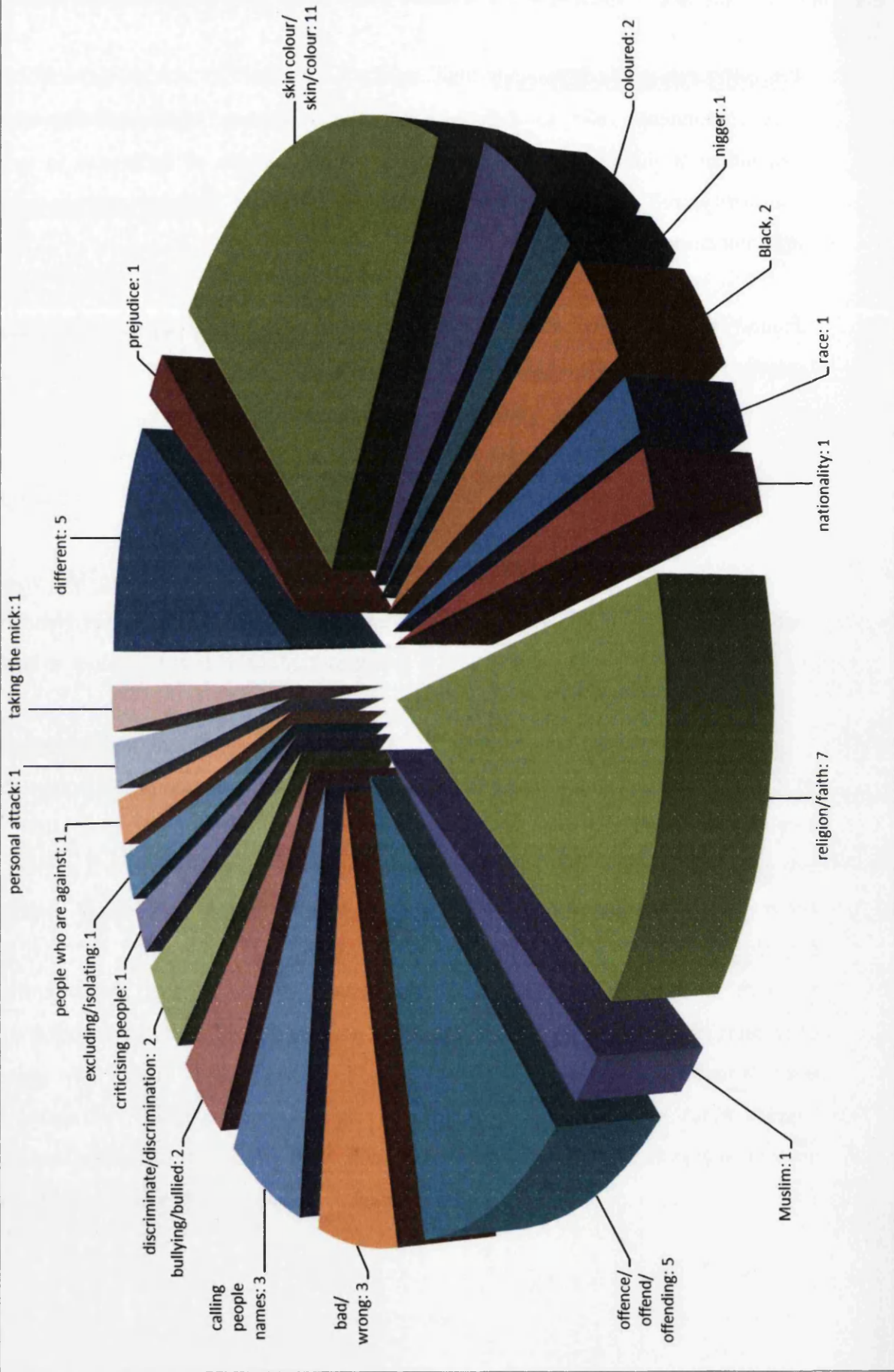
Eight out of 20 respondents, just over one third highlight religious racism (E, H, I, J, N, O, P and R). Further, 6 of those respondents link racism with skin colour and religion (E, J, N, O, P and R). For example respondent N maintains that racism is '*anything that is offence to someone's skin, religion or faith.*' One of those respondents (P) refers specifically to Muslims suggesting that racism is connected with black people and Muslims stating: '*Racism is wrong and it's about black people and Muslims.*' Four out of 21 respondents emphasize 'black' or 'coloured' people, or 'Muslims' in relation to defining what racism is (Respondents E, K, L and P). For example respondent K states that racism is: '*When someone offends a coloured person and does racist things.*' Additionally respondent E states that: '*Racism is discrimination to black people because of the colour of their skin or someone's religion.*'

### **Prejudice related to difference**

Five respondents refer to difference in their responses '*different*'. For example, respondent R links racism with criticising people because of difference in terms of nationality, religion and ethnicity stating that '*Racism is criticising people from different country, religion, colour.*'

Figure\* which follows shows the frequency of references made by respondents to question 1 of Survey 1: what do you think racism is?

Figure 4:  
Frequency of  
references  
made by  
respondents to  
question 1 of  
Survey 1: what  
do you think  
racism is?



## **Challenging racism through anti-racism education**

Question 2: If you were a teacher teaching a class of students your age about racism what do you think would be the most important point to get across to your students about racism?

### **Advocating the equality of all people of all nationalities, colours, and religions.**

Six out of 21 respondents emphasise equality in their responses (A, C, D, P, L, and M). For example respondent A's answer suggests the value of underlining the equality of all people of all skin colours and all nationalities; *'The most important point would be that no-one is inferior than you because of their skin colour or nationality.'* Similarly respondent L stresses the equality of all people of all skin colours: *L: 'It's wrong and everyone is the same and it doesn't matter what colour your skin is.'*

### **Emphasising values and ethics.**

One third of respondents point towards emphasising values and ethics in relation to anti-racism education. For example respondent E states: *'The most important point would be that racism is wrong.'* Similarly respondent R asserts: *'I'll make them understand racism is wrong, it's bullying'* (Respondents B, C, E, G, L, N, and R).

### **Challenging racism with knowledge.**

Respondent K's responds by stating: *'explain racism to them'*. Further respondents K and N both suggest that giving examples of racism would be of value. For example respondent K suggests: *'Explain racism to them and say what people say about other people.'*

### **Educating about the impact racism has on people.**

Respondents B and F's answers suggest the value in emphasising the impact racism has on people. For example respondent B states, *'That it's not cool and it really affects people.'* Similarly respondents F states: *'How it affects people and how they feel.'*

### **Emphasising the relationship between bullying and racism.**

Respondent R's response links racism with bullying and suggests that conveying that '*racism is wrong*' would be important; '*I'll make them understand racism is wrong, it's bullying.*'

### **Learning about racism and anti-racism through film, performance and celebrities.**

Respondents H points to the value in using the medium of film in learning about racism; '*I would put a film about racism on.*' Similarly respondent J suggests the value of using performance to help students engage more; '*I would put on a play to make them enjoy learning about it.*' Also Respondent I suggests that using information concerning celebrities who have experienced racism would be valuable; '*I would use information about situations of well-known people such as the Lewis Hamilton case we looked at in class.*'

### **Barrier to equality identified by researcher in respondents' discourse**

#### **Tokenistic multiculturalism**

While respondent O's states: '*That colour or religion doesn't matter*' the student continues by suggesting: '*a tasting lesson or trying on different religions clothes.*' This latter reference may be symptomatic of tokenistic multiculturalism and might suggest that this has formed part of a lesson he or she was involved with in school.

#### **Non responders**

Respondents S, T and U

## **Attitudes to anti-racism**

Question 3: Can you think of one way or more than one way to help in the fight against racism?

### **Tackling racism through law enforcement.**

Three out of 21 respondents suggest greater use of law enforcement for dealing with racism as a deterrent (A, I and J). For example respondent I's suggestion is: *'Give bigger penalties for being racist'*

### **Anti-racism campaigns promoted by celebrities.**

Respondent C suggests the value of using the influence of celebrities to gain support for anti-racism stating: *'Get famous people to say it is bad and maybe they will stop it.'*

### **Challenging racism through anti-racism education.**

Respondents E, F and O all highlight the need for challenging racism with more information through education. For example respondent F suggests that *'The main way of fighting against racism is to show how racism affects people.'* Additionally respondent O suggests that one way of tackling racism is to: *'Talk about it more so people know how hurtful it is'*.

## **Barriers to equality identified by researcher in respondents' discourse**

### **Determinism.**

Respondent Q's answer conveys what could be interpreted as reflective of a deterministic attitude in stating; *'Not really because it is something that will always be around.'*

### **Nationalism, Racism and Xenophobia.**

Five out of 21 responses to question 3, nearly one third of respondents indicate nationalistic, racist or xenophobic attitudes. Respondents H, K, and L's responses here appear to reflect racist attitudes. Respondents B and P's answers seem to reflect nationalistic or xenophobic attitudes. Noticeably, responses presented here starkly contrast with the anti-racist responses expressed by the same respondents to question 2,

however respondents L and P appear to present xenophobic and racist responses to question 4 also. Markedly, there appear to be contradictions in respondents B, K and L's statements where racist or xenophobic measures are suggested in conjunction with anti-racism measures. Additionally the repeated reference to 'stop' and 'our country' appears suggestive of a desire to dominate the Other:

*B: 'Stop people coming into our country and put posters around public places about racism.'*

*H: 'Ask a black kid what offends them and ask nicely people to stop.'*

*K: 'Stop coloured people coming to our country and get the prime minister to stop it.'*

*L: 'Everyone get on with each other and stop coloured people coming into our country.'*

*P: 'Get them off our country then there will be no fights'*

### **Non responders**

Respondents R, S T and U

## **Evaluation of anti-racist approach**

Question 4: Was there anything we have studied over the past few months that has changed your mind or offered you some new insights into the issue of racism? If yes can you describe what it is? Or if no, can you describe why not?

### **No apparent change in attitude or new insight.**

Ten out of 21 respondents answered that they have not changed their minds or gained new insights into racism underlining their prior knowledge (*A, C, E, F, G, H, J, M, N, and O*). For example respondent A states: *'No, because I was aware of the problems and solutions before.'* Additionally respondent G states: *'No because I knew everything already.'*

### **Apparent change in attitude or new insight.**

Four out of 21 respondents answered that they had gained some new insights into racism (*B, D, I and R*). For example respondent D suggests that the research sessions have had *'some'* impact: *'Some, that you shouldn't judge someone. But nothing else.'* Also respondent I highlights that seeing film connected with racism has been of value in understanding racism: *'Seeing the film helped me understand racism more.'*

### **Barriers to equality identified by researcher in respondents' discourse.**

#### **Racism and xenophobia**

Two out of 21 respondents seem to indicate racist and xenophobic attitudes (*L and P*). For example respondent L's answer seems to reflect a racist attitude, where there may be a relationship between relative deprivation, poverty and racism: *'No because coloured people get free houses but homeless people don't.'* Additionally respondent P's response seems to reflect a nationalistic or xenophobic attitude: *'No because I still think that they shouldn't be here.'* Notably, respondent L's reference to *'coloured people'* and respondent P's reference to *'they shouldn't be here'* both appear suggestive of homogenizing, dominating Othering attitudes which try to dichotomise.

#### **Non responders**

Respondents K, Q, S, T U



## **Effects of the research setting on participants**

Quesiton 5: Did you feel the classroom was a comfortable environment to discuss your concerns, views and ideas? Why or why not?

### **Indication of confidence in expressing opinions in class.**

Ten out of 21 respondents appear to suggest that they felt comfortable to express their views in front of the class (A, B, C, F, H, J, K, L P and S.) Respondent B suggests that he or she felt that the environment was democratic stating: *'Yes because we all had an opportunity to speak.'* It is of concern that respondents L and P express confidence here because they also express racist and xenophobic attitudes in response to questions 3 and 4. Notably, a number of respondents below state that they did not feel able to express their views in front of some of their peers who have expressed racist attitudes.

### **Bullying, racism, peer pressure and lack of confidence to express opinions in front of peers.**

Seven out of 21 respondents appear to suggest they lacked confidence in expressing their views in front of their peers (D, E, G, I, N, R, and Q).

Notably, whilst respondent E's answer displays a degree of confidence, it is also perhaps suggestive of a lack of confidence or an awareness of some people's lack of confidence in stating: *'Yes I do, but some people dislike telling their views to other people.'* Respondent G's response appears a stark indication of his or her unease with expressing opinion in front of peers due to peer pressure. Awareness that others in the class have said racist comments has clearly inhibited respondent G's contribution: *'No because we had some people in our class who I know have said racist comments.'* Additionally respondent I's response suggests that he or she feels uncomfortable expressing views in front of some classmates: *'No, I don't like talking about my views in front of some of the people in my class.'* Similarly, respondent Q's answer suggests a lack of confidence in front of peers and also highlights the normalising and homogenising mechanisms of peer pressure: *'At first I wasn't sure about talking to people in my class in case they thought it was stupid. But in the end I found that everyone thought the same.'*

### **Non responders**

Respondents M, O, T and U

## **Evaluation of iEARN learning circle- knowledge from circle- attitudes to multiculturalist approach**

Question 6: Did you feel that you learned anything from the iEARN learning circle experience? If so, what?

### **Positive responses to the iEARN learning circle experience and the anti-racism approach of the research sessions.**

Five out of 21 respondents suggest they have learnt something (B, E, K, F, and H). Notably it appears that those respondents are responding to the anti-racism approach of the research sessions rather than the multicultural approach of the iEARN learning circle. For example respondent E states: *'Yes, people are all equal.'* Similarly respondent H states: *'Yes I know more about racism by watching films'* which seems to be making reference to the research sessions where students watched excerpts from films connected with racism. One out of 21 respondents (Q) states that he or she did not learn *'that much'* and also indicates that he or she enjoyed the research sessions which is perhaps indicative of a positive experience of both the multicultural approach of the learning circle and the anti-racist approach of the research sessions: *'I didn't learn that much, but I really enjoyed the lessons.'*

### **Negative responses to the iEARN learning circle experience and the anti-racism approach of the research sessions.**

Nine out of 21 of respondents responded that they have not learnt anything (A, C, D, G, I, J, L, P and S). Notably, two of those 8 respondents appear to be responding to the anti-racism approach of the research sessions rather than the multicultural approach of the iEARN learning circle (C and J). For example respondent C states: *'No because I knew a lot about racism.'* Also respondent I's response appears to point to contestation over differences of opinion in stating: *'Yes, I have learnt that everyone has their own views and ideas.'*

### **Non responders**

Respondents M, N, O, R, T and U.

## **Evaluation of iEARN learning circle- likes and dislikes- attitudes to multiculturalist approach**

Question 7: If there is something you could change about the iEARN learning circle experience what would it be?

### **No changes to the learning circle experience suggested**

Five out of 21 respondents do not suggest making any changes to the iEARN learning circle experience (C, F, K, I and L). For example, respondent I states: *'No, although I felt nervous at first because I wasn't in my friendship group, I gained new friends by then end.'* Here respondent I highlights the significance of in-group and out-group dynamics showing the value of friendship in his or her learning circle experience.

### **Negative experiences of learning circle**

Two out of 21 respondents' responses suggest a negative experience of the learning circle pointing to boredom with the learning circle (D and Q). For example respondent D states: *'I found some lessons slow and pointless.'*

## **Suggested improvements to the iEARN learning circle structure**

### **Increased focus on learning more about other cultures**

Respondent B suggests an improvement to the learning circle experience would be: *'to learn more about other cultures.'*

### **Increased size of learning circle**

Respondent E indicates that he or she would have liked to have a larger learning circle: *'If I could change anything, I would have more countries in the iEARN learning circle.'*

### **Increased capacity for further communication between learning circle partners to help tackle communication barriers**

Six out of 21 respondents, nearly one third, suggested an improvement to the iEARN learning circle experience would be to have direct contact with other iEARN learning circle partners, being able to see and talk with partners through the use of video conferencing and web cameras rather than solely corresponding through group

messaging on the iEARN website (A, G J, P, R and S). For example respondent G suggested: *'To be able to see the people on webcam.'* Additionally respondent S suggested that a change he or she would make would be: *'To talk to people from other country.'*

### **Non-responders**

Respondents H, M, N, O, T and U.

## **Evaluation of iEARN learning circle- future participation- attitudes to multiculturalist approach**

Question 8: Would you like to participate in another iEARN learning circle at some point in the future?

### **Negative response to future participation in an iEARN learning circle.**

Ten out of 21 respondents indicate that they would not like to participate in a future iEARN learning circle. For example respondent G states: *'No because I knew everything already.'* Respondent H's answer *'No because it was uncomfortable'* appears inconsistent with his or her answer to question 5 which stated: *'No, I thought everybody felt quite comfortable.'*

### **Positive response to future participation in an iEARN learning circle.**

Five out of 21 respondents indicate that they would like to participate in a future iEARN learning circle (Respondents B, E, I, Q and S). For example respondent I emphasises that the learning circle framework provides *'a chance to make new friends.'* Additionally respondent Q states that it is a *'great way to learn about other people around the world.'*

### **Non responders**

Respondents M, N, O, R, T and U.

## **School iEARN learning circle findings (International)**

The following findings are vignettes from students' involvement in the iEARN project, based on work students from South Wales contributed to the learning circle projects of their learning circle partners in Lagos, Nigeria and in Wisconsin, North America. Together these vignettes show some of the social, cultural, historical, political and economic influences on Wales and Welsh national identity from the significance of St David's day and the Eisteddfod in Wales to the popularity and success of an ice cream business established in South Wales in 1922 by a family who migrated from Italy and the historical ties between South Wales and the copper industry.

**Figure 34: Table of findings from the South Wales school contribution to their learning circle partner school's Cultural Festivals project in Lagos, Nigeria.**

**Findings from the South Wales school contribution to their learning circle partner school's Cultural Festivals project in Lagos, Nigeria.**

1. St David's day: A collective celebration of Welsh national identity
2. Celebration of a diversity of festivals in Wales
3. The Eisteddfod: A means of elevating and celebrating Welsh culture.

### **Cultural Festivals Project- Queens College, Lagos, Nigeria.**

The students in the learning circle from Queens College in Lagos, Nigeria initiated a project they titled Cultural Festivals aimed at discovering more about the cultural festivals of other countries. In their contribution to this project (see appendix 21) the students from the South Wales school highlight a number of festivals celebrated in Wales and describe the traditions attached to a number of these festivals and the history of the Eisteddfod in Wales.

### **St David's day: A collective celebration of Welsh national identity.**

The students include an image (see appendix 21) centered on St David's day which displays the Welsh flag with a dragon pictured on it with the English text of St David's day, March 1<sup>st</sup> and the Welsh text of *Hwyl Fawr Ar Ddwydd Gwyl Dewi* which translates as either Goodbye on St David's day or Big Fun on St David's day. Additionally and leeks and daffodils the national emblems of Wales positioned at the bottom. The text on the slide headed St David's day (see appendix 21) describes the cultural festival of St David's day and how it is celebrated through fashion, song and food: *'In Wales we celebrate March 1st every year, it is where all the Welsh people dress up, sing and eat traditional Welsh foods such as Welsh cakes, lava bread and drink Cwrw.'* Further the students point out how St David's day is celebrated in schools where the life of St David is remembered: *'Schools normally have a special assembly and normally have some readings how St. David came upon his journey through life.'* Additionally the students include what appears to be an artist's impression of St David.

### **Celebration of a diversity of festivals in Wales.**

On a slide entitled Different Festivals (see appendix 21) the students report on a diversity of festivals celebrated in Wales including the National Eisteddfod, the Urdd Eisteddfod, the St David's day festival, the \*\*\* Summer festival, the Brecon Jazz festival, the Royal Welsh show and the Abergavenny food festival.

### **The Eisteddfod: A means of elevating and celebrating Welsh culture.**

Further, on the slide titled Eisteddfod (see appendix 21) the students describe an Eisteddfod as *'a Welsh festival of literature, music and performance,'* pointing to the longevity of the Eisteddfod in Wales, its decline and its revival which they maintain is linked to a tradition of holding informal Eisteddfods:

*'The tradition of such a meeting of Welsh artists dates back to at least the 12th century when a festival of poetry and music was held by Rhys of Deheubarth at his court in Cardigan in 1176, but with the decline of the bardic tradition it fell into abeyance. The present-day format owes much to an eighteenth century revival arising out of a number of informal eisteddfodau.'*

Certainly the tradition of holding Eisteddfods in Wales suggests their importance in terms of acting as a focal point for people in Wales and providing a platform to celebrate Welsh culture communally.

**Table 35: Findings from the South Wales school contribution to their learning circle partner school's Historical Headlines project in Wisconsin, North America**

**Findings from the South Wales school contribution to their learning circle partner school's Historical Headlines project in Wisconsin, North America**

1. Highlighting of a famous Italian family ice cream business in South Wales.
2. The significance of the copper industry in South Wales.

**Historical Headlines project- Monroe middle school, Wisconsin, North America.**

The students in the learning circle from Monroe Middle school in Wisconsin, North America initiated a project they entitled Historical Headlines aimed at discovering the history of business development in various parts of the world. In their contribution to this project (see appendix 22) the students from South Wales highlight an Italian family's ice cream business and the copper industry in South Wales.

**A Famous Italian family ice cream business in South Wales.**

In their historical headlines article (see appendix 22) the students report about a locally based ice cream business called "Joe's" which has been in business since 1922 and was established by the Casearini family who came to South Wales from Italy in the late nineteenth century forming part of a growing Italian population in \*\*\*. The students note that *'it was 1898 when a gentleman named Luigi Casearini came to \*\*\* from the Abruzzi mountains in Italy. Joe's was founded by Joe Casearini, Luigi's son in 1922 and people came from far and wide to taste his unique ice cream.'* Further, the students highlight the popularity of the ice cream citing a reference to it in the Independent which stated that *'the sweet creamy ice cream sold by \*\*\* is heaven.'*

## The significance of the copper industry in South Wales.

### **The \*\*\* Copper works**

Additionally, the students highlight the social and economic influence of the copper industry in South Wales during the nineteenth century in their article (see appendix 22), reporting on the \*\*\* copper works which was run by \*\*\* and Sons who *'built an entire settlement for their employees called \*\*\*.'* Notably, the students underline the significance of the copper industry in South Wales emphasizing that at the copper industry's peak the South Wales copper works were *'one of the largest and most up to date industrial enterprises in Europe and by the 1840s \*\*\* and Sons were the largest exporters of finished copper in the U.K.'* (For details of the copper industry in South Wales and its link to the slave trade see the literature review and the discussion chapters.)

### **The \*\*\* docks**

Also the students underline the role the \*\*\* docks played in assisting the growth of the copper trade pointing out that whilst the \*\*\* docks are now a minor port and most of the area is being urbanized, at the peak of industrialization in the mid nineteenth century it was a major Atlantic shipping port *'exporting 60% of the world's copper from factories in the \*\*\* valley.'*



## School focus group findings

**Table 36: Findings of focus group 1: What does your nationality mean to you?**

### **Findings of focus group 1- What does your nationality mean to you?**

1. Emotional significance linked to Welsh nationality.
2. Welsh nationality linked to awareness of Welsh culture and language in childhood.
3. Welsh nationality linked to Welsh culture.
4. Welsh nationality linked to sport in matches where Welsh national teams are playing.

### Findings of focus group 1- What does your nationality mean to you?

#### **1. Emotional significance linked to nationality.**

In response to what do you think it means to be Welsh, group member 3 states that '*It's brilliant*' which may suggest that this group member has a strong emotional identification with being Welsh.

#### **2. Welsh nationality linked to awareness of Welsh culture and language in childhood.**

Here group member 2 suggests that being Welsh is connected to cultural and linguistic influences in being brought up, learning about Welsh culture and language: '*It's the way we were brought up cos we were brought up learning different things, like just random words in Welsh and things which makes.*'

### **3. Welsh nationality linked to Welsh culture**

Group member 3 connects 'Festivals and culture' to what it means to be Welsh which suggests a relationship between Welsh festivals and culture and Welsh national identity.

### **4. Welsh nationality linked to sport in matches where Welsh national teams are playing.**

In response to a question about what someone might mean by saying I'm proud to be Welsh group member 3 connects pride of nation, of being Welsh with the example of Welsh national teams winning in a football match: *'When you are playing a football game and you win.'*

Table 37: Findings of focus group 1- barriers to equality

**Findings of focus group 1- Barriers to equality identified by respondents**

1. Colour racism and discrimination based on nationality.
2. Impacts of racism: oppression, isolation, and stigmatisation.
3. Peer pressure, bullying and racism.
4. Racism of celebrities on television.
5. Films that show racism but don't give a clear anti-racism message.
6. Influence of family members and racism.
7. Racism in the media.
8. Emotions which drive racism: Anger and lack of self-esteem.
9. Anti-racism policies in school and relationships between students and teachers.
10. Limited impact of school race policies to challenge racist behaviour outside of school.

**Barriers to equality identified by researcher in focus group members'**

**discourse**

11. Denials of racism.
12. Attempts to justify racism.
13. Dominance, dichotomization, diversion and racism.

## **Findings of focus group 1- Barriers to equality identified by respondents**

### **1. Colour racism and discrimination based on nationality.**

In response to what is racism group member2 suggests that it is related to prejudice because of skin colour or nationality: *'Racism is being prejudiced against somebody just because of their skin colour or nationality.'*

### **2. Impacts of racism: oppression, isolation, and stigmatisation.**

Group member 4 emphasises that racism oppresses people and causes people to feel isolated and stigmatised stating that: *'it makes people feel isolated and different to everyone else and they feel like probably someone is against them or everyone is against them.'*

### **3. Peer pressure, bullying and racism.**

Here group member 3 draws a comparison with racism and bullying underlining the impact of bullying which can make victims feel that they are in some way to blame for being bullied *'if someone's been picking on you or something it makes you feel like you're doing wrong in the world.'* Additionally group members 3 and 4 point to the relationship between peer pressure and racism underlining how peer pressure and fear of not fitting in with the crowd means that young people often conform to bullying patterns of behaviour exerted by a dominant member or members of a group:

Group member 4: *Sometimes you'll hear people say this person is blah blah blah and you kind of want to agree with them just to fit in with the crowd.*

Group member 3: *'Yeah so you fit in and don't feel left out so that's the same with racism, if all your friends are racist and then they're all screaming at somebody being racist and you are sitting there and you don't want to be left out so you join in.'*

### **4. Racism of celebrities on television.**

In this excerpt group member 4 highlights the damaging impact that celebrities who are racist on television programmes can have on influencing young people who are fans to imitate the racist behaviour of their role models: *'You see it on popular programmes, celebrities on those programmes doing, saying things that are racist some people like look up to those celebrities and they end up having an influence on other people.'*

### **5. Films that show racism but don't give a clear anti-racism message.**

Group member 3 suggests that some films maybe encourage racism because he perceives that these films; *'don't give a real message about stopping racism.'*

### **6. Influence of family members and racism.**

In the following extract group member 3 points to the influence of family members on one another and suggests that if someone has been brought up in a family with a member or members who express racist attitudes that may mean that that person will be influenced to express racist attitudes too: *'It's the way you've been brought up as well, If you were brought up in a family where your brothers or sisters or whoever are racist, it's catching then you kind of say it.'*

### **7. Racism in the media.**

In response to a question about whether sections of the media perpetuate racism group members 2 and 4 point to how prejudiced views of some people are presented in the media and group member 4 additionally stresses how sometimes it's easier to consider media presentations of people as being accurate as opposed to being prejudiced and biased:

Group member 2: *'Newspapers give a biased opinion against some people.'*

Group member 3: *'They do but sometimes it's hard not to believe what someone says.'*

Group member 2: *'Yeah'*

### **8. Emotions which drive racism: Anger and lack of self-esteem.**

In response to a question about why someone might be racist and what emotions might be connected to that behaviour, group members 1 and 3 suggested that perpetrators of racism may feel pleasure anger and pride in being racist. Additionally group member 1 suggests that the perpetrator may feel regret at his or her behavior. In contrast he also highlights how someone who has behaved racistly would feel 'bigger' than his or her victim and underlines how the victim would feel 'really bad' because of being discriminated against just because of skin colour:

Group member 3: *Oh, well they'll probably feel happy about doing it, won't they? A relief and all that.*

Group member 1: *They'll probably feel angry as well.*

Group member 3: *They probably feel I don't know happy they're doing it and like proud.*

Group member 1: *And maybe they feel regret because they know they're doing wrong.*

Group member 3: *Yeah but they don't think about that then when they're.*

Group member 1: *But afterwards they would.*

Researcher: *Why do you think someone might be feeling proud when they are being racist?*

Group member 1: *'They feel bigger than the person who feels really bad because they have been made fun of just because of their skin colour.'*

### **9. Anti-racism policies in school and relationships between students and teachers.**

In response to a question about attitudes towards school policies which target racism group member 3 suggests anti-racism policies are limited in effect because: *'No one listens to the teachers in school.'*

### **10. Limited impact of school race policies to challenge racist behaviour outside of school.**

In the following extract group member 2 highlights the limitations of school race policies to challenge racist behaviour outside of school. She points out whilst this may prevent individuals from engaging in racist behaviour within the confines of school, outside of those confines individuals may persist in engaging in racist behaviour: *'Race policies, yeah, it does help, but it doesn't stop people being racist it's just during school they're not racist but some people are still racist.'*

### **Barriers to equality identified by researcher in focus group members' discussion**

#### **11. Denials of racism.**

In the following excerpts, the responses of group members 2 and 3 suggest a keenness to defend the reputation of their school and its approach to dealing with racism which could be argued act as denials of racism:

Group member 3: *'At our school we are very good with racism. None of us have ever witnessed racism within the school.'* *'We do not see it in \*\*\* School.'*

Group member 2: *'Racism, I haven't heard about any incidents for a, for quite a long time now, I haven't heard about it for a couple of years.'*

Group member 3: *'In our school, as we said earlier they do take a very strong view.'*

## **12. Attempts to justify racism.**

Similarly in the following excerpts group members responses suggest attempts to justify and legitimize racist behaviour.

Group member 2's response here seems to suggest that she considers it is ok to say racist things as long as it's not to anyone: *'I've seen people saying racist things but not to anybody just saying it, but maybe if someone of a different skin colour heard it they might take it as racist even if it wasn't intended to be.'*

Further, group member 4's response here appears to indicate that she thinks that racism is not a problem that needs addressing in society:

*'I don't think it's continued as such I just think that some people are so paranoid about being racist that, everyone's just so careful what they say around other people but I don't think it should be that way, just the simplest of things can be taken the wrong way.'*

Additionally, in response to a question about disproportionate numbers of black and ethnic minority people who are arrested group member 2's response seems to indicate that she is trying to legitimize prejudiced views of black people:

*'You always see in London about the big stories, it is black gangs that is the big stories about London so if you're saying that more younger black people get arrested, we'd expect that because we've heard about the black gangs we haven't heard about the other side of it.'*

Also, group member 1's response here is perhaps suggestive of a desire to deemphasize the impact of racism: *'I think it's just the way of like, say in an argument, it's not really like attacking someone, like if you're arguing with somebody who's coloured and you're not, then it's just a way of making them feel worse.'* Also group member 4's response here appears suggestive of a legitimization of racism with the argument that racism is 'a natural reaction' for some people: *'For some people it's a natural reaction if someone's different they have more things than they do.'*

## **13. Dominance, dichotomization, diversion and racism.**

In response to a question that asked what respondents thought causes racism group members 1, 2 and 4 responses suggest racist attitudes that appear to centre around dominating the Other, creating a dichotomy between us and them, and diverting attention from the perpetrators of racism onto the victims of racism so the Other is made a scapegoat for social problems in society:

Group member 4's response suggests that she associates asylum seekers with terrorism in the U.K, blaming asylum seekers for causing racism:

*'I think it's like asylum seekers they come over, they move from their country to get away from all the problems there, but sometimes they bring their problems with them and then like car bombs, I think there was one that went off in London and I think that when they bring that over here and I think that's what causes racism the fact that they are causing problems in our country.'*

Similarly group member 1's discourse here suggests that he is blaming victims of racism for being the cause of racism, diverting attention away from the perpetrators:

*'Happy for themselves but angry about the other person because that's what started it in the first place.'*

Group member 2's argument below is that immigrants to the U.K. should go back to their own country if they are not happy with U.K. laws. A dichotomy is presented in the argument, between us and them, juxtaposing the us with the them, 'our country' and 'their country':

*'Sometimes people like move over to our country and then they complain about our laws but they're in our country so they should follow our laws, it's not fair for them to say they have a problem with our laws whereas they're not in their own country so if they're not happy they should go back to their own country.'*



**Table \*: Findings of focus group 1- facilitators of equality**

1. Show people how victims of racism feel through film
2. Anti-racist messages promoted through music

**Findings of focus group 1- facilitators of equality**

**1. Show people how victims of racism feel through film.**

Here group member 1 suggests that showing people the effects of racism on victims, how they feel through the medium of film would be an effective way of tackling racism: *'The only thing you can do is show them how people feel and stuff, like videos.'*

**2. Anti-racist messages promoted through music.**

Here 3 group members indicate that they consider there is value in tackling racism through the promotion of anti-racist messages in music and they emphasise that to have maximum impact the artist or band would have to be liked and famous:

Researcher: *If someone had an anti-racist message in their music in their song somewhere would that have an impact do you think?*

Group member 4: *'It would but it would have to, the song would have to be written or sung by someone who would be known.'*

Group member 1: *'Someone people like.'*

Group member 2: *'By a famous band or artist or something.'*

Group member 4: *'Yeah'*

Group member 3: *'Someone like Take That.'*

Table 39: Findings of focus group 2- barriers to equality

**Findings of focus group 2- Barriers to equality identified by respondents**

1. Colour and religious racism.
2. Impacts of racism: fear, isolation, and anger.
3. Racism in sport.
4. Racism on reality TV.
5. Racism in school.
6. Peer pressure, bullying and racism.
7. Influence of family members and racism.
8. Emotions which drive racism: anger, enjoyment, hurt and pride.
9. The media, racism, stereotyping and the threat of terrorism.
10. Unequal dress code rules in schools.
11. Relationship between racism and class.

**Barriers to equality identified by researcher in focus group members'  
discourses**

12. Racism, stereotyping, violence and terrorism.
13. Dominance, dichotomization, distancing strategies and racism.
14. Nationalism.

## **Findings of focus group 2- Barriers to equality identified by respondents**

### **1. Colour and religious racism.**

Group member 5 states that racism is linked to someone's belief or skin colour: *'It's when you like make fun of someone because of their belief or their colour or what they're basically like and stuff.'*

### **2. Impacts of racism: fear, isolation, and anger.**

Group member 4 points to the fear and isolation caused by racism and says: *'people who are victims of racism are scared to walk out of their front door because of it.'*

Additionally group member 1 suggests that as a result of racism a victim may be *'scared'* and *'angry.'*

### **3. Racism in sport.**

Group member 4 highlights awareness of racism in sport and points to a football match where a player was subjected to racism by some people watching the match:

Group member 4: *'When Sean Wright-Phillips was playing in a football match, they started making monkey noises at him.'*

Researcher: *'And what happened because of that?'*

Group member 4: *'He got, they took him off I think.'*

### **4. Racism on reality TV.**

Here group member 1 highlights racism on reality TV and gives an example of a reality TV celebrity (since deceased) who made racist remarks to another celebrity in the reality TV programme Big Brother: *'Jade Goody, she was being racist to Shilpa Shetty, she was calling her curry something'*

### **5. Racism in school**

Group member 3 highlights school as a place where she is aware of racism happening. Further in the following extracts group member 4 also highlights racism in school describing an incident where he says there was a fight between *'coloured'* and *'black people'* and *'white people'* in school:

Group member 4: *'There was a problem like that in our school before, it was all the coloured people versus the white people and they all had a fight on the bank. All the black people was like like most of the white people and then they were just all up there on the bank fighting against each other. All the coloured people in school were from year 9 I think and then all the white people I don't know.'*

Researcher: *'So do you think that incident was about racism?'*

Group member 4: *'Yeah, they probably was like, all the white people was probably being racist to them.'*

## **6. Peer pressure, bullying and racism.**

Here respondents discuss why someone might want to be racist and suggest that it may make the perpetrator feel 'bigger' pointing to the relationship between peer pressure and racism, underlining how in the group context people may have more confidence to be racist:

Group member 3: *'Cos it makes them feel better. In front of their friends it makes them feel bigger and they think ah I'll say something to this person. A lot of people follow their friends more than family I reckon.'*

Group member 1: *'Yeah'*

Group member 3: *'Yeah, because people will have more confidence like when they go out, they'll have more confidence to do stuff the same as their friends.'*

Group member 5: *'Yeah'*

Group member 4: *'You'd do anything that they say to you.'*

Group member 3: *'I follow my friends in some things.'*

Group member 1: *'And me.'*

## **7. Influence of family members and racism.**

Here respondents 1 and 3 underline the potential influence of parents who express racist attitudes on their children's attitudes and highlight the normalisation and legitimisation of racism that may occur:

Group member 1: *'Because you'd be hearing your parents say it all the time.'*

Group member 3: *'You'd be more confident to say it because you know your parents would be well done and all that.'*

Group member 1: *'They's back you up if you got in trouble.'*

## **8. Emotions which drive racism: anger, enjoyment, hurt and pride.**

In the following discourse group members 3 and 5 suggest emotions which may be linked to racism from a perpetrator's perspective stressing how the perpetrator may feel anger, joy, hurt and pride:

Group member 3: *'Angry'*

Group member 5: *'Joyful because you might enjoy it.'*

Group member 3: *'Hurtful, because you might do hurtful things.'*

Group member 3: *'Big'*

### **9. The media, racism, stereotyping and the threat of terrorism.**

Here group member 5 points to how the media can perpetuate racist attitudes by forwarding stereotypes where 'middle eastern people' are depicted as terrorists which causes people to be fearful: *'They always bring out Middle Eastern people to be terrorists and stuff so everyone kind of fears them.'*

### **10. Unequal dress code rules in schools.**

Here group members 1, 3 and 5 seem keen to suggest that there are inequalities in school dress code rules in relation to the wearing of religious symbols by students where they highlight an incident where a Christian student was excluded from school for wearing a cross to school but a Muslim student was allowed to wear a headscarf:

Group member 1: *'But Muslims are allowed to wear headscarfs to school but if you're a Christian you're not allowed to wear a cross necklace.'*

Group member 5: *'Yeah, a girl got excluded for that.'*

Group member 3: *'Yeah excluded for wearing one.'*

Group member 1: *'Wearing a cross necklace.'*

### **11. Relationship between racism and class.**

Here group member 5's response points to the relationship between racism and class where racism is used as a justification for seeking to maintain inequalities in class: *'if a white person sees a rich black person, they might be jealous and start doing racist things saying oh you're better than me. Some people think whites should be better than blacks and stuff.'*

### **Barriers to equality identified by researcher in focus group members' discourses**

### **12. Racism, stereotyping, violence and terrorism.**

Here group members' discourse suggests racism and stereotyping of people who wear headscarves for religious reasons. Notably, group member 5 who earlier highlighted stereotyping in the media, now suggests a link between terrorism and Muslims:

Group member 1: *'A bunch of coloured people killed this white person in the day.'*

Group member 3: *'Oh yeah'*

Group member 1: *'What's his name, Ben something?'*

Group member 4: *'Oh um the Sikhs they'*

Group member 3: *'Oh, I know they cover everything'*

Group member 5: *'Yeah a man did that and he actually blew up a plane because he disguised himself as a woman with a bomb on him so they couldn't tell if it*

*was a man or a woman so they should have. I don't mind the ones that shows their entire face but the ones that just show their eyes, they shouldn't be allowed to wear them.'*

Group member 3: 'No'

.....Group member 2: *'They can be racist to us that's why there's been so many bombings.'*

### **13. Dominance, distancing strategies and racism.**

In discussion of a film called this is England where racism is depicted, group members were asked if that film is reflective of society today. Group member 5's response suggests a distancing strategy, where he appears to want to deemphasise the problem of racism in society today: *'Not really really, because it was in the 80s as well cos, there was quite a bit of racism back in the 80s.'*

Further, group members were asked about anti-racism methods and their responses here suggest dominance where they emphasise stopping people coming into 'our country' as a valuable anti-racism solution:

Group member 5: *'Stop people coming into our country. If they come into our country they should respect our laws because if we go over their we have to respect their laws.'*

Group member 4: *'Stop them coming in that's all.'*

Group member 3: *'Yeah, don't let them come in.'*

### **14. Nationalism.**

In response to a question about nationalism and the relationship between Welsh and English people group member 5 expresses a strong nationalistic attitude and blames this on the English oppression of Welsh people: *'They took over our country so we always hate them.'*

**Table \*: Findings of focus group 2- facilitators of equality**

1. Films that try to challenge racism by showing how racism is a problem in society.
2. Respect one another.

**Findings of focus group 2- facilitators of equality**

1. **Films that try to challenge racism by showing how racism is a problem in society.**

Group members highlight *This is England*, *Hairspray* and *Bend it Like Beckham* as films that are valuable in that they try to challenge racism by showing how racism is a problem in society.

2. **Respect one another.**

In discussion about valuable ways of tackling racism, as well as presenting attitudes which could be described as racist or xenophobic group members 1 and 4 also highlight respecting one another as a valuable approach:

Group member 4: *'Could just leave each other alone, let each other get on with their own lives and just get on with your own life just leave it.'*

Group member 1: 'Yeah'

Group member 4: 'You should respect what they do and they should respect what you do and just leave them be.'

Table 41: Findings of focus group 3- What does your nationality mean to you?

**Findings of focus group 3- What does your nationality mean to you?**

1. Being Welsh means where you come from.
2. Emotional significance linked to Welsh nationality.
3. Being Welsh means your family are from Wales.
4. Welsh nationality linked to Welsh language.
5. Being Welsh means enjoying watching Wales play football or rugby.
6. Being Welsh is about Welsh emblems.

**Findings of focus group 3- What does your nationality mean to you?**

**1. Being Welsh means where you come from.**

In response to being asked what do you think it means to be Welsh group members 2 and 3 suggest that it is connected to where someone comes from:

Group member 2: *'From Wales.'*

Group member 3: *'Where you come from.'*

**2. Emotional significance linked to Welsh nationality.**

Here group members 5 and 6 show an emotional identification with being Welsh saying that it's 'great' and it makes you feel *'proud'*

**3. Being Welsh means your family are from Wales.**

Group member 6 suggests that being Welsh is related to a person's family coming from Wales: *'It could be your relations, they could have come from Wales.'*

**4. Welsh nationality linked to Welsh language.**

Group member 2 links Welsh nationality to Welsh language.



**5. Being Welsh means enjoying watching the Welsh football team or Welsh rugby team.**

Here group member 2 suggests that being Welsh is related to enjoying watching Welsh football or Welsh rugby: *'You've got to enjoy things in Wales, like watching the Welsh football team or rugby team.'*

**6. Being Welsh is about Welsh emblems.**

Group members 3 and 5 point to sheep and Welsh national emblems of the daffodil and the leek as being representative of being Welsh.

**Table 42: Findings of focus group 3- barriers to equality**

**Table \*: Findings of focus group 3- barriers to equality**

1. Colour and religious racism.
2. Racism and relative deprivation theory.
3. Racism and feeling 'threatened.'
4. Fear of difference and racism.
5. Racism and terrorism.
6. Influence of family members and racism.
7. Peer pressure, bullying and racism.
8. Racism in the media.
9. Impacts of racism: hurt, isolation, feeling like an outsider and anger.
10. Racism in school.
11. Racism in workplace.
12. Racism in sport.
13. Racism on reality TV.
14. Racism in everyday life.
15. Racism in the community.

**Barriers to equality identified by researcher in focus group members'**

**discourses**

16. Dominance, dichotomization, diversion and racism
17. Racism and relative deprivation theory
18. Nationalism

## Findings of focus group 3- barriers to equality

### **1. Colour and religious racism.**

Here group member 6 links difference in skin colour with racism: *'It's taking the mick out of someone because of their skin colour or religion.'*

Similarly, when asked what causes racism group member 5 states that it is *'skin colour.'*

Respondents here link 'different religions' to racism, suggesting that racism occurs because of people wearing 'different' religious items of clothing.

In response to "What do you think causes racism,?" group member 6 suggests *'different religions.'*

Group member 1 says, *'Turbans and stuff, people wear.'*

Group member 6 further elaborates on his suggestion saying, *'The sort of clothes they are wearing cos women wear the face things'*

Additionally group members also suggest that racism occurs because people have 'different' names which have religious connections:

Group member 2: *'Some people have different names.'*

Group member 3: *'In religion someone will have a name like Abba Jeep'*

Group member 1: *'And they calls him Abba S\*\*\*'*

### **2. Racism and relative deprivation theory.**

In the following discourse group members' responses suggest a link between racism and relative deprivation where fears concerning unemployment are linked to concerns that immigrants will 'steal' jobs.

In response to a question about why some people express anti-immigrant sentiments group member 2 states: *'Because they're like taking the jobs and stuff like that because they think that people from different countries are coming here to steal their jobs.'*

Similarly, group member 6's response suggests a link between racism and relative deprivation: *'some people think they're stealing all the jobs'* and also highlights that some people also feel that immigrants are *'taking all the houses.'*

Group member 1 suggests that immigrants are used as scapegoats when it's not their fault: *'If someone loses their job they blame it on like an immigrant even though it's not their, it's because they're not working well but they blame it on someone else and usually they blame it on the immigrant.'*

Additionally group member 1 points to a firework fight which he says took place between white and coloured people near the school; *'In the park over there there was a firework fight between white and colours on bonfire night.'* And when asked why he

thinks it started he suggests that it may have started because *'they were taking over most of the houses in the area.'*

Here group member 1's response suggests a link between racism and relative deprivation where he suggests that a wealthy black person might be equally as likely to be subjected to racism as a poor black person because *'they feel like they've come to the country and took loads of money with them.'*

Also group member 2's response suggests a link between racism and class where he contends that white people may be more racist towards black people who are homeless: *'people would be like oh, serves you right, you shouldn't have come here cos you're homeless and stuff.'*

### **3. Racism and feeling 'threatened.'**

In connection with discussion about fear of unemployment and racism group member 3 says that racism occurs because of feeling threatened: *'they feel threatened.'*

### **4. Fear of difference and racism.**

Here respondents' discourses suggest a link between a fear of difference and racism:

Group member 1: *'When you like the person who is the same as you.'*

Group member 5: *'Some people don't like different people because they are different.'*

Group member 2: *'Some people have different names.'*

Group member 6: *'Because he's different.'*

### **5. Racism and terrorism.**

Here group members underline terrorism. Group member 2's response highlights the impact of stereotyping: *'Some people think that some people are just terrorists but some people aren't.'* Similarly group member 6 also points to stereotyping: *'it could be because they've heard of terrible terrorists and they could be getting stick because of what other people of their skin colour have done.'*

### **6. Influence of family members and racism.**

Group members 2, 3 and 5 suggest that attitudes of family members have an impact and group member 5 suggests that upbringing has an impact:

Group member 5: *'Yeah, the way they've been brought up.'*

### **7. Peer pressure, bullying and racism.**

Group member 6 highlights the link between peer pressure and racism suggesting that sometimes people are racist because of peer pressure: *'sometimes people try to act cooler to be like their friends to make them more popular.'*

### **8. Racism in the media.**

Group member 1 points to stereotyping of Muslims by sections of the media saying: *'the papers say all Muslims are terrorists.'*

### **9. Impacts of racism: hurt, isolation, feeling like an outsider and anger.**

Group member 6 suggests that victims of racism may feel 'Upset and lonely' and points to the frustration caused by stereotyping saying that victims of racism may feel *'Like they don't deserve it because they could be getting stick because of what other people of their skin colour have done.'*

Group member 4 suggests that people may feel 'angry'

Group member 3 points to the isolation that racism can cause suggesting that as a result of racism people may feel *'like outsiders.'*

Additionally in discussion of a student in the school who was subjected to racism group members point out that in school the student may have felt 'sad', 'angry', and 'worried':

Group member 1: *'Sad cos he had no friends.'*

Group member 6: *'Angry, he just wanted to hit someone.'*

Group member 4: *'Worried because he knows he's got to come back in the morning.'*

Group member 1: *'Wanting to go back to his home country with all his friends.'*

### **10. Racism in school.**

Group members 1 and 3 highlight that they have seen racism happening in school and group members discuss a former student in the school who was subjected to racism underlining the negative impact racism had on him.

Group member 5 says that the student who was subjected to racism; *'just sort of went over the top when, he just went a bit angry because when he had class racism towards him he used to start kicking off.'*

### **11. Racism in workplace.**

Group members 2 and 3 both note that racism occurs in the workplace.

### **12. Racism in sport.**

Group member 1 highlights racism in sport noting its presence in *'football.'*

### **13. Racism on reality TV.**

Group members highlight a racist incident they saw on a reality television programme:

Group member 3: *'Big Brother'*

Group member 1: *'Big Brother, Jade Goody called Shilpa Shetty'*

Group member 2: *'Shilpa poppadom'*

Group member 1: *'Yeah.'*

### **14. Racism in everyday life.**

In response to a question about where members see racism occurring group members 3 and 4 both underline the pervasiveness of racism:

Group member 4: *'everywhere'*

Group member 3: *'everyday life, papers, magazines, television, in school, working, on the buses.'*

### **15. Racism in the community.**

Group member 1 describes a 'firework fight' that he says happened on bonfire night between white and coloured people in a park near the school.

## **Barriers to equality identified by researcher in focus group members' discourses**

### **16. Dominance, dichotomization, diversion and racism.**

Evidence of dominance, dichotomization, diversion and racism seems apparent where when asked "What do you think causes racism,?" group member 2 responds *'other people from different countries.'* Similarly in discussion of possible emotions which drive racism group members 2 and 6 suggest that 'anger' and being 'upset' may be drivers, and when asked why 'anger' and being 'upset' group member 6 appears to give greater emphasis to blaming the subjects of racism instead of the perpetrators of racism: *'Because the other or different person could have done something to upset them or make them, if they started saying, picking on him or something they might turn and start*

*being racist and get angry.* Also group member 5 suggests that racism is perpetuated by terrorism citing *'bombing'* as a cause of racism.

#### **17. Racism and relative deprivation theory.**

Group member 5's answer suggests the relationship between racism and relative deprivation when he argues that a wealthy black person may be more likely to be a subjected to racism than a poor black person: *'because they take jobs of certain people and they get more money.'*

#### **18. Nationalism.**

In the following extract group members discuss a former Polish student in the school who was subjected to racism in school. Notably group members 5 and 6 seem annoyed because the student sang a Polish song on the school stage on Welsh day which could be interpreted as nationalistic:

Group member 6: *'He went out onto the stage and he started singing a Polish song on'*

Group member 5: *'On Welsh day'*

Group member 6: *'On Welsh day'*

#### **Table 43: Findings of focus group 3- facilitators of equality**

##### **Findings of focus group 3- facilitators of equality**

1. Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela.
2. Nike anti-racism campaigns.
3. Kick racism out of Football and other celebrity led campaigns.
4. 'Make new laws.'
5. Raise greater awareness about racism through a variety of mediums.

### **1. Martin Luther King and Nelson Mandela.**

In response to a question about anti-racism efforts group member 2 highlights Martin Luther King and group member 5 highlights Nelson Mandela.

### **2. Nike anti-racism campaigns.**

Focus group member 1 emphasises the Nike anti-racism campaign as being an effective anti-racism measure: *'they had a campaign, stand up and speak up against racism.'*

### **3. Kick racism out of Football and other celebrity led campaigns.**

Additionally group member 1 highlights the *kick racism out of football* campaign noting that *'it's on all the adverts.'* Group number 2 points to the fact that fans can get banned from attending football matches if they are caught being racist: *'You get banned if you get caught doing racism, you get banned from the grounds and stuff.'* The majority of group members stress that celebrity led campaigns may be an effective anti-racism measure.

### **4. 'Make new laws.'**

Focus group member 5 suggests *'making new laws'* would be an effective way to tackle racism.

### **5. Raise greater awareness about racism through different mediums.**

Group member 4 suggests the need to *'make people more aware'* of racism as a way of tackling it. In addition group members list a variety of mediums which could be used to raise greater awareness about racism including the use of *'posters'*, *'adverts'*, *'radio'*, *'television'*, *'magazines'* and *'beebo'*, *'msn'* and other sites on the *'internet.'*



## School Survey 2 Findings (South Wales)

### Section 1: Nationality: questions 1-4

**Table 44: Findings from responses to questions 1-4**

#### Findings from responses to nationality section, section 1, questions 1-4

1. Exclusion and emotional significance attached to nationality.
2. Belonging and emotional significance attached to nationality.
3. Pride and emotional significance attached to nationality.
4. No overt presentation of emotional significance attached to nationality.
5. Sport and emotional significance attached to nationality.
6. St David's Day and emotional significance attached to nationality.
7. Welsh language and emotional significance attached to nationality.
8. An ambivalent presentation of emotional significance attached to nationality.
9. Nationalism and emotional significance attached to nationality.

#### Question 1: section 1, survey 2: What is your nationality?

**Figure \* Table of findings from responses to question 1**

'Afghan'	'Polish'	'Welsh'	'British'	'British Welsh'
1	1	10	6	1

There was 1 non responder.

**Question 2, section 1, survey 2: What does your nationality mean to you?**

**Exclusion and emotional significance attached to nationality.**

Respondent A who specifies an Afghan nationality and is an asylum seeker links nationality with a sense of exclusion: *'My nationality means exclusion.'* This response shows the emotional significance attached to nationality.

**Belonging and emotional significance attached to nationality.**

Respondent B who specifies a British nationality links nationality with a sense of belonging: *'It is where you belong.'*

**Pride and emotional significance attached to nationality.**

Thirteen out of 20 respondents' responses indicate a sense of pride in explaining what nationality means to them which shows the emotional significance respondents attach to their nationalities. Of those 13 respondents, 9 specify a Welsh nationality and 4 specify a British nationality. For respondent O, pride appears inherent in the statement: *'It makes me who I am.'* Six respondents (respondents D, K, L, M, N and T) specifically refer to pride in connection with being Welsh. For example, respondent M states: *'It makes me proud to be Welsh.'* Two respondents highlight coming from Wales in their statements, for example respondent J statement is: *'That I am from Wales and proud of it.'* Three respondents, (respondents L, P and T) highlight that their nationality *'means a lot'* for them personally, for example respondent P states: *'My nationality means a lot to me. It makes me feel proud.'*

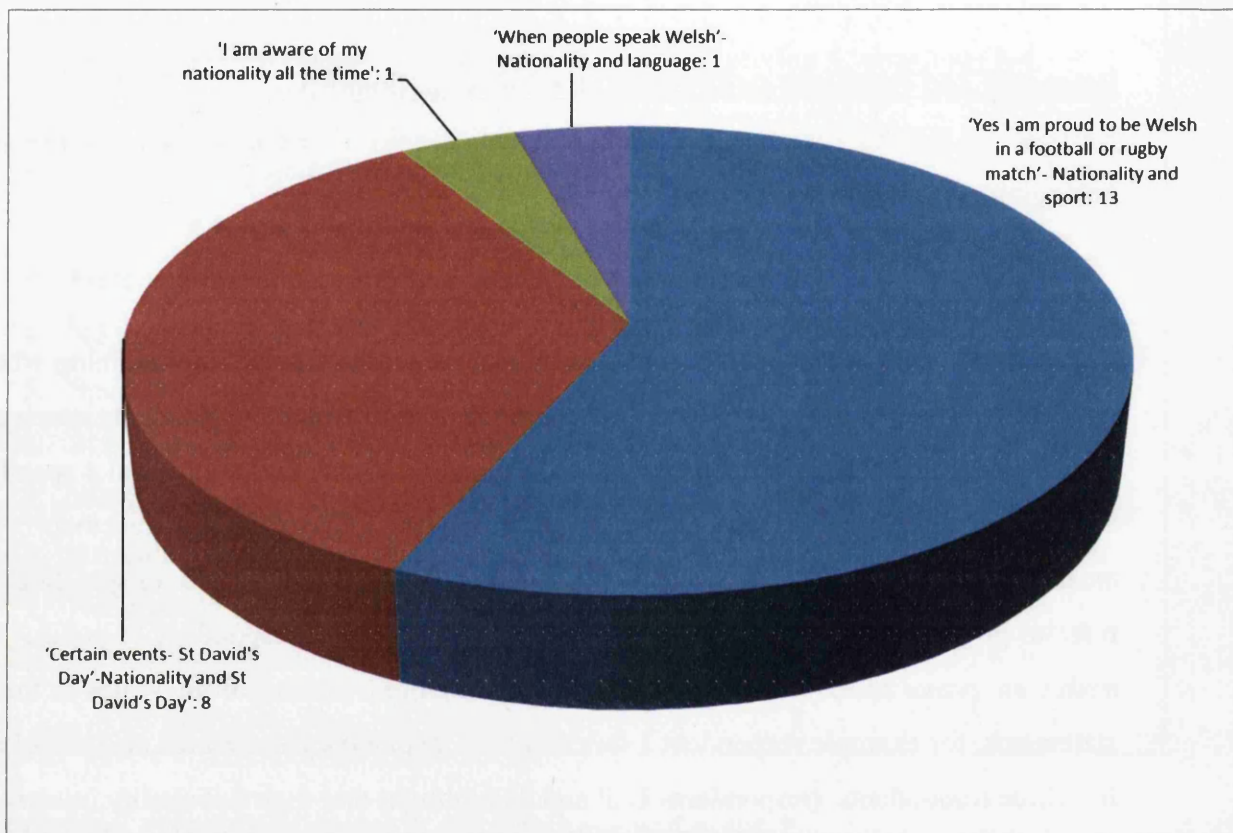
**No overt presentation of emotional significance attached to nationality.**

There appears no overt presentation of emotional significance attached to nationality in four out of 20 respondents' responses (respondents C, H, Q and R). For example respondent R (who specifies a British Welsh nationality) responds: *'Not a lot, a nationality is a nationality, doesn't make you who you are.'*

There was 1 non responder.

**Question 3, section 1, survey 2: Can you describe or provide examples of any times when you have felt particularly aware of your nationality?**

**Figure 5: Pie chart showing themes relating to respondents' awareness of nationality.**



**Exclusion and emotional significance attached to nationality.**

Respondent A who specifies an Afghan nationality and is an asylum seeker highlights that he is reminded of his nationality *'all the time'* in Wales by *'everybody'* who notices him because of his nationality and his *'different colour'*: *'I am aware of my nationality all the time. E.g. walking in the street with different colour everybody look at me, because of my nationality.'*

### **Sport and emotional significance attached to nationality.**

Thirteen out of 20 respondents link being particularly aware of their nationality to a sporting event. Of those 13 respondents 8 stated a Welsh identity, 3 a British identity and 1 a British Welsh identity (Respondent S does not specify a nationality).

Nine out of 20 respondents highlighted that they are aware of their nationality as a spectator of a rugby or a football match. Four out of 20 respondents emphasised being aware of their nationality when a match has been won. For example one respondent (respondent J) said: *'Watching football, rugby, etc.'* whereas another respondent (respondent G) linked awareness of nationality with winning: *'When we won the grand slam in the 6 nations.'*

### **St David's Day and emotional significance attached to nationality.**

Eight out of 20 respondents highlight St David's day as being when they feel especially aware of their nationality. For example respondent O highlights St David's day stating that he or she has an awareness of nationality at this event stating: *'Certain events. St David's Day.'*

Of those 8 respondents 6 stated a Welsh nationality, 1 a British-Welsh nationality and 1 a British nationality in response to question 1.

### **Welsh language and emotional significance attached to nationality.**

As well as referring to sport respondent H who specifies a Welsh nationality also links particular awareness of nationality with language: *'When people speak Welsh, when we win rugby.'*

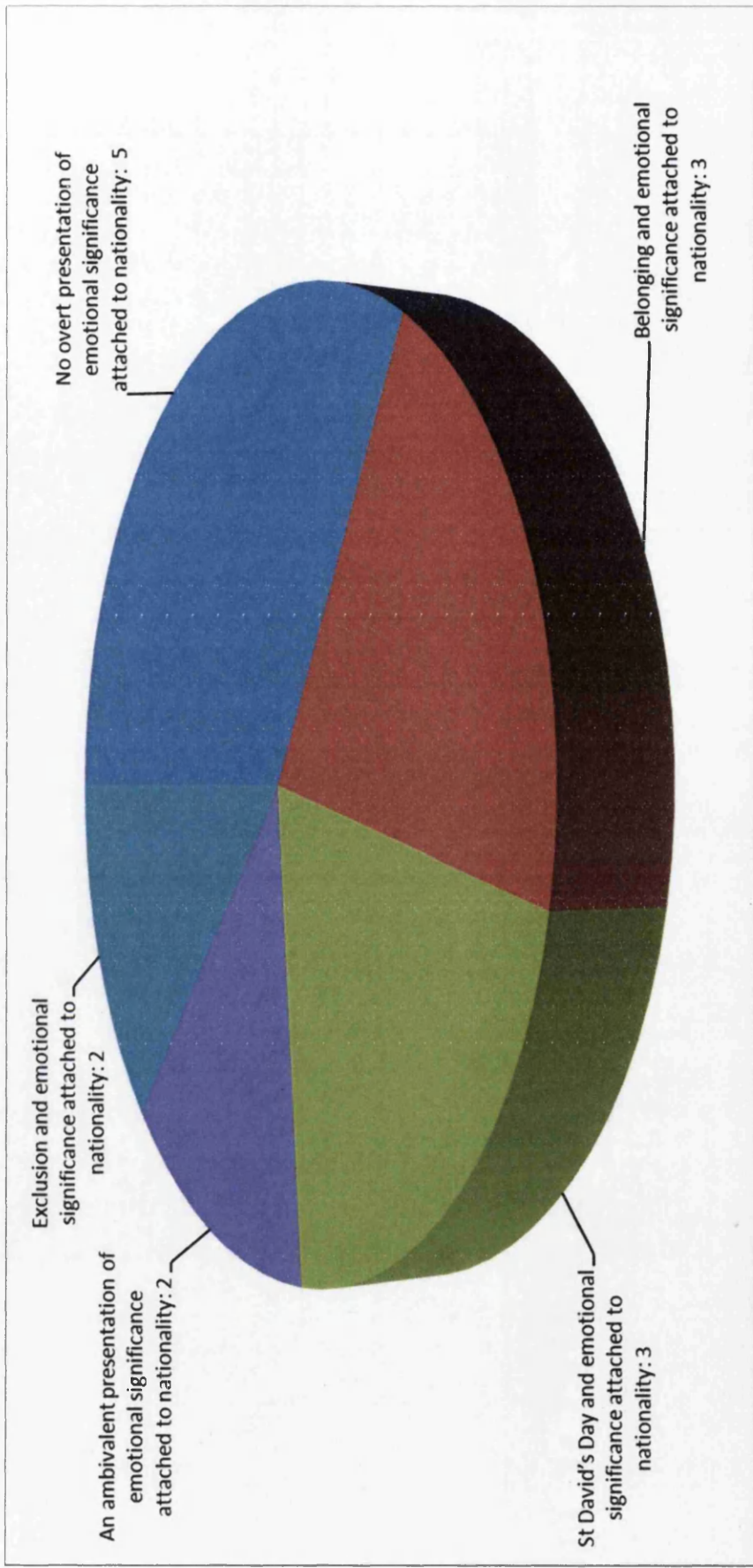
There were 3 non responders.

**Question 4, section 1, survey 2: Do you feel your nationality gives you a sense of belonging?**

Ten out of 20 respondents indicated that they consider that their nationality provides them with a sense of belonging. One of these respondents (respondent O) indicated an awareness of a relationship between nationality and a sense of belonging and qualified this stating with: 'sometimes'. Six out of 20 respondents indicated that they did not consider that their nationality provides them a sense of belonging.

Figure 6 which follows shows emergent themes from respondent's responses to question 4.

Figure 6: A pie chart showing themes relating to respondents' responses to question 4



**An ambivalent presentation of emotional significance attached to nationality.**

Respondents K and L who specify a Welsh nationality indicate a certain ambivalence in relation to the emotional significance they attach to their their nationality stating: *'I think Wales is ok.'*

**Belonging and emotional significance attached to nationality.**

Respondents C, G, and M all affirm that their nationality provides them with a sense of belonging responding with 'yes'. Of those respondents, one states a Polish nationality and two state Welsh nationality.

**Nationalism and emotional significance attached to nationality.**

The answer provided by respondent J who specifies Welsh nationality suggests a link between belonging and nationalism in relation to nationality: *'Yes because I'd rather be from Wales than England.'*

**St David's Day and emotional significance attached to nationality.**

Respondents E, F and I all highlight St David's day in response to being asked if their nationality provides a sense of belonging: *'St David's day- proud to be Welsh.'* Of those respondents all 3 specify a British nationality.

**Exclusion and emotional significance attached to nationality.**

Respondent A specifies an Afghan nationality and is an asylum seeker. His response here points to the dichotomy between inclusion and exclusion, of insider and outsider, where he emphasises a feeling of unbelonging experienced in the U.K: *'Yes, my nationality means to me that I am belong to different country compare to U.K. E.g. every single moment, language, education system, culture and so on.'*

Respondent O specifies a British nationality and points to a feeling of unbelonging and intimidation experienced in 'other countries' where 'sometimes' the respondent feels a sense of unbelonging because of difference: *'Sometimes when in other countries, being surrounded by a different nationality feels very intimidating and makes you feel like you don't belong.'*

**No overt presentation of emotional significance attached to nationality.**

Respondents H and N who specify a Welsh nationality and respondent R who specifies a British Welsh nationality all highlight that nationality does not provide them with a sense of belonging. For example respondent H states: *'Not really, nationality ain't your friend is it.'* Notably, whilst respondent N states that nationality does not provide a sense of belonging, respondent N does highlight pride in nationality in response to being asked what does your nationality mean to you in question 2 where the respondent highlights: *'I'm proud to be Welsh.'*

Respondents D and T who both specify a Welsh nationality state: *'I think that Wales is the worst country around.'* Here there appears no overt signifiers of emotional significance attached to nationality. However these responses here appear incongruous with those given by the same respondents to question 2. In response to what does your nationality mean to you, respondent D states: *'I'm proud to be Welsh.'* Similarly respondent T highlights: *'my nationality is important to me because I'm proud to be Welsh an my family's from here.'*

There were 4 non responders.



## **Section 2: Influences on attitudes in relation to racism: Questions 5-16**

**Question 5, section 2, survey 2: *What would you say are the main influences on your attitude in relation to racism?***

**Table 45: Findings from responses to question 5**

### **Findings from responses to question 5**

1. The damaging effects racism can have on people.
2. The influence of being brought up in a multi-ethnic family.
3. The influence of family and friends.
4. The influence of school.
5. The influence of the media.

Respondents highlight a variety of influences on their attitudes in relation to racism including the damaging effects racism can have on people, being brought up in a multi-ethnic family, influences of family and friends in general, influence of school, and the influence of the media.

#### **The damaging effects racism can have on people.**

Here respondent A points to the significant damaging effects of racism stating: *'I will say the influence on my attitude to racism could make a big difference to the people, e.g. if you are racist to someone in a nasty way you could destroy their life.'*

#### **The influence of being brought up in a multi-ethnic family.**

In this statement respondent O highlights the influence of being brought up in an ethnically diverse family on attitudes in relation to racism: *'I have different races in my family and have been brought up around them.'*

### **The influence of family and friends.**

Eight out of 20 respondents highlight the influence of friends and or family on their attitudes in relation to racism. Four out of 20 respondents (respondents B, D, L, and T) highlight both family and friends as influential and four out of 20 respondents (respondents G, H, R and S) highlight family as influential. For example respondent R suggests that family influences his or her attitude in relation to racism emphasising how attitudes may be affected by how a child is treated by family during childhood and adolescence: '*...family when you grow up how you were treated.*'

### **The influence of school.**

Eight out of 20 respondents (respondents D, H, K, L, P, Q, R and T) highlight the influence of school on their attitudes in relation to racism. For example respondent R highlights '*multicultural school*' as a key influence.

### **The influence of the media.**

Six out of 20 respondents (respondents D, G, K, L, S and T) highlight the influence of the media on their attitudes in relation to racism, for example, respondent K emphasises: '*Education influences and media influences*' as particular influences.

There was 1 non responder.

**Question 6, section 2, survey 2: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by your parents' or guardians' attitudes in relation to racism?**

**Table 46: Findings from responses to question 6**

**Findings from responses to question 6**

1. Respondents can challenge racism through their own knowledge.
2. Parents of respondents can challenge racism through educating respondents about anti-racism.

**Respondents can challenge racism through their own knowledge.**

Eight out of 20 respondents considered that their attitudes were not influenced by their parents or guardians attitudes in relation to racism. Of those 8, three respondents (J,M, and N) said no they did not consider that their attitudes were influenced by their parents or guardians attitudes in relation to racism. A further 5 respondents (A, D, K, L and T) said no and included additional comments. All of those 5 respondents highlighted autonomy of opinion. For example respondent K asserts: *'No because I think what I want to think.'* Additionally three of those respondents (D, L and T) associate racism with religion. For example respondent D states: *'No because I think what I want to think about religion.'* In particular, respondent A underlines the capacity for autonomy of opinion stating: *'I think the attitude of the racism belong to the knowledge of the person, not to parents and guardians, e.g. if you check one family, two or three member of the family could be racism but one of them not, he can change this racism by his knowledge.'*

**Parents of respondents can challenge racism through educating respondents about anti-racism.**

Five out of 20 respondents did consider there to be a relationship between their parents or guardians attitudes in relation to racism and their attitudes in relation to racism. All of these respondents highlight the influence their parents have had on their attitudes in relation to racism. Respondent O qualifies agreement stating *'partly'* and points to religion, highlighting closeness with family who are Muslims in explaining how his or her attitudes in relation to racism are influenced by his or her parents' attitudes: *'Partly, because they are so close with my uncle and cousins who are Muslims.* Additionally respondent H indicates: *'Yeah, my mother don't like it.'* Similarly, 2 out of 5 respondents (P and Q) underline that their parents were brought up not to be racist which has had an impact on their parents' attitudes and consequently on their attitudes in relation to racism. For example respondent Q comments: *'My parents grew up not to be racist and have taught me the same.'*

Notably respondent R writes *'my parents are racist'* and crosses this out adding *'My parents are not racist.'* This could suggest the respondent is being ironical or alternatively it could indicate the respondent's concern about commenting on racist attitudes possibly expressed by his or her family.

There were 5 non responders.

**Question 7, section 2, survey 2: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by your friends' attitudes in relation to racism?**

**Table 47: Findings from responses to question 7**

**Findings from responses to question 7**

1. A majority of respondents emphasise that they make up their own minds and are not influenced by their friends' attitudes in relation to racism.
2. A minority of respondents indicate that there is a correlation between their attitudes and their friends' attitudes in relation to racism.

**No correlation between respondents' attitudes and their friends' attitudes in relation to racism.**

Twelve out of 20 respondents' responses indicate that they do not consider that their attitudes in relation to racism are influenced by their friends' attitudes. Six out of those 12 respondents emphasise their individuality and autonomy of attitudes over the influence of peer pressure on their attitudes in relation to racism. For example respondent A underlines how 'nobody' can influence him to be racist and that all humans are equal stating: *'I think my attitude in relation to racism is always the same. I don't believe racism and against it and to me all humans are the same and nobody can influence me to be a racist.'* Similarly respondent K states: *'No because I think what I want to think.'* Additionally respondent H points out that whilst some of his or her friends 'are' racist that he or she is not racist, stating: *'Not really, some of my friends are and I ain't.'*

Additionally 2 out of those 12 respondents (D and T) indicate that racism is not something they discuss with their friends stating. For example respondent T states: *'No because we don't really talk about it!'*

Notably, respondent M who is white maintains that he or she is not influenced by friends' attitudes in relation to racism because of having a friend who is black, stating: *'No because my friend is black.'*

**Relationship between respondents' attitudes and their friends' attitudes in relation to racism.**

A minority of two out of 20 respondents (B and Q) state that 'yes' their attitudes in relation to racism are influenced by their friends' attitudes in relation to racism.

There were 6 non responders.

**Question 8, section 2, survey 2: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by anti-racist campaigns that use celebrities to promote them?**

**Table 48: Findings from responses to question 8**

**Findings from responses to question 8**

1. Five out of 20 respondents do not consider that celebrity led anti-racist campaigns influence their attitudes in relation to racism.
2. Four out of 20 respondents do consider that celebrity led anti-racist campaigns influence their attitudes in relation to racism.
3. Two out of 20 respondents are uncertain about the influence of celebrity led anti-racist campaigns on their attitudes in relation to racism.

**Celebrity led anti-racist campaigns do not influence attitudes in relation to racism.**

Five out of 20 respondents (A, M, N, Q and R) stated that they do not perceive a correlation between celebrity led anti-racist campaigns and their attitudes in relation to racism. Five respondents said no and respondent A added further comments highlighting the fact that president Obama of the U.S. is 'coloured' and is the president of a country that is very powerful: *'I don't think the relation to racism work for celebrities or important person. E.g. President Obama he is a coloured person and he is the president of one of the most powerful countries in the world.'*

**Celebrity led anti-racist campaigns do influence attitudes in relation to racism.**

Four out of 20 respondents stated that they do perceive a correlation between celebrity led anti-racist campaigns and their attitudes in relation to racism. Two of those respondents (D

and T) highlight how people respect celebrities and try to emulate them. For example respondent T maintains: *'I think you are influenced by celebrities because you look up to some and you think the same as them.'* Additionally two other respondents (K and L) highlight the record which was made as part of the band aid campaign which aimed at helping people in poverty who were suffering from famine and drought. For example respondent K states: *'Yes like band aid singing.'*

**Uncertainty about the influence of celebrity led anti-racist campaigns on attitudes in relation to racism.**

Two out of 20 respondents (G and J) express uncertainty about the impact of celebrity led anti-racist campaigns. For example respondent J states: *'I'm not sure.'*

There were 8 non responders.



**Question 9, section 2, survey 2: If you read newspapers which do you read?**

**Table: 49: Findings from responses to question 9**

**Findings from responses to question 9**

1. Five out of 20 respondents read the Evening post (A, B, J, Q and R).
2. Five out of 20 respondents read The Sun (G, K, L, N, R).
3. Two out of 20 respondents read the Daily Mirror (J and M).
4. One out of 20 respondents reads the Daily sport and the News of the world (G).
5. Two out of 20 respondents highlight that they read 'True stories' (D and T).

There were 7 non responders.

**Question 10, section 2, survey 2: If your parents read newspapers which do they read?**

**Table 50: Findings from responses to question 10**

**Findings from responses to question 10**

1. Eight out of 20 respondents state that their parents read the Evening post (A, B, H, K, L, N, Q, R).
2. Five out of 20 respondents state that their parents read The Sun (G, K, L, M, R).
3. Three out of 20 respondents state that their parents read the Daily Sport (D, G and T).
4. One out of 20 respondents states that his or her parents read the News of the World (G).
5. One out of 20 respondents states that his or her parents reads the The Daily Mail and the Times ( J).

There were 7 non responders.

**Question 11, section 2, survey 2: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by reporting in newspapers?**

**Table 51: Findings from responses to question 11**

**Findings from responses to question 11**

1. Eleven out of 20 respondents highlight that they consider their attitudes in relation to racism are not influenced by newspaper reporting.
2. Three out of 20 respondents stated that they did consider newspaper reporting had an influence on their attitudes in relation to racism.

**Reporting in newspapers does not influence attitudes in relation to racism.**

Eleven out of 20 respondents consider their attitudes in relation to racism are not influenced by newspaper reporting. Of those eleven, four respondents (A, J, Q and R) highlight their autonomy of opinion. For example respondent R states: *'No I make my own decisions.'* Also respondent A points to the credibility of the journalist having an impact, maintaining that: *'It depends who is wrote the newspaper.'* Additionally two out of those 11 respondents ( D and T) associate racism with religion. For example respondent T states: *'No because I don't read the religion stories.'* Three out of 11 respondents (D, H and T) highlight that they are not influenced by newspaper reporting because either they don't read papers or they do not read articles related to racism in newspapers. For example respondent H indicates this stating: *'Not really don't read them.'*

**Reporting in newspapers does influence attitudes in relation to racism.**

Three out of 20 respondents (B, K and L) stated that they did consider newspapers had an influence on their attitudes in relation to racism. Two out of those three respondents highlight the influence of violent racist attacks reported in newspapers. For example respondent K states: *'Yes like when knifing was happening due to racism.'*

There were 6 non responders.

**Question 12, section 2, survey 2: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by bullying?**

**Table 52: Findings from responses to question 12**

**Findings from responses to question 12**

1. Eight out of 20 respondents consider that their attitudes in relation to racism are influenced by bullying.
2. Four out of 20 respondents consider that their attitudes in relation to racism are not influenced by bullying.

**Bullying does influence attitudes in relation to racism.**

Of the eight out of 20 respondents (A, B, D, H, K L, R and T) who stated that their attitudes in relation to racism are influenced by bullying, four respondents (D, K, L and T) refer to the hurtful impact of bullying and racism. For example, respondent L comments: *'Yes because seeing people get hurt is horrible.'* Additionally respondent A highlights the Holocaust and the anti-Semitic bullying of Jews maintaining: *'I think the relation to racism could influenced by bullying. E.g. Hitler influenced Germans to bully Jews.'*

**Bullying does not influence attitudes in relation to racism.**

Of the 4 out of 20 respondents (J,M, N and Q) who affirmed that their attitudes in relation to racism are not influenced by bullying, one respondent, respondent J emphasises the power of autonomous opinion stating: *No because it is my opinion.'*

There were 7 non responders.

**Question 13, section 2, survey 2: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by a fear of difference?**

**Table 53: Findings from responses to question 13**

**Findings from responses to question 13**

1. Nine out of 20 respondents stated that they consider their attitudes in relation to racism are not influenced by a fear of difference.
2. Two out of 20 respondents stated that they consider that their attitudes in relation to racism are influenced by a fear of difference.

**A fear of difference does not influence attitudes in relation to racism.**

Of the nine out of 20 respondents who stated that their attitudes in relation to racism are not influenced by a fear of difference, six respondents said no,(G, J, M, N, Q and R) a further three (D, H and T) also said no, whilst adding comments in relation to everyone being different. For example, respondent D states: *'No it don't make me hurt because I know that everyone is different.'*

**A fear of difference does not influence attitudes in relation to racism.**

Only 2 out of 20 respondents (A and B) stated that they consider attitudes in relation to racism are influenced by a fear of difference. For example, respondent A highlights the continual presence of racism past and present and links that to fear commenting: *'I think it could influenced by fear. E.g. it's been happened for past years, it would be finished now.'*

There were 9 non responders.

**Question 14, section 2, survey 2: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by politics?**

**Table 54: Findings from responses to question 14**

**Findings from responses to question 14**

1. Nine out of 20 respondents stated that they consider their attitudes in relation to racism are not influenced by politics.
2. Two out of 20 respondents stated that they consider that their attitudes in relation to racism are influenced by politics.

**Politics does not influence attitudes in relation to racism.**

Of the nine out of 20 respondents who stated that they did not consider their attitudes in relation to racism are influenced by politics, six said no (G, H, M, N, Q, and R) and a further three (D, J and T) said no whilst adding additional comments. Two respondents (D and T) explain that politics does not influence their attitudes because they consider '*politics is boring.*' Also, respondent J points out that whilst his or her attitude in relation to racism is not influenced by politics other people's attitudes may be influenced by politics, maintaining: '*Not mine but maybe other people.*'

**Politics does influence attitudes in relation to racism.**

Two out of 20 respondents (A and B) stated that they consider that politics influences their attitudes in relation to racism. Notably respondent A maintains that he considers politics influences attitudes in relation to racism highlighting the impact George W. Bush, the former president of the U.S has had: '*Yes, I think it could influence by politics. E.g. George W. Bush influence people by politics because he is American.*'

There were 9 non responders.

**Question 15, section 2, survey 2: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by religion?**

**Table 55: Findings from responses to question 15**

**Findings from responses to question 15**

1. Eight out of 20 respondents indicated that religion does not influence their attitudes in relation to racism.
2. One out of 20 respondents indicated that religion does influence his or her attitude in relation to racism.

**Religion does not influence attitudes in relation to racism.**

Eight out of 20 respondents (D, G, H, J, M, N, Q and T) stated that they did not consider their attitudes in relation to racism are influenced by religion simply stating 'no', 'nah' or 'nope.'

**Religion does influence attitudes in relation to racism.**

Only one out of 20 respondents, respondent B stated that religion influences his or her attitude in relation to racism simply stating 'yes.'

There were 11 non responders.

**Question 16, section 2, survey 2: Do you think your attitude in relation to racism is influenced by nationality?**

**Table 56: Findings from responses to question 16**

**Findings from responses to question 16**

1. Eight out of 20 respondents stated that nationality does not influence their attitudes in relation to racism.
2. One out of 20 respondents indicated that nationality does influence his or her attitude in relation to racism.

**Nationality does not influence attitudes in relation to racism.**

Eight out of 20 respondents (D, G, H, J, M, N, Q and T) stated that they did not consider their attitudes in relation to racism are influenced by nationality simply stating 'no', 'nah' or 'nope.'

**Nationality does influence attitudes in relation to racism.**

Only one out of 20 respondents, respondent B stated that nationality influences his or her attitude in relation to racism simply stating 'yes.'

There were 11 non responders.

### **Section 3: Attitudes to media headlines**

Respondents were asked to make a selection on the likert scale to show the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with media headlines sourced from the media in the U.K. (see appendix 24) and were asked to elaborate on their selection with their reasoning. Reasoning given by respondents is shown and discussed in this section.

#### **Question 17, section 3, survey 2: 'Get British or Get Out of the Country'**

**Table 57: Findings from responses to question 17**

##### **Findings from responses to question 17**

1. Seven out of 20 respondents highlighted the importance of welcoming diversity and disagreed with the headline '*Get British or Get Out of the Country.*'
2. Six out of 20 respondents highlighted the economic threat of the Other and agreed with the headline '*Get British or Get Out of the Country.*'
3. Two out of 20 respondents were undecided about the headline '*Get British or Get Out of the Country.*'

The use of media headline 17 sought to test for levels of agreement and disagreement to this extremist attitude. Whilst responses are not conclusive a slightly greater number of respondents disagreed with the media headline '*Get British or get out of the country.*'



**Likert table showing responses to question 17**

17.	<i>Get British or Get Out of the Country.</i>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		1	5		2	2	2	3

**Relative deprivation, the economic threat of the Other, racism and xenophobia**

Respondent P somewhat disagrees with the headline stating *'It is a free world but people can sometimes cause problems.'* Respondent P's reference to *'but people can sometimes cause problems'* seems to place blame with ethnic minority communities for causing problems.

Respondent N somewhat disagrees but the explanation provided appears to conflict with this disagreement as respondent N maintains: *'Because foreigners come to Britain and take our jobs.'* This appears to suggest a relationship between relative deprivation theory, racism and xenophobia. Also dichotomization and dominance is apparent in some responses. For example, respondents D and T agree with the media headline stating: *'Because it's our country, no one else should be allowed in it.'* Similarly, respondent B strongly agrees with the headline explaining: *'If you aren't British you don't belong there.'* Additionally respondent J is undecided, and points to companies who employ 'foreign cheap labourers': *'I think that certain companies may use foreign cheap labourers.'*

**Welcoming diversity**

Three out of 20 respondents (M, O and R) strongly disagree with the headline underlining the importance of welcoming diversity. For example respondent O maintains: *'It's good to have different nationalities.'*

Respondent Q disagrees with the headline highlighting diversity stating: *'Because you don't have to be British to live here.'*

There were 5 non responders.

**Question 18, section 3, survey 2: ‘Racism is an everyday reality. If we keep it off our TV screens we’re asking for trouble.’**

**Table 58: Findings from responses to question 18**

**Findings from responses to question 18**

1. One out of 20 respondents strongly agreed that ‘*Racism is an everyday reality. If we keep it off our TV screens we’re asking for trouble.*’
2. One out of 20 respondents made a denial of racism strongly disagreeing that ‘*Racism is an everyday reality. If we keep it off our TV screens we’re asking for trouble.*’
3. Twelve out of 20 respondents were undecided as to whether ‘*Racism is an everyday reality. If we keep it off our TV screens we’re asking for trouble.*’

The use of media headline 18 sought to test attitudes to racism and to the coverage of racism on television. Whilst the majority of respondents were undecided, 1 out of 20 respondents (respondent L) strongly agrees that racism is an everyday reality and should not be kept off television, and 1 out of 20 respondents (respondent R) strongly disagrees with the headline suggesting that the media headline exaggerates the problem of racism in society stating: ‘*Don’t be blowing it out of proportion like the media does.*’ Here respondent R’s response could be interpreted as a denial of racism.

**Likert table showing responses to question 18**

18.	<i>Racism is an everyday reality. If we keep it off our TV screens we're asking for trouble.</i>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		1			12			1

There were 6 non responders.

**Question 19, section 3, survey 2: 'Britain's 'betrayed' white working classes believe immigrants receive better treatment.'**

**Table 59: Findings from responses to question 19**

<p><b><u>Findings from responses to question 19</u></b></p> <p>1. Ten out of 20 respondents agreed that '<i>Britain's 'betrayed' white working classes believe immigrants receive better treatment</i>' indicating relative deprivation and the economic threat of the Other.</p> <p>2. Two out of 20 respondents disagreed that '<i>Britain's 'betrayed' white working classes believe immigrants receive better treatment.</i>'</p> <p>3. Two out of 20 respondents were undecided as to whether '<i>Britain's 'betrayed' white working classes believe immigrants receive better treatment.</i>'</p>
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The use of media headline 19 sought to test the impact of class on attitudes towards immigrants. Findings show that the majority of respondents consider that Britain's white working class feel betrayed in that they believe immigrants receive better treatment. Ten out of 20 respondents strongly agreed, agreed or somewhat agreed whereas only 2 out of 20 respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed. Two out of 20 respondents were undecided.

**Likert table showing responses to question 19**

19.	<i>Britain's 'betrayed' white working classes believe immigrants receive better treatment.</i>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2		5	3	2		1	1	

**Immigrants, white working classes, relative deprivation and the economic threat of the Other.**

Respondents' discourses presented here suggest a link between relative deprivation theory (Runciman, 1966) and negative attitudes towards immigrants. For example respondent R strongly agrees with the media headline maintaining that: *'They are working in loads of shops.'* Additionally, respondent G somewhat agrees and shows empathy with the frustration of white working class people stating: *'I think they come over here for money by working cheaper than the original workers.'*

Similarly respondents G, J and M somewhat agreed showing resentment connected with immigrants in the U.K. For example respondent J blames companies who employ large numbers of foreigners at a low cost stating: *'I think companies are employing too many cheap foreign labourers.'* Additionally respondent M states: *'Because they come into our country they get a house and money for nothing.'*

**Immigrants deserve benefits.**

In contrast to the majority of responses respondent O strongly disagrees with the headline stating: *'Maybe they just deserve it.'*

There were 6 non responders.

**Question 20, section 3, survey 2: ‘Racism is learned behaviour and we have to unlearn it.’**

**Table 60: Findings from responses to question 20**

<b><u>Findings from responses to question 20</u></b>	
1.	Six out of 20 respondents agreed that ‘ <i>Racism is learned behaviour and we have to unlearn it.</i> ’
2.	Four out of 20 respondents disagreed that ‘ <i>Racism is learned behaviour and we have to unlearn it.</i> ’
3.	Four out of 20 respondents were undecided as to whether ‘ <i>Racism is learned behaviour and we have to unlearn it.</i> ’

The use of media headline 20 sought to test how far respondents agree that racism is a learned behaviour. The majority of respondents consider that racism is a learned behaviour that needs to be unlearnt. 6 out of 20 respondents agreed compared with 4 out of 20 respondents who strongly disagreed, disagreed or somewhat disagreed. Four out of 20 respondents were undecided.

**Likert table showing responses to question 20**

20.	<i>Racism is learned behaviour and we have to unlearn it.</i>	Strongly Agree		Somewhat Agree		Somewhat Disagree		Strongly Disagree
		Agree	6	Undecided	4	Disagree	1	1

**Need to challenge racism through education to avoid many more wars.**

Respondent N agrees with the media headline pointing to the need to avoid more wars, stating: *'Otherwise there will be many wars in the future.'*

**Significance of individual autonomy of decision making.**

In contrast, respondent M somewhat disagrees that *racism is learned behaviour and we have to unlearn it*, stating: *'Because people decide to be racist and they are not learning.'*

There were 5 non responders.

**Question 21, section 3, survey 2: British society is dripping in racism, but no one is prepared to admit it.**

**Table 61: Findings from responses to question 21**

**Findings from responses to question 21**

1. Eight out of 20 respondents agreed that *'British society is dripping in racism, but no one is prepared to admit it.'*
2. Four out of 20 respondents disagreed that *'British society is dripping in racism, but no one is prepared to admit it.'*
3. Two out of 20 respondents were undecided as to whether *'British society is dripping in racism, but no one is prepared to admit it.'*

The use of media headline 21 sought to test respondents' attitudes towards denials of racism in the U.K. The majority of respondents consider that *'British society is dripping in racism but no one is prepared to admit it.'*

**Likert table showing responses to question 21**

21.	<i>British society is dripping in racism, but no one is prepared to admit it.</i>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		3	2	3	2	2	2	

**Racism is a significant problem in the U.K.**

Eight out of 20 respondents strongly agreed, agreed or somewhat agreed with the media headline. Two out of those 8 respondents (J and N) strongly agree with the media headline and underline that *'British society is dripping with racism'*. For example respondent N states: *'there is a lot of racism in Britain.'*

Additionally, respondent O somewhat agrees with the headline and points to some people's preference to overlook racism: *'People would rather ignore it.'*

**Racism is not a significant problem in the U.K.**

In contrast to the majority of respondents who agreed with the media headline, only 4 out of 20 respondents somewhat disagreed or disagreed with it. For example, respondent R disagrees with the suggestion that racism is a significant problem in society arguing that British society supports pluralism, stating: *'Britain is a good place for different religions.'*

There were 6 non responders.

**Question 22, section 3, survey 2: Table to add your own headline**

**Table 62: Findings from responses to question 22**

<p><b><u>Findings from responses to question 22</u></b></p> <p>1. Two out of 20 respondents stated: <i>'There's more children getting bullied than adults.'</i></p>
---

**Q.22 Table to add your own headline.**

Respondents D and T wrote their own headlines, representing 2 out of 20 respondents. Respondents D and T both show particular concern for bullying of children stating: *'there's more children getting bullied than adults.'* Respondent D agrees and respondent T strongly agrees with their headline pointing to bullying that is found in schools. Respondent T elaborates on the headline simply stating: *'schools.'*

**Likert table showing responses to question 22**

22.	<i>'There's more children getting bullied than adults'</i>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		1	1					

There were 18 non responders.



**Question 23, section 3, survey 2: Table to add your own headline.**

**Table 63: Findings from responses to question 23**

**Findings from responses to question 23**

1. Two out of 20 respondents stated that: *'Teachers don't do enough to stop bullying.'*

Respondents D and T wrote their own headlines, representing 2 out of 20 respondents. (Respondents D and T also wrote headlines for the add your own headline space in 22.) Respondent D agrees and respondent T strongly agrees with their headline. Again respondents D and T show particular concern for bullying which suggests they consider it is a significant problem in school. Additionally here they suggest that teachers need to do more to address bullying in school, maintaining that: *'teachers don't do enough to stop bullying.'*

**Likert table showing responses to question 23**

23.	<b>Teachers don't do enough to stop bullying</b>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		1	1					

There were 18 non responders.

## **Section 4: attitudes towards influences of racism: Questions 24-34**

Respondents were asked to make a selection on the likert scale to show the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with statements and were asked to elaborate on their selection with their reasoning. Reasoning given by respondents is shown and discussed in this section.

### **Question 24, section 4, survey 2: *A person is more likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person***

**Table 64: Findings from responses to question 24**

#### **Findings from responses to question 24**

1. Ten out of 20 respondents agreed that *a person is more likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person.*
2. One out of 20 respondents disagreed that *a person is more likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person.*
3. Two out of 20 respondents were undecided as to whether *a person is more likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person.*

Statement 24 sought to test attitudes to racism and economic status. The majority of respondents consider that a person is more likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person as 10 out of 20 respondents strongly agreed, agreed or somewhat agreed whereas 1 out of 20 respondents somewhat disagreed.

**Likert table showing responses to question 24**

24.	A person is more likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person.	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		1	6	3	2	1		

**Poverty, economic status and racism.**

Respondent J agrees suggesting that there may be more overt prejudiced behaviour exerted towards a poor person as opposed to an affluent person: *'because the rich person has money.'* Similarly respondent N also agrees stating: *'Because they want to be friends with the rich person because they have money.'*

Notably respondent M somewhat agrees and suggests that: *'it depends who it is that is behaving as a racist.'*

There were 7 non responders.

**Question 25, section 4, survey 2: A person is less likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person.**

**Table 65: Findings from responses to question 25**

<b><u>Findings from responses to question 25</u></b>	
1.	Five out of 20 respondents disagreed that <i>a person is less likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person.</i>
2.	Four out of 20 respondents agreed that <i>a person is less likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person.</i>
3.	Four out of 20 respondents were undecided as to whether <i>a person is less likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person.</i>

Statement 25 sought to test attitudes to racism and economic status. Higher levels of disagreement are found showing that the majority of respondents do not consider that a person is less likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person as 5 out of 20 respondents somewhat disagreed, disagreed or strongly disagreed whereas 4 out of 20 respondents agreed or somewhat agreed.

**Likert table showing responses to question 25**

25.	<i>A person is less likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person.</i>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
			2	2	4	2	2	1

### **Poverty, economic status and racism**

Respondent J disagrees stating that the reason why a person is less likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person than a rich person is because of prejudice against people in poverty: *'they prefer people with money.'* Similarly respondent N disagrees stating *'Because they want to be friends with the rich person because they have money.'*

Notably respondent M somewhat agrees and states: *'it depends who is behaving in a racist way.'*

There were 7 non responders.

### **Question 26, section 4, survey 2: A person is just as likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person as a rich person.**

**Table 66: Findings from responses to question 26**

#### **Findings from responses to question 26**

1. Five out of 20 respondents agreed that a *person is just as likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person as a rich person.*
2. Three out of 20 respondents disagreed that a *person is just as likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person as a rich person.*
3. Five out of 20 respondents were undecided as to whether a *person is just as likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person as a rich person.*

Statement 26 sought to test attitudes to racism and economic status. A higher level of agreement is shown as 5 out of 20 respondents agreed or somewhat agreed that a person is just as likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person as a rich person whereas only 3 out of 20 respondents somewhat disagreed or disagreed with the statement.

**Likert table showing responses to question 26**

26.	<i>A person is just as likely to behave in a racist way towards a poor person as a rich person.</i>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
			2	3	5	2	1	

**Poverty, economic status and racism.**

Respondent J somewhat disagrees stating: *'Because the rich person has money.'*

Similarly respondent N disagrees stating: *'Because they want to be friends with the rich person because they have money.'* Additionally respondent M somewhat agrees and highlights how behaviour very much depends on the individual: *'It depends on what person they are.'* This is the same response respondent M provides in response to 24 and 25 also.

There were 7 non responders.

**Question 27, section 4, survey 2: A person might behave in a racist way because parents or guardians behave in a racist way**

**Table 67: Findings from responses to question 27**

<p><b><u>Findings from responses to question 27</u></b></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Ten out of 20 respondents agreed that <i>a person might behave in a racist way because parents or guardians behave in a racist way.</i></li> <li>2. One out of 20 respondents disagreed that <i>a person might behave in a racist way because parents or guardians behave in a racist way.</i></li> <li>3. Two out of 20 respondents were undecided as to whether <i>a person might behave in a racist way because parents or guardians behave in a racist way.</i></li> </ol>
--

Statement 27 sought to test attitudes concerning whether racism is a learned behaviour from parents or guardians who express racist behaviour. A higher level of agreement is shown as 10 out of 20 respondents strongly agreed, agreed or somewhat agreed that a person might behave in a racist way because parents or guardians behave in a racist way whereas only 1 out of 20 respondents disagreed.

**Likert table showing responses to question 27**

27.	<i>A person might behave in a racist way because parents or guardians behave in a racist way</i>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
3		5	2	2		1		

**Children imitate their parents behaviour.**

Respondent M strongly agrees and respondents J and N agree that a person might behave in a racist way because parents or guardians behave in a racist way. Each respondent points to how children often mimic attitudes and behaviour displayed by parents. For example respondent J indicates: *‘Because children follow their parents.’* Similarly respondent M highlights how children tend to ‘idolise’ their parents or guardians and emulate their behaviour maintaining that: *‘Children tend to grow up to be like their parent or guardian because they idolise them and behave in the same way they would.’* Additionally respondent N’s response underlines how entrenched racism can be if it is habitual stating: *‘Because they get the habit of being racist. Monkey see Monkey do.’*

There were 7 non responders.

**Question 28, section 4, survey 2: A person might behave in a racist way because of a fear of difference**

**Table 68: Findings from responses to question 28**

<b><u>Findings from responses to question 28</u></b>	
1.	Nine out of 20 respondents agreed that <i>a person might behave in a racist way because of a fear of difference</i> .
2.	One out of 20 respondents disagreed that <i>a person might behave in a racist way because of a fear of difference</i> .
3.	Three out of 20 respondents were undecided as to whether <i>a person might behave in a racist way because of a fear of difference</i> .

Statement 28 sought to test attitudes towards a fear of difference and racism. A higher level of agreement is shown as 9 out of 20 respondents strongly agreed, agreed or somewhat agreed that a person might behave in a racist way because of a fear of difference whereas only 1 out of 20 respondents somewhat disagreed.

**Likert table showing responses to question 28**

28.	<i>A person might behave in a racist way because of a fear of difference</i>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		2	4	3	3	1		



**Racism, xenophobia, dominance and diversion.**

Respondent B somewhat disagrees that a person might behave in a racist way because of a fear of difference and gives a response which appears to be racist and xenophobic stating: *'They behave in a racist way because people from other countries won't stay in their own countries.'*

**Conforming to racist attitudes and behaviour because of peer pressure.**

Respondents M and N point to peer pressure and the desire *'to fit in'* with the group of their peers as a driver of racist attitudes and behaviour. For example, respondent M strongly agrees stating that: *'people would do it to fit in with their friends.'* Similarly, respondent N agrees suggesting that *'they may be racist to fit into a group.'*

Notably, respondents M and N's responses appear to interpret the statement as referring to a fear of difference relating to peer pressure as opposed to a fear of difference relating to diversity.

There were 7 non responders.

**Question 29, section 4, survey 2: A person might behave in a racist way because of friends who behave in a racist way.**

**Table 69: Findings from responses to question 29**

**Findings from responses to question 29**

1. Nine out of 20 respondents agreed that a *person might behave in a racist way because of friends who behave in a racist way.*
2. Four out of 20 respondents were undecided as to whether a *person might behave in a racist way because of friends who behave in a racist way.*

Statement 29 sought to test attitudes towards racism and peer pressure. A high level of agreement is shown as 9 out of 20 respondents strongly agreed, agreed or somewhat agreed that a person might behave in a racist way because of friends who behave in a racist way and no respondents disagreed. Notably, respondents responses here contrast with their responses to question 7 where the majority of respondents stated that their friends did not influence their attitudes in relation to racism.

**Likert table showing responses to question 29**

29.	<i>A person might behave in a racist way because of friends who behave in a racist way.</i>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
2		5	2	4				

**Conforming to racist attitudes and behaviour because of peer pressure.**

Respondent M strongly agrees that a person might behave in a racist way because of friends who behave in a racist way stating: *‘Because they would want to fit in.’* Notably, respondent M highlights the driver of fitting in which respondent M also highlights in response to statement 28. This desire to fit in with friends suggests a link to peer pressure which highlights how if a friend expresses a racist attitude or behaviour and that friend is part of the dominant group and exerts peer pressure then a person may behave in a racist way also to conform.

**Racist attitudes and behaviour affirmed by dominant group as being ‘cool.’**

Respondent N agrees that a person might behave in a racist way because of friends who behave in a racist way stating: *‘They want to look cool in front of their friends.’* Respondent N’s response suggests that respondent N may consider that racism can be partly motivated by peer pressure, by a desire to conform to racist attitudes and behaviour exerted by the dominant group in order to be accepted by the dominant group and to ‘look cool’ displaying behaviour that is approved and affirmed by dominant group members.

There were 7 non responders.

**Question 30, section 4, survey 2**

**Table 70: Findings from responses to question 30**

<b><u>Findings from responses to question 30</u></b>	
1.	Four out of 20 respondents disagreed that <i>a person might behave in a racist way because of newspapers reporting about people in a racist way.</i>
2.	Four out of 20 respondents agreed that <i>a person might behave in a racist way because of newspapers reporting about people in a racist way.</i>
3.	Four out of 20 respondents were undecided as to whether <i>a person might behave in a racist way because of newspapers reporting about people in a racist way.</i>

Statement 30 sought to test attitudes towards the impact of racist newspaper reporting on fuelling racist behaviour. Whilst responses are mixed, a higher level of disagreement is shown as 4 out of 20 respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that a person might behave in a racist way because of newspapers reporting about people in a racist way, whereas 4 out of 20 respondents agreed or somewhat agreed with the statement.

**Likert table showing responses to question 30**

30.	<i>A person might behave in a racist way because of newspapers reporting about people in a racist way.</i>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		1	3	4	3	1		

**Racist reporting in newspapers could not influence a person to be racist.**

Respondent N disagrees that a person might behave in a racist way because of newspapers reporting about people in a racist way, stating: *'I don't see how a newspaper could make a person racist.'* Respondent N's response indicates that respondent N does not consider that racist newspaper reporting can act as a driver of racism.

**Racist reporting in newspapers may influence a person to be racist.**

Respondent J selects undecided stating: *'maybe true.'* This response suggests that whilst respondent J is undecided the respondent perhaps considers that racist newspaper reporting can act as a driver of racism.

There were 8 non responders.

**Question 31, section 4, survey 2: A person might behave in a racist way because he or she enjoys bullying other people.**

**Table 71: Findings from responses to question 31**

**Findings from responses to question 31**

1. Six out of 20 respondents agreed that *a person might behave in a racist way because he or she enjoys bullying other people.*
2. One out of 20 respondents disagreed that *a person might behave in a racist way because he or she enjoys bullying other people.*
3. Five out of 20 respondents were undecided as to whether *a person might behave in a racist way because he or she enjoys bullying other people.*

Statement 31 sought to test attitudes towards the relationship between bullying and racism. A higher level of agreement is shown as 6 out of 20 respondents strongly agreed, agreed or somewhat agreed that a person might behave in a racist way because he or she enjoys bullying other people, whereas only 1 out of 20 respondents somewhat disagreed.

**Likert table showing responses to question 31**

31.	<i>A person might behave in a racist way because he or she enjoys bullying other people.</i>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
		2	1	3	5	1		

**A relationship between racism and bullying.**

Respondent M strongly agrees that a person might behave in a racist way because he or she enjoys bullying other people indicating that the respondent considers there is a link between a desire to bully and racism: *‘because it’s the same as bullying other people.’*

**A person may behave in a racist way because he or she enjoys bullying other people.**

Respondent J selects undecided in response to statement 31 and notes *‘maybe true.’* This response suggests that whilst respondent J selects undecided the respondent perhaps considers that there is a connection between a desire to bully and racism.

**Racist attitudes and behaviour affirmed by dominant group as being ‘cool.’**

Respondent N somewhat disagrees that a person might behave in a racist way because he or she enjoys bullying other people stating: *‘He or she may be racist because they want to look cool in front of people.’*

There were 8 non responders.

**Question 32, section 4, survey 2: A person might behave in a racist way because of the influence of extremist political parties.**

**Table 72: Findings from responses to question 32**

<b><u>Findings from responses to question 32</u></b>	
1.	Three out of 20 respondents disagree that <i>a person might behave in a racist way because of the influence of extremist political parties.</i>
2.	Three out of 20 respondents agree that <i>a person might behave in a racist way because of the influence of extremist political parties.</i>
3.	Five out of 20 respondents were undecided as to whether <i>a person might behave in a racist way because of the influence of extremist political parties.</i>

Statement 32 sought to test attitudes towards the influence of extremist political parties on racism. A higher level of disagreement is found in responses as 3 out of 20 respondents disagreed or strongly disagreed that a person might behave in a racist way because of the influence of extremist political parties, whereas 3 out of 20 respondents only somewhat agreed.

**Likert table showing responses to question 32**

32.	<i>A person might behave in a racist way because of the influence of extremist political parties.</i>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
				3	5		2	1

**A person may behave in a racist way because of the influence of extremist political parties.**

Respondent J selects undecided in response to statement 32 and notes '*maybe true.*' This response suggests that whilst respondent J selects undecided the respondent perhaps considers that there is a link between the influence of extremist political parties and racism.

**Ignorance and racism.**

Respondent N strongly disagrees that a person might behave in a racist way because of the influence of extremist political parties pointing to people's ignorance stating: '*they are stupid.*'

There were 9 non responders.

**Question 33, section 4, survey 2: Table to add your own headline**

**Table 73: Findings from responses to question 33**

**Findings from responses to question 33**

1. One out of 20 respondents (D) stated: '*People might be racist because of peer pressure.*'
2. One out of 20 respondents (T) stated: '*A person might be racist because of peer pressure.*'

Respondents D and T wrote their own headlines, representing 2 out of 20 respondents. (Respondents D and T also wrote headlines for the add your own headline spaces in 22 and 23.)

**Likert table showing responses to question 33**

33.	‘People might be racist because of peer pressure.’	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
			1					

**Likert table showing responses to question 33**

33.	<i>‘A person might be racist because of peer pressure.’</i>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
			1					

**Relationship between peer pressure and racism**

Respondents D and T’s headlines and their agreement with them here shows their awareness of how peer pressure can be a driver of racism and their desire to highlight the issue.

There were 18 non responders.



**Question 34, section 4, survey 2: Table to add your own headline**

**Table 74: Findings from responses to question 34**

<b><u>Findings from responses to question 34</u></b>	
1. Two out of 20 respondents stated that: <i>'A person might be racist because of teachers.'</i>	

Respondents D and T wrote their own headlines, representing 2 out of 20 respondents. (Respondents D and T also wrote headlines for the add your own headline spaces in 22, 23 and 33.)

**Likert table showing responses to question 34**

34.	<i>'A person might be racist because of teachers.'</i>	Strongly Agree	Agree	Somewhat Agree	Undecided	Somewhat Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
							2	

**A person would not be racist because of teachers.**

Respondents D and T's headlines here and their disagreement suggest that they both want to highlight that an individual would not be racist because of teachers. It should be noted that in relation to respondents D and T, it seems apparent that one respondent may have been copying the other because whilst their responses do vary throughout the survey in places they are identical or very similar.

There were 18 non responders.

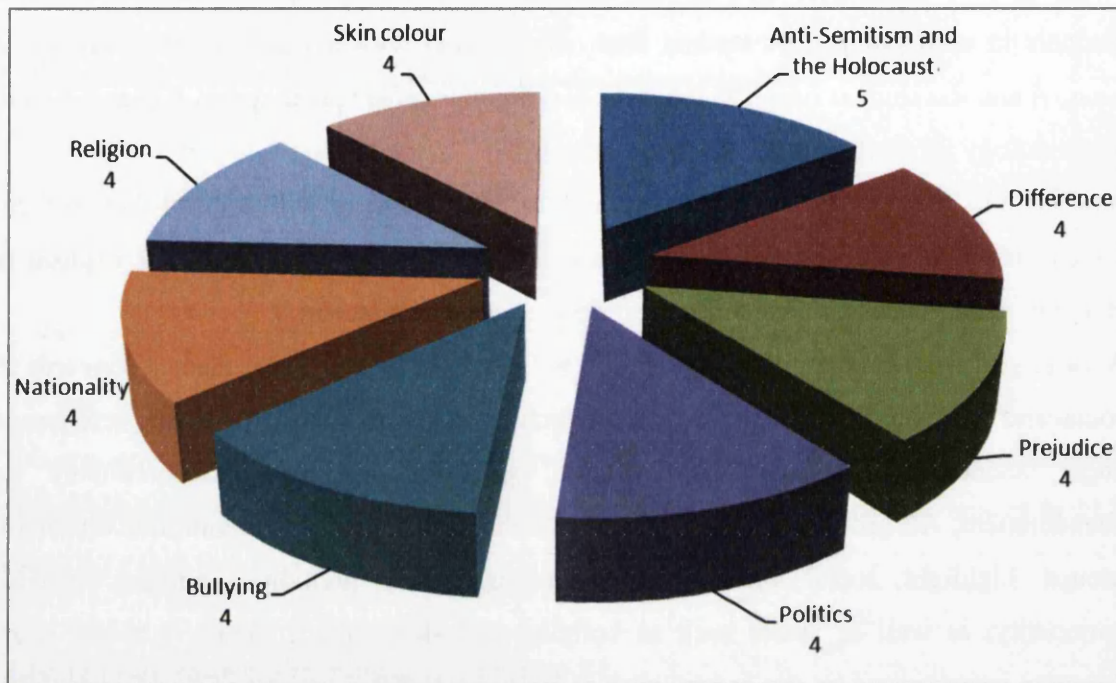
## **Findings from the school group mapping exercise**

Mapping (See appendices 26-30) was carried out by five groups of students with five students in each group. The student from Afghanistan with asylum seeker status was in group 4 and the student from Poland with EU migrant status was in group 5 (See 2.1 in the methodology for further details of participants).

The students were asked to work in groups to create posters with an anti-racism theme which aimed at a deconstruction of racism. This provided a way to further explore the students' experiences, understanding and deconstruction of racism.

A variety of themes emerged in connection with racism. One of those themes concerns the social and psychological effects of racism which three groups highlight making reference to anger, sadness, depression, fear, isolation, suffering, rejection, discontentment and abandonment. All groups referred to anti-Semitism and the Holocaust and four out of five groups highlight social themes including difference, prejudice, politics, religion, nationality, as well as issues such as bullying and skin colour. Figure \* below shows common issues raised by the groups in their mapping and the number of groups who make reference to these issues.

**Figure 7: Common issues highlighted within groups and the number of groups who make reference to them.**



### Group 1's mapping

Group 1 highlights racism in large capital letters in the centre of their poster and includes four main connectors to four boxes labelled with *'types'*, *'examples'*, *'causes'* and *'solutions'* of racism. Notably, in their solutions to racism map the three boxes drawn are left empty. In their types of racism map, group 1 identifies *'skin colour'*, *'religion'*, *'difference'*, *'nationality'*, *'exclusion'* or *'isolation'* and *'being prejudiced'*. In their examples of racism map group 1 highlight *'World War 2 and the Nazis'*, *'singling people out because of the colour of their skin'* and *'bullying people because they are nerds or look different to us'* which highlights a fear of difference and the cruelty of bullying and racist bullying. In their causes of racism map group 1 identifies *'immigrants'*, *'nationality'* and *'differences.'* Notably Group 1's suggestion that immigrants are a cause of racism indicates prejudice.

### **Group 2's mapping**

Group 2 underline racism in large letters the centre of their poster and have connectors moving outwards from the centre. Group 2 highlights '*Martin Luther King*', '*cliques*', '*comparing*', '*fear*', '*prejudice*' and '*singling people out because they are different*', '*bullying*', '*excluding*', '*discrimination*', '*nationality*', '*skin colour*', '*religion*', '*the effects of racism*' including feeling '*alone*', '*scared*', '*sad*', '*angry*' and '*depressed*', the '*Nazis*', the '*media*' and '*Jade Goody*' from the reality television programme '*Big Brother*' and the '*BNP*' (British National Party). Group 2 are the only group to highlight '*comparing*' in relation to racism which points to the Othering of racism. Additionally group 2 raises awareness about '*cliques*' which underscores the functioning of small exclusive groups. From a context of racism these exclusive groups work by Othering, i.e. including some while excluding others, thereby establishing a sense of belonging for those included and a sense of unbelonging for those excluded.

### **Group 3's mapping**

Group 3 does not present as much material as the other groups. In their poster four arrows can be seen positioned at right angles from each other moving out from the centre point where there is a cloud shape with racism written inside it in large letters. One arrow is filled with stripes and leads to Martin Luther King's initials '*MLK*' with a speech bubble drawn coming out of the initials stating '*stop racism.*' Another arrow is filled with stars and points to a cloud shape with '*Kick racism out of football*' written in it. An arrow filled with circles points to a cloud with '*BNP*' written inside it (the British National Party) and the last arrow is filled with a leaf like shape pointing to a cloud with '*Nazis*' written inside it with a connector drawn from it to '*Jew camp*' and a connector from '*Jew camp*' to '*Auschwitz.*' Additionally in the top left hand corner a cloud is drawn which is left empty and another cloud is drawn below with the title '*effects of racism*' where '*sad*', '*angry*', '*hurt*', '*unwanted*', '*frustrated*', '*depressed*', '*helpless*' are written beneath.

### **Group 4's mapping**

Group 4 positions eight arrows moving out from the centre point of the poster where racism is highlighted in large letters. One of the arrows leads to a drawing of a television with the media written on the screen, additionally, the reality television programme '*Big Brother*' and '*Jade Goody*' are highlighted. Group 2's additional arrows point to spaces where they highlight '*prejudice*' and '*single people out,*' *politics and the BNP, effects of racism and bullying are hurt, immigrants and statistics, MLK Martin Luther King with a speech bubble where quote is written in it, stop it written in large capitals with campaign and celebrities written alongside.* Also, notably, group 4 points to contention over how schools deal with racism writing '*schools*' and '*how they deal with it?*'

Further, group 4 includes other items on their poster which indicate how they wish to further present their concepts. For example, in the top left hand corner group 4 writes '*music*', in the bottom left hand corner they write '*pictures*', in the top right hand corner they draw 3 faces with hurt written in large letters, one face looks sad, one face looks angry and the third face is labelled '*scared*'. Also in the bottom right hand corner group 4 have written '*emotions*', and '*sad*', '*angry*' and '*depressed*' beneath. Group 4 also includes a list of items on a separate piece of paper titled '*racism*', on which they draw attention to the following issues:

*'Bullying', 'fear', 'single people out because different', 'politics', 'media', 'skin colour', 'religion', 'campaigns', 'quotes- racist remarks', 'nationality', 'Hitler', 'Martin Luther King', the 'effects' of racism, 'schools', the 'British National Party', the 'Holocaust', 'discrimination- behaviour' and 'prejudice- attitude.'*

### **Group 5's mapping**

Group 5 presents a spider diagram where racism is highlighted in large letters in the centre with stars drawn around it and sixteen arrows are drawn moving out from the centre where the following issues are highlighted: '*politics*', '*criticising someone*', '*media*', '*labelling*', '*being offensive*', '*blame*', '*skin colour*', '*religion*', '*differences*', '*bullying*', '*discrimination*', '*Holocaust*', '*being prejudiced*', '*personal attack*', '*nationality*' and '*exclusion/isolation.*'

Group five are the only group to make reference to '*personal attack*,' '*criticising someone*,' '*being offensive*,' and '*blame*' in relation to racism. Further, group five emphasises the issue of stereotyping which is linked to racism highlighting '*labelling*.'

**Table 75: Findings showing themes highlighted by 5 groups**

<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>Themes appearing in five groups</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Anti-Semitism and the Holocaust</li></ul>
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**Table 76: Findings showing themes highlighted by 4 groups**

<p style="text-align: center;"><b><u>Themes appearing in four groups</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Difference (1, 2, 4 &amp; 5).</li><li>• Prejudice (1, 2, 4 &amp; 5).</li><li>• Politics (2, 3, 4 &amp; 5).</li><li>• Bullying (1, 2, 4 &amp; 5).</li><li>• Nationality (1, 2, 4 &amp; 5).</li><li>• Religion (1, 2, 4 &amp; 5).</li><li>• Skin colour (1, 2, 4 &amp; 5).</li></ul>
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**Table 77: Findings showing themes highlighted by 3 groups**

**Themes appearing in three groups**

- Martin Luther King (2, 3 & 4).
- Media (2, 4 & 5.)
- Discrimination (2, 4 & 5).
- Exclusion/excluding/isolation (1, 2 & 5).
- Single/Singling people out (1, 2 & 4).
- Depressed (2, 3 & 4).
- Anger (2, 3 & 4).
- Sad (2, 3 & 4).

**Table 78: Findings showing themes highlighted by 2 groups**

**Themes appearing in two groups**

- Anti- racism and campaigns (3 & 4)
- Fear ( 2 & 4)
- Scared (2 & 4).
- Hurt (3 & 4).
- Immigrants (1 & 4).

**Table 79: Findings showing themes highlighted by 1 group**

**Themes appearing in 1 group**

- How schools deal with racism (4)
- Stereotyping (5)
- Cliques (2)
- Comparing (2)
- Personal attack (5)
- Criticising someone (5)
- Being offensive (5)
- Blame (5)
- Unwanted (3)
- Frustrated (3)
- Helpless (3)



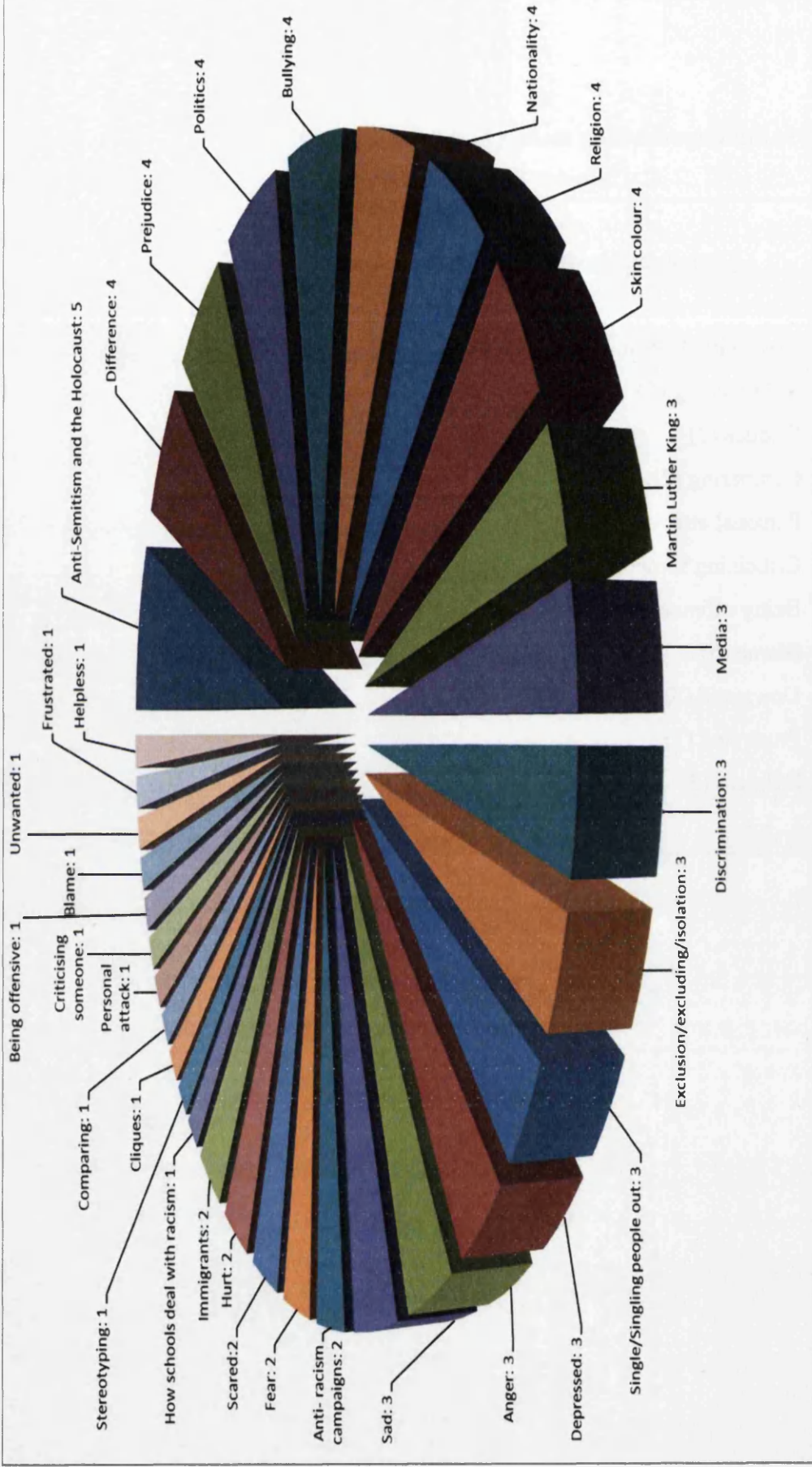


Figure 8: Pie chart showing the frequency of themes highlighted across groups in mapping

## **Themes appearing in 5 groups**

### **Anti-Semitism and The Holocaust**

All 5 groups point to the anti-Semitism of the Holocaust. Groups 1, 2 and 3 refer to the Nazis who were the enforcers of anti-Semitism and members of the fascist Nationalist Socialist German Workers' party. Groups 4 and 5 point to the murder of nearly 6 million Jews and a significant number of other victims underlining the Holocaust. Additionally group 1 stress World War 2 and group 3 point to concentration camps such as Auschwitz and group 4 underscore Hitler, a totalitarian dictator, instigator and driving force behind anti-Semitism and the genocide of nearly 6 million Jews and a significant number of other victims in the Third Reich.

## **Themes appearing in 4 groups**

### **Difference and racism**

Four out of five groups highlight difference in connection with racism. Two out of those four, groups 2 and 4 link difference with 'singling people out.' For example group 2 suggest that racism is connected with 'singling people out because they are different.'

### **Prejudice and racism**

Four out of five groups highlight 'prejudice' in connection with racism. For example groups 2 and 4 link prejudice with 'singling people out'. Further, group 2 suggest that this singling out is due to difference.

### **Politics and racism**

Four out of five groups give significance to 'politics' in relation to racism. Notably three of those, groups 2, 3 and 4 highlight the British National Party in relation to racism.

### **Persecution and racism**

Four out of five groups emphasise bullying in connection with racism. For example group 1 write: 'bullying people because they are nerds or look different to us.'

Nationality, religion, skin colour and racism

Four out of five groups emphasise 'nationality,' 'religion', and 'skin colour' in connection with racism. Notably, in relation to references to skin colour and racism group 1 highlights colour racism, stating: 'singling people out because of the colour of their skin.'

### **Themes appearing in 3 groups**

#### **Martin Luther King**

Three out of five groups highlight Martin Luther King an influential leader and iconic figure of the African American civil rights movement.

#### **The influence of the media and racism**

Three out of five groups draw attention to the media in relation to racism. For example two of those groups point to the reality television programme Big Brother (groups 2 and 4).

#### **Discriminatory action based on prejudice**

Three out of five groups highlight discrimination in connection with racism.

#### **Exclusion and racism**

Three out of five groups point to how racism is linked to the act of excluding or the state of being excluded. Two of those groups emphasise 'exclusion' and 'isolation' (groups 1 and 5). Similarly group 5 highlight 'excluding' and group 2 underscore feeling 'alone'.

#### **Intimidation and racism**

Three out of five groups connect 'singling people out' with racism.

#### **Psychological effects of racism on people**

##### ***Fury, unhappiness and despondency***

Three out of five groups emphasise psychological effects of racism including 'anger', being 'sad' and experiencing 'depression.'

## **Themes appearing in 2 groups**

### **Anti- racism and campaigns**

Two out of five groups raise awareness about anti-racism and anti-racism campaigns. For example group 3 highlights the Kick racism out of football campaign and write Martin Luther King's initials with 'stop racism' written in a speech bubble linked to the initials. Similarly group 4 point to the value of anti-racism campaigns using celebrities and music and write 'stop it' in large capital letters.

### **Fear and racism**

Two out of five groups point to fear in relation to racism.

### **Feeling scared and racism**

Similarly two out of five groups draw attention to feeling 'scared' in relation to the effects of racism.

### **Suffering**

Two out of five groups underline feeling 'hurt' in relation to the effects of racism.

### **Immigrants and racism**

Two out of five groups underscore 'immigrants' in connection with racism. While group 1 link immigrants to the causes of racism, group 4 do not.

## **Themes appearing in 1 group**

### **Institutions and racism**

One out of five groups raises contention over how schools deal with racism writing 'schools' and 'how they deal with it?'

### **Stereotyping and racism**

One out of five groups points to stereotyping, making a connection between 'labelling' and racism.

### **Small exclusive groups and racism**

One out of five groups emphasises the functioning of small exclusive groups in relation to racism highlighting their awareness of 'cliques.'

### **Dichotomies and racism**

One out of five groups highlights 'comparing' in relation to racism which points to the dichotomous nature of racism.

### **Abuse and racism**

One out of five groups raises awareness of different forms of abuse connected to racism underlining those which take the form of: 'a personal attack', 'criticising someone' and 'being offensive.'

### **Blame and racism**

One out of five groups emphasises blame in connection with racism

### **Rejection, discontentment and abandonment**

One out of five groups points to the feeling of being 'unwanted', 'frustrated' and 'helpless' underlining the social and psychological effects of racism.

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