The Implications of Cultural Resources for Educational Attainment and Socioeconomic Progression among Caribbeans in Britain

A thesis submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)

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Abstract

The University of Manchester
Edwina Maduro
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)
The Implications of Cultural Resources for Educational Attainment and Socioeconomic Progression among Caribbeans in Britain.
November 2013

This thesis explores the implications of cultural resources for educational attainment and socioeconomic progression among Caribbeans in Britain - one of Britain's most disadvantaged [social] ethnic groups - since the 1940s. More specifically, it offers, first, a review of Caribbeans’ experiences in education and socioeconomic domains in Britain, as have been researched throughout the decades since the World Wars, and explores, second, how cultural resources through which Caribbeans understand their social world and mediate their experiences therein impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. Cultural resources, as implied in studies undertaken by DeGraaf (1986; 1989; 2000) in the Netherlands, are acquired in settings such as the family and schools in which individuals are socialised, i.e., learn their culture and how to live in their social world. These settings are held to be influenced by cultural and societal factors that are interrelated and are, in effect, sociocultural (Wertsch, 1994; 1995).

Such settings are posited in this thesis as vital to understanding Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic outcomes. This is demonstrated through adopting a sociocultural approach from which analyses was undertaken into the experiences of ten families of three generations and ten individuals - all of Caribbean descent - who participated in a quasi-ethnographic inquiry that formed the empirical part of the study. The participants had a range of educational, cultural, and socioeconomic backgrounds, which characterised a purposive sample that they formed. Their accounts of their experiences, which were the source from which inferences about their educational attainment, socioeconomic progression, and cultural resources are made, were elicited through ethnographic interviews, participant observations, and researcher’s diaries, and are presented in this thesis as family case study analyses and sociocultural settings analyses.

The inquiry revealed that the participants across the whole sample were socialised in a key set of sociocultural settings that were identified in their accounts of their experiences as family, community, religion, education, and occupation. In-depth interrogation of patterns in their lived experiences in these settings revealed that their socialisation processes were diverse and, consequently, reflected in diversity in their acquisition and usage of a common set of cultural resources that were discovered and, through analyses, reified as familial influence, community orientation, religiosity, familiarity with formal education processes, and occupational aspiration. Diversity in their acquisition and usage of these resources in the various settings reflected in diverse patterns of educational and socioeconomic outcomes across the three generations. However, two distinct patterns are herein defined and discussed as a ‘trajectory of advancement’ and a ‘trajectory of urgency’. The former characterises the outcomes of participants who had attained educationally and progressed in socioeconomic terms across generations in their family, and the latter characterises the outcomes of participants who had not attained educationally and remained disadvantaged in socioeconomic terms across generations in their family. These findings are tentative, but they suggest, nonetheless, that cultural resources are salient in shaping Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic outcomes.

Such findings are significant in that they interrupt the ways that Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains have been understood historically and, at the same time, offer the sociocultural approach as another way from which to understand these experiences and outcomes. In addition, the sociocultural approach from which these finding are derived and the concept of cultural resources are introduced, in this thesis, in an understanding of patterns of educational and socioeconomic outcomes that persist across generations. This understanding, it is herein suggested, is crucial to any debate surrounding persistently low achievement in education and socioeconomic domains among social groups - particularly among groups such as Caribbeans that are disadvantaged in education and socioeconomic domains.
Declaration

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Dedication

To my Grandmother Catherine E. Carbon-Andrew who brought me up and instilled in me the virtues of hard work, persistence, and personal responsibility

Acknowledgment

The study would not have been possible without the help and support of numerous people and my God, from whom I draw strength.

Herein, I would like to thank my supervisors Professor Alan Dyson and Dr Kirstin Kerr for their patience and staying the course with me during my years at the University of Manchester. Their supervision and feedback were invaluable throughout my being at the university, my undertaking of the study, and my completion of this thesis. I am eternally grateful to them for demanding of me that I improve the quality of my work and standard of my writing, which improved tremendously throughout the numerous drafts and re-drafts of the chapters. In satisfying these demands, which sometimes came across as a distraction, I improved the overall quality of my presentation, and ensured that my T’s were crossed and I’s dotted satisfactorily.

Special thanks are also due to the families and the individuals who participated in the Inquiry. I immersed myself, uninvited, in their social world - intruding in their lives armed with nothing but my hope to access their repertoire of experiences for the purpose of the study. Over time, through my interaction with them, I came to know some of them well and was permitted such access - albeit occasionally with some reservations. With their permission, I explored their experiences, some of which were preserved in distant memories that they rarely visited. These memories surfaced during their interactions with me, throughout which they did not only share stories about their lives but also allowed me to enjoy a special freedom, especially in my access to their extended families, homes, churches, and local communities.

I would like to acknowledge herein that I enjoyed my interactions with them and, in anticipation of our meetings, the endless fried fish and steamed tropical root vegetables that they often prepared with the expectation that I would share with them. It is certain that I will preserve the integrity of their friendship, trust, and help, which I depended upon in the field and in writing this thesis. It is though less certain that my account given here will be good for them. Nonetheless, in this thesis, I have done my best to do these friends no harm. In fact, if in any way what I have learned from them and given account of herein can do them some - even small - good, an important objective of mine for undertaking the study will have been achieved.

Winniey

August 2013
Preface

I began undertaking the study that culminated in the production of this Doctoral thesis at The University of Manchester in 2008. Before then, I had attained a Master’s degree in education and global change from the University of Linkoping in Sweden, a pre-Master’s degree in political science from the Vrije University [VU] in Amsterdam, and a Bachelor’s degree in international business management from Amsterdam Business School – the University of Amsterdam [UVA], in the Netherlands. As part of my undergraduate studies, I was an exchange student at the Blekinge Institute of Technology in Sweden, and a market research intern at MillwardBrown Inc. in Madrid, Spain. Before my university years, I had attended the Clarence Fitzroy Bryant College in Basseterre, St Kitts, from where I attained A-levels in accounting, economics, and sociology.

This exciting educational background, as one might imagine, has influenced my worldview and the values that I brought to the study. More specifically, throughout my schooling career I read the works of numerous writers who have contributed, in some way, to the literature that has explored the themes with which the study has been concerned. However, for the purpose of the study, in its concern with educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes among Caribbeans, a distinctly disadvantaged group - in Britain, I drew insights from diverse traditions of literature, which, for the sake of convenience, can be clustered, broadly, as economics, education, geography, sociology, social psychology, and qualitative research methodology.

The economics literature, some of which is politically orientated and may be referred to as political economics, explores labour market patterns among ethnic and other social groups in Britain. The education literature charts Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes in education. The geography literature offers insights into Caribbeans’ origin and their local communities in Britain. The sociology literature situates Caribbeans’ experiences within the context of Britain’s industrial economy and wider society. The social psychology literature offers insights into the role that sociocultural context plays in Caribbeans’ psychological responses and performance in education and socioeconomic domains. The methodology literature offers insights into theoretical and practical approaches that are frequently adopted in social science research that involve the concepts and themes with which the study has been concerned.

Diversity in the literature that was drawn upon throughout undertaking the study ensured an insight into Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes in British society that is cross-cultural, multidisciplinary, and from both academic and non-academic genres. It is worth emphasising that some literature that were drawn upon, but which are not expressly academic, offered rather intimate insights into Caribbeans’ experiences in Britain, some of which were based on ethnographic experiments, observations, and writers’ own introspection. Such literature were especially helpful in offering inspiration towards developing and presenting, in this thesis, a nuanced account of Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains since the main period of their settlement here, in Britain, circa the 1940s to date.
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1.0 Introduction and Study Overview

1.1 Introduction

The study that culminated in the production of this thesis was concerned with educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes among people of Caribbean descent in Britain - one of Britain's most visible and disadvantaged [social] ethnic groups - since the 1940s; social in this context denotes the nature of the group's construct and ethnic denotes its members' shared cultural heritage. This chapter, summarily, offers an overview of the rationale behind the overall study, an insight into my background and inspiration for undertaking the study, an introduction of the research problem and question, and an outline of this thesis.

People who originate in the Caribbean have been living in Britain for well over 200 years (Fryer, 2010). However, from the 1940s to the 1960s there was a wave of immigration into Britain from the Commonwealth Caribbean. The immigrants were citizens of the British Empire and they had come to help with the post-war reconstruction efforts that were underway, once the World War II had ended in 1945 (Chamberlain, 1998). This early group of Caribbeans is herein referred to as the first generation. Their children and grandchildren, the majority of whom were born and brought up in Britain, are the second and third generations - they make up the majority of the Caribbean derived population in contemporary Britain (Byron & Condon, 2008).

Like many discernible ethnic and other social groups in Britain, the educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes of the different generations of Caribbeans have been researched extensively since the 1950s. Inquiries range from small-scale ethnographies to large-scale longitudinal studies - the findings from some of which are reviewed in Chapter 2. For the purpose of this introduction, however, it suffices to note that, in many of these studies, Caribbeans have tended to be represented as a homogeneous group that is differentiated as troublesome, disadvantaged, and susceptible to perform poorly in education and socioeconomic domains - such as in schools, high-status occupations, and the labour market in general.

These representations of Caribbeans are not unique to Britain. They are also common in the Americas and in other European countries - particularly France and Holland - where visible Caribbean derived subpopulations emerged from mass immigration after the World Wars (Chamberlain, 1998). Drawing upon this awareness of how Caribbeans tend to be represented in education and socioeconomic domains, the study explored some aspects of their experiences, but within a British context. Its undertaking was inspired by my curiosity about Caribbeans - what they have in common and what they do differently in terms of educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. A key objective of the study was, therefore, to provide a nuanced account of Caribbeans' educational and socioeconomic trajectories in Britain. Experiences in my own life were implicated in this objective and, in this regard, an insight into my background follows next.
1.1.1 My Background

I was born on the French side of the twin nation island of Saint Martin/Sint Maarten. Both my parents were immigrants. My father was then a thirty-four-year-old Dutch-Antillean lawyer from Curaçao and my mother was then an eighteen-year-old mother-of-one from the Commonwealth of Dominica. My official identity until my sixteenth birthday was une petite étrangère qui est née en France. This translates to - a little stranger who was born in France. Before I was five, I had lived in Saint Martin, Guadeloupe, and Dominica. From age five until I was fourteen I lived mainly with my maternal Grandmother in Dominica, but with occasional interruptions. By age twenty, I had spent time on several other Caribbean islands - the US Virgin Islands, the British Virgin Islands, Anguilla, St Kitts & Nevis, Jamaica, Curaçao, and the Dominican Republic. By age twenty-five, I had spent time in the United States - New York, New Jersey, and Seattle, and had lived in Holland, Sweden, Spain, and England - that all have Caribbean derived subpopulations.

My maternal Grandmother, with whom I spent the most substantial of my childhood years, in Dominica, is a remarkable woman. She is profoundly religious, barely literate, hardworking, strict, and selfless - characteristics that, in my belief, are typical of her kind and generation. This belief of mine found qualification in my experience with her and observations of her. For instance, she was widowed in 1970 from since when she brought up her own eleven children and numerous grandchildren - me included - under very harsh, materially poor, circumstances. Nonetheless, she believed that schooling, and what it appeared to offer - an education, was important for us and, accordingly, she made sure that we attended school without reservations.

I attended primary school in a banana-growers village of less than a thousand residents. At age eleven, I sat and passed the 11-plus [secondary school entrance] exam and went on to a selective secondary school. I was the first in the family to sit the exam, passed first time round, and went on to secondary school. This in our rural community was a symbol of higher status - achieved in the main by the few people who considered themselves 'better off'. In view of the better off association with attending a selective secondary school, both my having passed the exam and my ability to attend were obvious anomalies. However, my Grandmother was proud. She prepared me for secondary school by ensuring that my books were all new, I had all the literature recommended by the school, my schoolbag, uniforms, and shoes were always right and tidy, my extra lessons [supplementary schooling] were paid for, that I ate plenty of fish and drank milk, which I reviled, and that I did my homework - even though she could not help me.

Throughout those years, my interactions with my mother and father were restricted to school holidays and short vacations on Saint Martin/Sint Maarten. I had not known them to be fond of each other. In fact, they hated each other. I spent little and limited time with them separately, and my experience with each of them was different. My father is quite a confident character - a product of his educational attainment and socioeconomic status. The people he associated with were the same, and they treated him with respect. My mother, who had quit school at the age
of fourteen, was the introvert. She cried frequently, worked multiple menial jobs, and lived with scarcity. However, she always had the money in hand to pay my school fees, both mainstream and supplementary, when they were due. The only ambition I had ever known her to have, and acted upon, was acquiring a plot of land with a house, which Grandma encouraged her to do. Those experiences were the foundation of my early-years curiosity. Having lived amongst and spent time with people from different Caribbean countries - American, English, Dutch, French, and Spanish - what is there common and different among them? My mother and her circle of friends, on the one hand, were pessimists and their opinions about Caribbean people were mostly negative. My father and his associates, on the other hand, tended to be enthusiastic and positive about changes and progress among Caribbean people - but why were they different?

From my experiences and observations, I understood that my parents had the commonality as immigrants who had sought better economic opportunities and, by implications, a better life on Saint Martin/Sint Maarten. Both of them were observably God-fearing and had been brought up in large, materially poor, lone-mother families. However, there was a significant difference between them - that was their level of educational attainment and employment prospects in a relatively developed economy. This difference had been a curiosity of mine, especially because it appeared to shape their different social and economic experiences and outcomes.

In undertaking the study, I explored the experiences of people who, like my parents, originate in the Caribbean, and have given an account of their experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains. To achieve this, I employed ethnographic methods in a qualitative inquiry in which I interrogated participants’ accounts of their experiences to identify patterns in their educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes. As such, my account concerns their educational and socioeconomic realities from their point of view, and makes no claim to represent the realities of the entire Caribbean derived population in Britain. However, it is offered for interrogation and interpretation, and it is hoped that readers will be encouraged to imagine or test its fit with their own experiences and those of others who share a similar history as Caribbeans in Britain, or elsewhere. On this note, an overview of the [hi]story of Caribbeans and their experiences and representation in Britain becomes necessary. This is offered next.

1.2 Caribbeans’ Experiences and Representation

The Office for National Statistics (2010) estimates that between 1951 and 2010 the Caribbean derived population in Britain grew from approximately 30,000 to 800,000. The period of most rapid growth was between 1955 and 1962 when mass emigration from the Commonwealth Caribbean correlated with surplus demand for labour in Britain’s industrial economy. The labour shortage was a consequence of post-war reconstruction efforts and, as British citizens, the first generation, who thought of Britain as the ‘motherland’, felt obliged to participate in these efforts (Phillips & Phillips, 2009), which also presented them with possibilities to earn a living and lead a better life than the one they had led in the Caribbean (Chamberlain, 1995; 1998).
The majority of the Caribbean emigrants who arrived in Britain from the decade of the 1940s came from Jamaica (BBC, 2008). The others came mainly from other Commonwealth Caribbean territories. Their backgrounds are discussed further in Chapter 2, but, here it suffices to note that, on coming to Britain, they brought a range of identities and ways of life, i.e., cultures, which provided resources for their survival in British society. These include guidelines for what they believed to be desirable and achievable at an individual level, in their family, and in their communities. In this regard, their cultures, though not homogeneous - as will be shown later, engender commonalities that united them as a people and, in addition to their origin, represent bases upon which one may speak of a Caribbean ethnicity by which they are differentiated from other ethnic groups and the majority white population. Their differentiation, however, has been marked mostly by their visible distinctiveness and aspects of their cultures that have impacted upon Britain’s social and economic landscapes over the past six decades (Panayi, 2010).

For instance, early studies affirmed that the first-generation Caribbean, many of whom were urbanites with diverse occupational skills (Maunder, 1955), were typically treated as economic immigrants (Peach, 1967), and often denied non-manual employment and housing on the basis of their non-whiteness (Peach, 1998). In addition to discrimination that they experienced in the housing and labour markets, the industries that offered them low-skilled manual employment were in poor inner-city areas in which the majority would ultimately settle (Peach, 1967). These areas, with high concentration of Caribbeans, were largely neglected by governments and avoided by whites (Peach, 1984). As a result, they came to be known as local Afro-Caribbean or black communities, and reflected their poverty and related socioeconomic disadvantages.

Socially excluded, economically deprived, educationally underachieving, and lawless have been some of their more common descriptors since the 1950s (Troyna, 1984; Harrison, 1992; Byron & Condon, 2008). These have been bases upon which Caribbeans and their local communities have come to be seen, and often characterised in empirical research, as either a social problem or victims of racism in Britain. This was evidenced as early as 1968 - precisely two decades after the first Caribbean immigrants arrived at Tilbury aboard the Empire Windrush (App.1) - when a House of Commons select committee was set up to oversee matters of race relations; with some special focus on conditions that affected Caribbeans’ experiences in British society.

Brandt (1986) notes that, in a 1977 report, the committee acknowledged the need to address what appeared then to be "underachievement of children of West Indian origin in maintained schools” (p.62). This preceded inquiries into spates of rioting in some local Caribbean communities, which culminated in what became known as the Scarman Report (Scarman, 1981) that highlighted educational and socioeconomic disadvantages among Caribbeans. The Report (ibid) implicated "racial discrimination” and community decline, i.e., "inner city decline”, in Caribbeans’ experiences, and Lord Scarman, who oversaw its production, recommended that urgent action was needed in order to prevent “racial disadvantage” becoming an “endemic, ineradicable disease threatening the very survival of our society” (ibid).
In spite of Lord Scarman’s (ibid) recommendations in 1981, studies since then have continued to reveal poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes among Caribbeans, in relation to many other ethnic groups (Modood et al., 1997; Blackaby et al., 1999; Li & Heath, 2008; Strand & Lindsay, 2008; Strand, 2011b). These outcomes are typically linked to educational and socioeconomic disadvantages that have persisted across the generations, despite the awareness and notable initiatives since the 1970s to improve their experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains, particularly in mainstream schools and the labour market (Troy, 1987; 1992; Tomlinson, 1990; Igansi & Payne, 1999; EHRC, 2010).

In recent decades, there has been an increase in government and grassroot initiatives to improve overall socioeconomic prospects through education and vocational training in poor local communities in which Caribbeans, and many other disadvantaged [social] groups, tend to live (Blair T., 2005; Andrews, 2013). In the light of these initiatives, successes have reflected in better educational and socioeconomic outcomes among some sections of the Caribbean derived population, notably among second and third-generation girls and women who are economically active or in education. They appear to be doing better than their elders did, with increasing numbers attaining educational qualifications and obtaining non-manual, as opposed to manual, employment (Robinson, 1992; 1996; Byron & Condon, 2008).

These apparent better outcomes among some sections of the Caribbean derived population are, however, undermined by more current evidence which shows that Caribbeans, as a group, are at relatively high risk of unemployment and poverty (TUC, 2011; The-Guardian, 2012), and continue to perform poorly on leading indicators of socioeconomic progression; housing tenure and occupational status, for instance (Li, 2005; TUC, 2011). As noted earlier, these findings are often articulated from either a race relations or a social problem perspective - both from which Caribbeans are typically homogenised, conveniently, as Afro-Caribbean or black. As a result, Caribbeans’ visible distinctiveness - as in immutable characteristics such as ancestry and skin colour - is the locus from which their experiences and relatively poor outcomes are examined.

Consequently, these perspectives appear to encourage the ethnicisation of Caribbeans as Afro-Caribbean and their racialisation as black - both contested descriptors (Phoenix & Tizard, 2001) - which, nonetheless, are often used to generalise Caribbeans on the basis of their non-whiteness, even though they identify with a range of ethnic and racial backgrounds (Hutchinson & McKenzie, 1995). Moreover, as Ayanna (2011) clarifies, in casual parlance among Caribbeans the term ‘black’ is typically used in a cultural context to refer to hue and describes ebony skin complexion. This compares oddly with a Eurocentric political context in which ’[B]lack’ - often capitalised - is racialised and used, largely, to refer to non-white, disadvantaged, low-achieving, troublesome, immigrant people. Brandt (1986) illustrates this cogently. When Caribbeans refer to themselves or their compatriots as black, they are likely employing the term in the former context, and when writers are presenting concerns about inequalities and power relations that disadvantage non-white [ethnic] groups, such as Caribbeans, they are employing it in the latter.
The term ‘Afro-Caribbean’, as a descriptor of people who originate in the Caribbean, is equally contentious. Hutchinson and McKenzie (1995) observe that “using the term tends to diminish understanding of the immense cultural diversity of Caribbean peoples and, in this country, ignores the differences between different generations resident here” (p.701). Caribbeans also trace their origin to different islands and territories, stretching well over a thousand miles across the Atlantic. Therefore, in a similar way as ‘[B]lack’, the problems with the term ‘Afro-Caribbean’ are obvious; Caribbeans are not Africans culturally, neither geographically, they are not all of African ancestry, they do not all subscribe to ‘Black’ stereotypes, neither are they all black. Moreover, as Lewis et al (1990) note, the terms have little to do with identity or culture and more to do with skin colour, and, as a result, their use is likely to perpetuate ignorance and reinforce stereotypes. This awareness foregrounds the ways that the terms are used throughout this thesis, i.e., to reflect their usage as obtained in the literature, but ‘black’ is not capitalised.

Their usage is differentiated from the term ‘Caribbeans’, which is used herein to represent the different generations of people who share a common origin in the Caribbean. Its usage, however, is no less contentious because it refers to people who may have never been to the Caribbean. Nonetheless, the term captures their diverse origins, ethnicities, and educational and socioeconomic backgrounds. It also takes account of Caribbean traditions, such as matrifocal families (Berthoud 2005), religiosity (Beckford, 1998; Byfield, 2008), supplementary schooling (Reay & Mirza, 2000), and languages (Edwards, 1979), that are continued among Britons of Caribbean descent, and identify them as ‘Caribbeans’ or of ‘Caribbean descent’ as much as the traits that identify me, a Caribbean person of black Caribbean, Arawak, and Jewish extraction.

The emphasis on ethnicity and cultural traditions, implied in the term ‘Caribbeans’, gives this thesis a leaning which differs from that of studies that have explored Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes within the context of Eurocentric cultures that are racist or exclusionary. These studies, a review of some of which is offered in Chapter 2, have tended to examine Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic experiences from the point of view of racism [real or imagined] and exclusionary tendencies in British society. This is illustrated in the following critique of how Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes in British society are often framed in empirical research.

1.2.1 Framing Caribbeans’ Educational and Socioeconomic Experiences

We have seen that Caribbeans’ visible distinctiveness, defined by immutable characteristics and apparent disadvantages - particularly in local communities, has been a backdrop for the race relations and social problem perspectives from which their experiences and outcomes are often examined. The race relations perspective draws upon the notion that people are categorised by distinct races - discerned, for instance, by physical features, ancestry, and socioeconomic status (Troyna & Williams, 1986). It allows Caribbeans to be generalised, conveniently, as a non-white group whose members are disadvantaged in Britain’s race sensitive society. Similarly, the social problem perspective, with which it is often contrasted, allows them to be posited as a deviant
group in an imagined homogeneously white society (Alexander C., 1996). As will be shown in Chapter 2, the prevalence of these perspectives in empirical research that concerns Caribbeans in Britain has corresponded to politicisation (Spencer, 2006) of their experiences and outcomes.

Moreover, these perspectives encourage a focus on Caribbeans visible distinctiveness, mainly immutable characteristics and cultural identifiers, in explanations for their poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes. Consequently, in the bulk of these explanations, the non-immutable resources, which can be clustered as financial, intellectual, and cultural (DeGraaf, 1989), that impact upon their educational and socioeconomic outcomes are often suspiciously understated or problematically represented. Financial refers to the money that they have and can expend on education, intellectual refers to innate cognitive talents that they may or may not have inherited from their forebears, and cultural, with which this thesis is concerned, refers to non-material resources that they use to understand their social world and mediate their experiences therein.

Cultural resources, like financial ones certainly, are acquirable, but their nature, i.e., forms and ways by which they can be used, is variable (DeGraaf 1986; 1989; Bruner, 1996). Even so, they can be ascertained through empirical research. For, such resources, Bruner (1996) asserts and Cole (1998) substantiates, are provided by cultures, i.e., ways of life, in any given society, and involve both psychological and social environmental features that are dynamic and continually evolving in various settings in individuals’ social world, in which they are acquired and used to mediate experiences and outcomes, especially those involve in learning and acting. Individuals’ social worlds, however, are susceptible to changes in the wider society of which they are part. As a result, they engender diverse cultures that provide resources by which individuals mediate their experiences therein (Bruner, 1996; Cole, 1998). This suggests that individuals’ acquisition and usage of cultural resources reflect their socialisation - a term widely used among social scientists to refer to the process through which individuals learn to live in their social world. This process is facilitated by socialisation agents - examples of which are family members, peers, community leaders, and teachers (Roopnarine & Brown, 1997) - in settings such as the family, local community, and schools in which individuals are socialised (Roopnarine & Carter, 1992).

Cultural resources that individuals use to mediate their experiences in schools are of relevance in this thesis because, according to DeGraaf (1989), they “are strongly inherited from parents to children and prove to be more important than financial ones with regard to educational success” (p.39). Inherited, not in a genetic sense, but in a sense that the family is a key setting in which youngsters are socialised and acquire cultural resources that they use to mediate their experiences in schools. Wertsch (1995) conceptualises this approach to understanding inter-generational acquisition and usage of cultural resources as sociocultural since, in theory, it functions to incorporate societal and cultural factors in matters of individuals’ experiences. In this function, it draws from various fields of study - notably anthropology, linguistics, pedagogy, history, psychology, and sociology - which makes it the fitting approach from which Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic experiences and the implications of cultural resources for their
attainment and progression in Britain is explored in this thesis. In light of this undertaking, the context in which [educational] attainment and [socioeconomic] progression are used is clarified.

**1.2.2 Educational Attainment and Socioeconomic Progression in Context**

Throughout this thesis, educational attainment, as a concept, is used to refer to educational or vocational qualifications. In Britain, compulsory schooling, which is divided largely into primary and secondary levels and typically occurs between the ages of five and sixteen (App.IX), is the main process through which individuals acquire these qualifications. Post-compulsory schooling, however, offers possibilities for individuals to attain higher educational qualifications, or acquire occupational skills for which they can attain vocational qualifications. While individuals are going through the process of schooling, i.e., being educated, they can be said to be ‘in education’ where they are challenged to perform to a standard that is rewarded with educational or vocational qualifications (Race, 2005). Such qualifications evince ones’ skills and aptitude and, in this regard, they are discernible resources that can be used to obtain employment, improve one’s socioeconomic prospects, or justify one’s social or economic status (Tomlinson, 2005).

For instance, final exams that are taken by young people at the end of their compulsory schooling, currently termed General Certificate of Secondary Education [GCSE] exams, are widely accepted as a standard measure of educational attainment for which qualifications are awarded where the pass criteria are satisfied (Palmer, 2002). It is one of the most telling measures by which Caribbeans, as a group, have been found, historically, to perform poorly and persistently less well than many other discernible [social] ethnic groups, especially Asian and white ones with which they are often compared (Tomlinson & Craft, 1995; Connolly, 2006; Gillborn, 2008; Strand, 2011). This pattern in their educational performance, which will be examined further in Chapter 2, corresponds to low representation in higher education and high-status occupations, and, in effect, limited socioeconomic progression, which is widely held as a signal of improvement in overall quality of life - especially in an economic sense - among social groups (Lauder et al., 2006; Brown et al., 2008).

This is often linked to educational attainment which, Tomlinson (1983; 2001; 2005) asserts, may predict social groups’ socioeconomic progression because “educational credentials are crucial in providing employment opportunity, job security, and occupational and social mobility” (1983, p.213). However, as discussed earlier, social scientists have long believed that the settings in which individuals are socialised, such as the family (DeGraaf 1989; 2000), are also essential predictors of inter-generational progression because the family, for instance, can affect a generation’s experience in education and the likelihood that successive generations will attain better educationally by supporting them to attain higher than previous generations.

The assumption is that each level of education attained, such as secondary school qualifications or university degree, by a generation in a family can improve the earning prospects of its
members who may be able, in turn, to improve their socioeconomic position relative to that of previous generations. This affirms the relationship between educational attainment, noted by Tomlinson (ibid), and socioeconomic progression across generations is one in which the former may predict the latter. In light of this affirmation, the concepts figure well in this thesis, in which is explored the implications of cultural resources for educational attainment and socioeconomic progression among Caribbeans in Britain. The next section offers some insight into their relevance in framing the research question that guided this exploration, and in designing the inquiry through which it was undertaken.

1.3 Research Question, Methods, and Relevance of Concepts

The experiences and observations from my early years, which inspired the undertaking of the study, led me to hypothesise that Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes are mediated by cultural resources. This is the backcloth of the research question: ‘How do cultural resources impact upon Caribbeans’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression in Britain?’ The practicalities in answering this question are elaborated in Chapter 3. But, for the purpose of this introduction, it suffices to say that the process involved a quasi-ethnographic inquiry with ten families and ten individuals of Caribbean descent - who formed a purposive sample that was recruited mainly through casual encounters and recommendations.

The sample included three generations of participants and espoused a range of experiences and outcomes among the families and the individuals - referred to collectively as the participants - whose accounts of their experiences, relayed to me by themselves, were interrogated to 1) identify patterns in their educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes, 2) ascertain the cultural resources that they acquired and used to mediate their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains, and 3) determine how these resources impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression in Britain.

I approached these undertakings from the point of view that the participants were socialised in various settings in which they acquired and used cultural resources, and learned about British society from socialisation agents - such as family members, community and religious leaders, peers, teachers, workmates etc. - who also helped them to understand what they could become in both an educational and a socioeconomic sense. The inquiry into their lives, and social world more generally, was carried out over three years from 2009. Throughout that time, I used interviews, observations, and a researcher’s diary to elicit and record their accounts of their experiences. These methods of inquiry permitted closeness to the participants in their natural settings - such as in their homes, community, churches, schools, and jobs. The inquiry involved spending time with them to understand their social world from their points of view; discussing their lived experiences, clarifying ambiguities and contradictions in their accounts, exploring their interests, and assessing their relationships with socialisation agents in various settings. These activities enabled me to gain ‘inside’ knowledge (Blumer, 1979) of their social world and
to ascertain the cultural resources that they used to mediate their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains and that which impact upon their attainment and progression.

I employed a two-pronged approach throughout my interrogation of the participants’ accounts of their experiences and outcomes. The first involved probing the families’ experiences for intergenerational patterns, and the second involved probing the range of experiences from the whole sample, i.e., the ten families and ten individuals. This was the basis for further analyses of the participants’ experiences and outcomes in the sociocultural settings in which they were socialised, acquired, and used cultural resources that impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. The overall study - and subsequent thesis - that surrounded the further analyses, however, was encompassing and an overview of its tasks is offered next.

1.4 Study Overview: The Thesis

In light of the research question and methods discussed in the previous section and preceding introduction, this thesis and the study from which it emanated engage with three key tasks.

- **Task 1**

Firstly, this thesis, in its Chapter 2 mainly, offers insights into some aspects of Caribbeans’ experiences in the Caribbean and in Britain. It draws upon a range of literature - that includes economics, education, geography, sociology, and social psychology - in offering an account of who Caribbeans are, where they came from, how they came to be a distinct group in Britain, and some pronounced patterns in their experiences and outcomes - particularly educational and socioeconomic ones. In its first task, thus, this thesis acquaints the reader with the history of Caribbeans, as a group, and some patterns in their experiences and outcomes in Britain. In doing so, insights into Caribbeans’ experiences as an enslaved and subsequently colonised people in the Caribbean and as a disadvantaged ethnic group concentrated in marginalised local communities in Britain are offered. This helps to promote an understanding of the experiences that surround their persistently low achievement in education and socioeconomic domains. In light of this understanding, this task explores their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains in Britain and how such experiences have been researched empirically. This is within a historical context that spans six decades - since the bulk of literature that is concerned with such experiences focusses on this timeframe as the main period of their settlement in Britain.

An ancillary of this first task is a review of three sets of explanations for low achievement in education and socioeconomic domains among Caribbeans in Britain. They are developed around how Caribbeans are treated in British society, i.e., societal; how Caribbeans behave in education and socioeconomic domains, i.e., culturist; and low achievement among Caribbeans from the point of view of social psychology. The societal explanations are based on factors that have been found to be extant in British society. They are racism, ineffective schools, and structural
inequalities. These factors are shown to frustrate Caribbeans’ experiences, as members of a non-white or socioeconomically disadvantaged group, in education and socioeconomic domains and undermine their prospects of educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

The culturist explanations, by contrast, are based on aspects of Caribbeans’ ways of life - i.e. cultures - that are not conducive to educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. These are identified as aversive behaviours, dysfunctional family life and disadvantaged home environment, oppositional sub-cultures, and disadvantaged social class. These aspects are believed to disadvantage Caribbeans in education and socioeconomic domains in which norms are thought to derive from the ideals of socioeconomically advantaged groups in British society.

The social psychology explanations, the third set, are four theoretical accounts - disidentification and stereotype threat, cool pose, cultural inversion, and race holding - that illustrate the role sociocultural context plays in Caribbeans’ psychological responses and performance in education and socioeconomic domains. This context incorporates both societal and cultural factors to offer insights into how common responses among Caribbeans to their disadvantages in education and socioeconomic domains may contribute to persistently poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes among them. In light of these accounts and the other two sets of explanations noted earlier this first task incorporates a consideration of the sociocultural approach from which some research cited in this thesis were guided. Thus, this consideration draws upon the works of some writers who have explored cultures and cultural resources and capital in various contexts.

- **Task 11**

The second key task with which this thesis engages is undertaken in its Chapters 3, 4, and 5. This task involves, notably, a quasi-ethnographic inquiry in which the experiences of a sample of Caribbeans - ten families of different generations and ten unrelated individuals - were explored in order to 1) identify patterns in their educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes, 2) ascertain the cultural resources that they acquired and used to mediate their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains, and 3) determine how these resources impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. The sample was selected on the basis of the diversity in experiences and outcomes among the participants. This includes, crucially, an acknowledgement of the diverse ways by which Caribbeans live their lives in families (Roopnarine & Brown, 1997) and as individuals who are sometimes entirely or partially detached from a family unit in an inter-generational sense (Goulbourne & Chamberlain, 1998). The sample, thus, reflects the diverse ways by which many Caribbeans live their lives.

The inquiry was undertaken over a three-year period during which researcher’s diaries, ethnographic interviews, and participant observation were used to elicit participants’ accounts of their experience, as well as to gain intimate insights into their social world. The inquiry was conducted with their comfort in mind and an understanding of their social world from their own
point of view was sought. This understanding was a precursor to the construction of an account of their experiences and outcomes – in which they were given a significant role.

The account is presented as family case study analyses and sociocultural settings analyses, i.e., the settings in which participants situated their experiences. These analyses involved bringing together common experiences in the participants’ accounts, scrutinising for patterns in the participants’ experiences in various settings, comparing and contrasting patterns in the families’ experiences with those of the individuals, and developing family case studies. However, only four family case studies are included in this thesis. Their selection was based on the diversity in experiences and outcomes across the generations in the families. While this small selection is not to be understood as representative, the depth of the experiences relayed gives a sufficiently intimate insight into Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes over the past six decades of their settlement as a group in Britain. Moreover, in presenting the account, extensive use is made of extracts from the participants’ accounts as a way of keeping the analyses grounded in the data, but also, crucially, to give the participants a role in constructing the account about their lives.

In undertaking the analyses, nonetheless, intensive interrogation of the participants’ accounts of their experiences was required; accounts which were framed within varied cultural contexts and social settings, and relayed in English that was not the first language to some participants. This posed a challenge as, not only were participants relaying experiences, some of which were emotive, in a second language, but their meanings and usage of language varied across cultural contexts and social settings. In this regard, my position as a participant observer in their social world was vital in that I was able to probe their usage of language to ensure that what they meant was being understood by me. Nonetheless, because extensive use is made of extracts from their accounts, it is possible that some of their expressions could be misinterpreted where they are viewed independently from their social setting or removed from their cultural context.

- **Task 111**

This thesis’ third task involves answering the research question, offering an empirically informed discussion surrounding Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains, and situating this thesis within the literature on disadvantaged groups, minority cultures, and social [groups] psychology. This task is undertaken in the final chapter, in which is also offered an overview of some key findings from the overall study that takes into account the complexities that characterise Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes in Britain. For instance, the findings suggest that across generations, Caribbeans tend to follow trajectories with regard to educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. However, those who do not attain educationally tend to make limited progression, while those who attain educationally tend to realise progression - although there are variations within and between these broad patterns. These findings, for instance, inform the empirical discussion, which takes account of issues that concern disadvantaged groups and have essential theoretical, practical, and policy implications.
1.5 Summary of Some Key Findings

The inquiry revealed various settings in which the participants were socialised and acquired cultural resources that they use to understand their social world and mediate their experiences, including educational and socioeconomic ones. Also, that their educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes, which were diverse, were linked to their socialisation in the various settings. Diversity in socialisation and usage of cultural resources differentiated the participants, especially those who had attained educationally from those who had not attained educationally. This reflected in diverse outcomes, which appeared to cohere around trajectories that persisted across generations - two of which I have identified and defined as ‘advancement’ and ‘urgency’.

A trajectory of advancement characterises the tendency for different generations in families to use cultural resources in a way that is conducive to educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. These participants aspired to attain educationally and believed strongly in taking responsibility for their achievement, working hard to achieve set goals of attainment, delayed gratification, and taking initiatives to achieve success in the mainstream. They appeared certain about how educational attainment translated into socioeconomic progression - towards which they aspired, and were bestowed with encouragement from socialisation agents to attain educationally – in order to achieve better outcomes of attainment and progression, relative to those of their forebears, evidenced by high-status occupation, high income, and social mobility.

Their socioeconomic trajectory contrasted with that of the participants who had not attained educationally. The latter led a life characterised by poverty and preoccupation with satisfying basic needs, which they tended to link with lack of educational attainment and socioeconomic disadvantage. In addition to preoccupations with satisfying their basic needs, their experiences in their social world were generally characterised by lack of familiarity with the processes of educational attainment, limited encouragement from socialisation agents to attain educationally, and scepticism about high-status occupations of which many did not feel they were capable. The persistence of these experiences across generations in some families seemed to manifest in a certain orientation in which satisfying basic needs of food, clothing, and housing had come to be seen as paramount and urgent. The continuation of this orientation and the experiences that sustain it across the generations is what is herein defined as a ‘trajectory of urgency’.

Another significant finding from the inquiry is the notable correlation between the participants’ educational and socioeconomic outcomes and their usage of cultural resources. It suggests that usage of cultural resources impact upon educational attainment and socioeconomic progression more so, seemingly, than immutable characteristics or unique societal or cultural factors. This finding encourages, if not contributes to, an understanding of educational and socioeconomic outcomes from the point of view of cultural resources and also, essentially, interrupts the ways Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes - and those of other similarly disadvantaged [social] ethnic groups - in education and socioeconomic domains have been understood historically.
1.6 Structure of the Thesis

In addition to the Acknowledgement, Preface, and the list of Acronyms and Abbreviations that precede this chapter, this thesis has six chapters, a list of References of works cited, a Glossary of Unfamiliar Terms that are italicised throughout the text, and Appendices of materials referred to in the text. Here, in this Chapter 1, I have discussed my inspiration for undertaking the study and provided a brief overview of Caribbeans’ experiences in Britain over the past six decades.

Chapter 2 is divided into two parts. The first part offers a review of some literatures that have explored aspects of Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes in Britain - mainly their persistently low levels of educational attainment and correspondingly poor socioeconomic outcomes. The second part examines three sets of explanations for these persistently low levels of educational attainment and poor socioeconomic outcomes. They are based on how Caribbeans are treated in British society, how they behave in education and socioeconomic domains, and their overall low achievement from the point of view of social psychology - based on the theories of disidentification, cool pose, cultural inversion, and race holding. These theories were developed by social psychologists in America to explain persistently low educational and socioeconomic achievement among black groups. They are adapted to a British context to illustrate how both societal and cultural factors may contribute to common responses among Caribbeans to their disadvantages or poor experiences in education and socioeconomic domains, and how these responses may help to explain their relatively poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes that have persisted across generations. The theories’ basis in explaining low achievement as opposed to educational outcomes, however, has meant that they could not be sufficiently adapted to explain educational attainment and socioeconomic progression among Caribbeans.

Chapter 3 provides details of the methodology used and other practicalities involved in undertaking the inquiry that formed the empirical part of the study. It is followed by Chapter 4 in which four family case studies are presented, and then Chapter 5 which provides analyses of five sociocultural settings - family, community, religion, education, and occupation - in which the participants lived their experiences. The participants’ accounts of their experiences revealed that these were the key settings in which they were socialised, acquired, and used cultural resources that impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

Chapter 6 provides an answer to the research question and explores some common patterns of educational and socioeconomic outcomes among the participants. It also offers a discussion of these patterns in light of the literature review in Chapter 2, which functions to reveal the dearth in knowledge about how cultural resources figure in Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic outcomes, and to situate this thesis within the literature on disadvantaged groups, minority cultures, and social [groups] psychology. This thesis’ contribution to knowledge and literature is subsequently articulated, and some ideas for policy, practice, and further research are offered as an overall conclusion. This is followed by the list of References, Glossary, and Appendices.
2.0 Review of Caribbeans’ Experiences in Britain

2.1 Introduction

This chapter offers a review of relevant literatures that have explored aspects of Caribbeans’ experiences in British society and the main period of their settlement here as a visible ethnic group - since the 1940s. I say relevant because there is an extensive body of literature that is concerned with Caribbeans’ experiences in Britain. The literatures reviewed herein, however, focus on their educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes alongside general changes in Britain’s social and economic landscapes since the Wars. As such, a full account of Caribbeans’ experiences in Britain is not what is offered herein, but, rather, a selective review of how their educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes have evolved empirically.

The review is presented in two parts - 1 and 2. Part 1 offers insights into Caribbeans’ origin, local communities, and their educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes within the context of a contemporary British society. Literatures that concern Caribbeans - the group - immigration to Britain and their experiences in local communities here are reviewed for this purpose. As shall be seen, this review will reveal the group’s relatively poor experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains - that have persisted across generations.

Part 2 of the chapter will examine three sets of explanations for Caribbeans’ persistently poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes. They are based on 1) the ways that Caribbeans have been treated historically in British society, i.e., societal, 2) Caribbeans’ behaviours and cultures in education and socioeconomic domains, i.e., culturist, and 3) Caribbeans poor outcomes from the point of view of social psychology. The social psychology explanations are based on theories that were developed in America to explain persistently low achievement among black groups, particularly disadvantaged ones, in education and socioeconomic domains. They help to make a point that Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic outcomes in Britain are similar to those of other groups, in distinct societies, with whom they share a similar history and experiences. The Chapter then ends with an attempt to position the review within a broad conceptual framework by offering an account of Caribbeans’ poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes alongside insights into the tradition of research with which the literature reviewed herein is consistent.

Part 1 - Caribbean Derived Population in Britain

2.2 Caribbeans' Origin and Experiences in Britain

This section is concerned with Caribbeans’ origin, settlement in Britain, and their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains. As such, insights from economics, education, geography, and sociology literatures are drawn in to examine these concerns - the first being their origin.
### 2.2.1 An Insight into Caribbeans’ Origin and Pre-Britain Experiences

It was noted in Chapter 1 that the origin of Caribbeans as a visible group in Britain lies in the mass emigration from the Caribbean that began during the 1940s. This has been crystallised in imagery of the nearly five hundred Caribbean immigrants, mostly men, who disembarked the Empire Windrush at Tilbury in 1948 (App.I). The immigrants were a mix of skilled professionals - some whom had served in the Air Force during the Wars, low-skilled tradesmen, and unskilled peasants who had only their muscle power to offer in exchange for waged employment (Phillips & Phillips, 2009). Mass emigration from the Caribbean to Britain, of this sort, continued until 1962 when a set of legislative controls was introduced in the Commonwealth Immigration Act (Government, 1962). The now settled Caribbean derived population is comprised of people from a number of islands and territories - most of which lie along the Caribbean archipelago (App.II).

According to the Office for National Statistics (ONS, 2001), about sixty per cent of Caribbeans in Britain trace their origin to Jamaica. The others trace their origin to the Leeward Islands of Anguilla, Antigua, British Virgin Islands, St Kitts & Nevis, and Montserrat; the Windward Islands of Dominica, Grenada, St Lucia, and St Vincent; and the territories of Barbados, Belize [formerly British Honduras], Guyana, and Trinidad & Tobago. Belize is in Central America and Guyana is on the South American continent. Both are part of the British Commonwealth and are culturally similar to Commonwealth Caribbean islanders (Roopnarine & Brown, 1997). Together with the islands of the Commonwealth Caribbean, they are known traditionally as the British West Indies and their peoples referred to as West Indians (Chamberlain, 1995). The terms West Indies and West Indians are territorial and cultural identifiers within a wider multicultural Caribbean, which has legacies from American, Danish, Dutch, French, Spanish, and Swedish colonial sources.

Old thinking among these colonisers, which controlled the different countries at various times in their history, has been known to manifest in the worldviews of Caribbean people (Brock, 1982). A common reference is the contentious commodity of slave labour that, until the 1800s, was formally transferred to the region from various parts of the world, but mainly Africa (Beckles & Shepherd, 2004). This legacy of slavery is believed among anthropologists, such as Mintz (1989), to have spawned a culture of poverty and wagelessness in the region, which permeates notions of socioeconomic progression among its peoples. As noted in Chapter 1, socioeconomic progression, in industrial societies such as Britain, signals improvement in individuals’, as well as groups’, social and economic welfare (Halsey et al., 2001). It is fostered by an agglomerate of resources, one of which is human capital - a term Brook (2005) used to generalise the skills and qualifications that people acquire by way of formal education, i.e., schooling (Brint, 2006).

Universal primary schooling was introduced in the Commonwealth Caribbean from the 1950s (Watson, 1982). The geography literature reveals, however, that the school system then was largely urbanised and limited educational experience and levels of attainment. According to Watson (ibid), primary schooling was restricted to learning absolute basics and, outside a few
social groups, access to secondary education was almost non-existent. Brock (1984), who found that the selective grammar schools - which were the idealised version of secondary education that very few people attended, corroborates this. His findings suggest that most first-generation immigrants who had any experience in education would only have reached primary school level. Moreover, as late as the mid-sixties, up to a quarter of the adult population in some of the less developed countries had no experience of schooling at all (Brock, 1984). This was worse in the rural areas from where many of the emigrants to Britain came (Maunder, 1955; Tidrick, 1966).

In addition to their limited experience in education, the social language among this group was Patois or, in the case of Dominicans and Saint Lucians, Creole [Kwéyòl] (Brock, 1982). The former is English-based, the latter French. Neither would enable them to relate without difficulty to the standard English of formal education in Britain (Edwards, 1979). What is more, many had little to no experience of urban life and, as a result, were further differentiated from their educationally experienced or urbanite contemporaries. These differences in their backgrounds reflected in distinct value systems, which were based on how they made their living (Watson, 1982). Put simply, they were differentiated by urban and rural value systems - the former based on Eurocentric norms of capitalist competition in urbanised areas, and the latter based on rural subsistence characterised by peasantry, wagelessness, and material poverty (Mintz, 1989).

The diversity in origin and value systems among the first generation was compounded further by their diverse ethnicities (Roopnarine & Brown, 1997) - the extent to which can be gleaned from the demographics of the three most populous countries - Guyana, Trinidad, and Jamaica. Over two thirds of the populations in Guyana and Trinidad trace their ancestry to Europe and Asia, and about eighty per cent of the population in Jamaica are of African [slaves] descent (UWI, 2003). Albeit this diversity, notions of race, gender, and social identity typically influence childrearing practices and socialisation processes, for which agents in four key settings - the family, community, religion, and education - assume responsibility (Roopnarine & Brown, 1997; Murrell, 2010). Diversity, therefore, is inherent in Caribbeans’ cultures, and it is implicated in the evolution of the Caribbean derived population and their local communities in Britain (Peach, 1984; Hall, 1990). An insight into how it has been treated in empirical research is offered next.

2.2.2 Caribbeans as a Visibly Distinct Group in British Society - Early Days

We have seen that the peoples of the Caribbean are characterised by a diversity of ancestral and social identities. However, Caribbeans who trace their ancestry to Africa have been most extensively researched, and historically ethnicised as black or Afro-Caribbean (Modood, 1994), in Britain. As discussed in Chapter 1, these terms are outputs of racialisation based on ancestry, non-whiteness, or socioeconomic status. They appear, often, in empirical research that examine the experiences of Caribbeans as a visibly distinct and disadvantaged group. In such research, the experiences of Caribbeans of non-African ancestry, those who do not subscribe to black stereotypes, and those who are not black - by self-description or cultural ascription, are typically
underemphasised or excluded. This is particularly so with Caribbeans of Asiatic ancestry who, Goulbourne and Solomos (2004) assume, have been subsumed within the Asian subpopulation.

Nonetheless, the sociology literature suggests that the racialisation of Caribbeans, which has functioned as a basis for examining their experiences in British society since the early days, has simultaneously functioned as a basis for type casting the group as deviant, inferior, uneducable, and lazy (Hall et al., 1978; Fryer, 2010). These stereotypes are believed to have contributed to a perception of the group as a social problem, which has had implications for the ways its members have been treated historically and their experiences researched empirically. For instance, classification of the first-generation immigrants on the basis of their non-whiteness, noted in Chapter 1, which eclipsed their diverse educational and socioeconomic backgrounds, is a backcloth against which a bulk of research on their experiences and opportunities for socioeconomic progression in British society has been undertaken. Additionally, limited human capital among their smaller numbers - vis-à-vis the majority white population - factored in their generalisation as a low-skilled group. One consequence of their classification as non-white and generalisation as low-skilled was that the jobs which were likely to be offered to them were those undesired within the indigenous white population (Willis, 1977; Peach, 1998). These jobs were typically at the lower end in the manual industries for men, and menial health-care related occupations for women (Peach, 1998). The low status ascribed to these jobs, according to Peach (1998), meant that they were also badly paid, dirty, and involved unsociable hours, and, as a result, held negative implications for the first generation’s ability to lead a comfortable life.

These negative implications can be construed as social and economic disadvantages that have been traditionally explored within a race relations or a social problem context in which Caribbeans, in general, are posited as a non-white disadvantaged or a troubled ethnic group, which is ascribed either of two overarching social identities - helpless victims of racism or a social problem. However, more contemporary researchers such as Hall (2002) and Lewis (2000) have written about a Caribbean social identity - that is an ethnicity which is shaped by cultures, historical experiences, and traditions. This has been most apparent in Lewis’ (2000) definition of ethnicity, which is “the relational process in which categories of community and identity are in constant formation at the intersection of actual or imagined cultural heritage and political, economic, and cultural relations through and upon which racism emerge and operate” (p.262).

This definition of ethnicity, offered by Lewis (2000), is consistent with a Caribbean social identity which encapsulates diverse cultures. Cultures, in this respect, remain hybrid but, nonetheless, are understood as ways of life (Sowell, 1995; Lewis, 2000; Hall, 2002), which not only provide resources for Caribbeans, as well as other groups’, survival in British society, but also, essentially, incorporate a diversity of parameters within which their experiences are situated and can be explored. This understanding has informed empirical research since the early days of Caribbeans’ settlement in Brittan, particularly within the context of their socioeconomically disadvantaged local communities - some insights into which are offered next.
2.2.3 Local Caribbean Communities in Britain

It was noted in Chapter 1 that Caribbeans have been settled in Britain for well over 200 years. However, the arrival of the ‘Windrush Generation’ with their visible non-whiteness and cultural distinctness from the majority white population has been cited as the inception of a contemporary multicultural Britain (Troya, 1987; 1992). Contemporary multicultural Britain, therefore, is held to have started with the arrival of the first-generation immigrants, that, in line with the low-skilled jobs in the manual sector that were offered to them, settled in metropolises - in poor inner-city areas near the industries in which they worked (Peach, 1984; 1998). Little is known of those who were professionally skilled. Phillips and Phillips (2009) assume they settled in white suburbia and may have had better educational and socioeconomic outcomes than their contemporaries who worked in the manual sector and found themselves concentrated in poor inner-city areas. As noted earlier, many of the latter had little or no experience of urban life.

The poor inner-city areas in which Caribbeans concentrated developed into local communities with churches, clubs, and festivals of ostensibly distinct Caribbean flavours (Phillips & Phillips, 2009). The largest concentration, about sixty per cent, is in London (ONS, 2010). Significant communities also exist in Birmingham, Bristol, Cardiff, Coventry, Huddersfield, Leeds, Leicester, Liverpool, Manchester, Nottingham, and Sheffield. In these metropolises, the community is in a particularly disadvantaged interstitial area such as in Handsworth in Birmingham; St. Pauls in Bristol; Chapel-town in Leeds; Toxteth in Liverpool; Brixton, Hackney, Lewisham, Peckham, and Tottenham in London; and Moss Side in Manchester. These interstitial areas are peripheral to mainstream communities and, according to Harrison (1992), up to the end of the 1980s there were concentrated the worst housing, the greatest density of poor people, high unemployment, the highest crime rates, and the most serious threats posed to established law and order since the Wars. During the decades of the 1950s and 1960s, they were abandoned by their white working-class population that moved to more economically prosperous areas (Peach, 1998).

The exodus of the whites from these disadvantaged interstitial areas meant that Caribbeans became the replacement population (Peach, 1967), while the areas descended into what Harrison (1992) described as “Britain’s most dramatic and intractable social problem” (p.21) - described as such because of the areas’ poverty and isolation from the mainstream. This meant that Caribbeans had limited chances to participate actively in mainstream institutions, and, in effect, limited prospects of socioeconomic progression (Goulbourne & Chamberlain, 2001). This limitation was compounded by their “less awareness than whites of their rights and options, and limited but real ways in which the system could be manipulated to their advantage” (Harrison 1992, p.386) - a factor which contributed to an awareness of themselves as a disadvantaged group with a shared desire but limited prospect to lead a better life here (Goulbourne, 1991).

Caribbeans’ severely impacted prospect to lead a better life in British society was compounded further by structural changes in Britain’s economic landscape during the 1970s (Halsey, 1987).
During that time, the post-war reconstruction efforts that spawned the manual industries, which employed the majority of them, started decreasing (Harrison, 1992). This brought about shifts in various sectors of the economy and gave way to a knowledge economy that came to rely on education, technology, and high-skilled labour (Tomlinson, 2001; Brown et al., 2008). According to Tomlinson (2001), education were to transform Britain from a low-skill-low-wage economy to a high-skill-high-tech economy in which educational attainment, evidenced through quality of grades or degree attained, became linked to individuals’ life chances, income, and well-being.

These changes had significant implications for the life chances of those Caribbeans who had little or no education, and lived in disadvantaged local communities from where they sustained the manual sector with their low-skill-low-wage labour (Byron, 1998). There is some evidence that they were offered opportunities to improve their occupational skills through education and vocational training (Robbins, 1963; Byron, 1998). But, Byron (ibid) noted, many - especially the men tended to remain in the [low-skill] manual sector that was most adversely affected:

They had spent their working lives in Britain concentrated in these sectors and, like most men of their age groups in Britain, found the concept of flexibility alien and the process of retraining for a modernised, high skilled manufacturing sector or an entirely new economic sector very difficult (p.88).

Those first-generation Caribbeans who were unable to improve their skills and adapt to the restructured economy remained marginalised in the labour market (Blackaby et al., 1999); being at a disadvantage that was exacerbated by recession and redundancies that affected them and their economically less prosperous communities (Goulbourne & Chamberlain, 2001), which, by then, had come to be defined by their ways of life, i.e., their cultures. Put another way, by the end of the 1980s, the local Caribbean communities had become cultural hubs - with churches, schools, social clubs, and means of making a living - in which particular ways of life were to be sustained. These include ways of life that had been influenced by social exclusion and poverty, which have continued among current generations (Arai & Harding, 2002; Li & Heath, 2008).

In addition to inheriting ways of life from their elders, the current generations have displayed a stubborn rootedness in the local communities in which the first generation settled, albeit evidence of higher numbers, relative to the first generation, being in non-manual employment (Byron & Condon, 2008). This can be interpreted as increased socioeconomic diversity in the communities, which have had substantial investments, state and private, in housing and social facilities in recent decades (Telegraph, 2000). Heale’s (2012) ethnography, One Blood, offers close insights into the new aesthetics and facilities in some of the communities, which appear to have little impact on the current generations’ overall educational and socioeconomic outcomes. As a group, they continue to perform poorly on leading indicators of socioeconomic progression; especially in education and employment (Li, 2005; 2008; The-Guardian, 2012). This tendency signals some cultural continuity across the generations, a closer review of which is offered next.
2.2.4 Cultural Continuity Across Generations of Caribbeans in Britain

As a result of increasing deaths and return migration among the first generation (Byron & Condon, 2008), the current generations Caribbeans have a relatively young age profile. They account for nearly three per cent of Britain’s population (ONS, 2005; 2010) and will most likely account for a significant part of the growth in Britain’s working-age population over the coming decades (Pathak, 2000). This trend is confounded by the increasing numbers that are of mixed-ethnic and mixed-race heritage – which suggests that they form an increasingly culturally hybrid group (The-Guardian, 2011). Nonetheless, as a group, differentiated by their non-whiteness, diverse cultures, and roots in the Caribbean, they remain significantly disadvantaged in educational and socioeconomic terms (Maylor et al., 2009). This does not suggest that they are being assimilated into the mainstream; rather, quite the contrary seems to be occurring.

The sociology literature offers evidence which affirms that the majority of second and third-generation Caribbeans, although born and brought up in Britain, maintain a dual Caribbean-British heritage (Berthoud, 1995; 2000). This is also true among those who are of mixed-race heritage (Phoenix & Tizard, 2001). Numerous researchers (Alleyne-Dettmers, 2000; Berthoud, 2005; Beckford, 2006) have provided evidence of cultural forms that are conspicuously of the Caribbean among them, although they are British and may have never visited the Caribbean. Such evidence, much of which is ethnographic, affirms that through ways of life and other cultural tenets that were passed on to them by their forebears, they have evolved identities and cultural forms that reflect a contemporary Britishness, but that which are identifiably Caribbean.

This has been demonstrated through visible culture identifiers. For instance, annual Carnivals that are celebrated among current generations originated in Trinidad (Alleyne-Dettmers, 2000). Too, the current generations are likely to be brought up in female centred families (Berthoud, 2005), which is consistent with family life in the Caribbean (Owen, 2001; Arnold, 2011). Like the first generation, they are also widely identified with Christianity (ONS, 2005; Byfield, 2008), although increasing numbers identify with Islam (Heale, 2012) and Rastafari (Boxill, 2008) - a religion that originated in the slums of Kingston, Jamaica, during the early 1900s (Murrell, 2010). These visible culture identifiers evince cultural continuity that is linked to a Caribbean ethnicity, which has been reproduced and reshaped across generations within local contexts in Britain.

Cultural continuity among current generations affirms the aptness of a Caribbean ethnicity as a cultural rather than a race based construct. This permits the whole of the Caribbean derived population to subscribe to an ethnicity that incorporates the diverse cultures that provide them with resources that they use to mediate their experiences in their social world and that which impact upon their educational and socioeconomic outcomes. As observed earlier, socioeconomic outcomes in Britain’s knowledge economy are predicated on educational outcomes (Powell & Snellman, 2004; Tomlinson, 2005). In the light of this, an insight into Caribbeans’ educational outcomes, and overall experiences, as have been presented over the decades is offered next.
2.2.5 Caribbeans’ Experiences in Education

Caribbeans, as a visible ethnic group, became part of the British education system from the 1960s when their children debuted, mainly, in English schools which were meant to provide them with means and access to full membership in British society (Tomlinson, 1983). Fitzherbert (1968) wrote, “school is a place where Caribbean children learned to understand and maybe accept British values, and where they can acquire the qualifications and skills needed to compete in the job market” (p.7-8). This is in addition to the essential role of providing them with equal opportunity of acquiring intelligence, and of developing their talents and abilities to the full (DES, 1963). During the 1970s, however, Halsey (1978) observed that:

Children of West Indian antecedents, even with full British schooling, have distributions which are ‘negatively skewed’ (that is, relatively large numbers with low scores) on all measures of school attainment and, what is of greatest significance, they do worse the more they are concentrated in predominantly working class districts (p.61).

In addition to Halsey’s (1978) observation of poor overall attainment among Caribbean children, some writers, Rex and Tomlinson (1979) for instance, have provided evidence which suggests that their debut in English schools during the 1960s was troubling to their host, in that their presence was perceived as a problem for their white peers. Bagley (1996) and Troyna (1986; 1995) found that white parents believed, and were concerned, that their children's education was being hampered by the presence of non-white children in English schools and, according to Troyna (ibid), were inclined to use leverages in education polices to remove their children from schools that had high concentration of non-white children. This action, he reasoned, contributed to the development and maintenance of racially segregated schools, wherein whiteness and white schools represented success, and blackness and black schools, which the majority of Caribbean children attended, became analogous with low achievement and failure. The tendency for Caribbean children to be concentrated in racially segregated schools was further exacerbated by their parents’ limited ability to secure places for them in schools that were outside their local community, and where, Crozier (1996; 2001) observed, the management in the schools were able to draw up their own criteria for deciding who they will or will not have.

Troyna's (1986) analyses of *Racism, Education and the State* suggest that concerns among local education authority, especially in London, about racially segregated schools in England date back to the 1960s when an initiative known as Bussing (Kirp, 1979; Bell D., 1981) was undertaken to transport children by bus to schools outside their local community. This initiative, he reasoned, was undertaken as a means of achieving racial balance in schools and to help [non-white] children to avoid concentration in any particular area and, hence, to facilitate their chance of assimilation. Troyna (1986; 1993) reasoned further that the aim of assimilation, one of which motivated the Bussing initiative, was anchored in the belief of a superior European culture that exhorted non-white children, Caribbean children in particular, to discard their
cultural distinctiveness and define their experiences within a Eurocentric framework upon which standards for academic and social development were based.

There is the suspicion that the Eurocentric framework espoused the ideals of socioeconomically advantaged groups and encouraged schools to overlook differences in groups’ cultural tenets (DES, 1965; 1981). If this is so, the consequences reflected in overrepresentation in low ability streams (Coard, 1971), disaffection (Majors, 2001), disproportionate placement in pupil referral units (Bhattacharyya et al., 2003), overrepresentation in educational needs provision (Strand & Lindsay, 2008), high exclusion rates (OfSTED, 2008), and low levels of attainment - poor by national standards, at key stages in compulsory schooling among Caribbean children. Their low levels of attainment have been especially troubling - being persistent relative to their Asian, white, and now African peers (DES, 1981; Gillborn, 1996; Strand & Winston, 2008; Strand, 2011b). This is often spoken of as underachievement, which, according to Gillborn and Mirza (2000), is a concept used in educational discourse to differentiate educational outcomes among groups and to highlight the problems that Caribbean children face in education, placing them at risk of economic inactivity and social exclusion in adult life. These are reasons for which low attainment, i.e., poor educational outcomes, among Caribbeans remains a troubling issue that they have attempted to redress since the 1960s through supplementary schools in their local communities (Reay & Mirza, 2001; Andrews, 2013). Their poor educational outcomes, however, have persisted, continuing patterns from the 1960s of disproportionate numbers of Caribbean children who were not only doing poorly in education, but were also classified as ‘educationally subnormal’ [ESN] and deemed to have special educational needs [SEN] (Coard, 1971).

This was compounded by increased removal of Caribbean children from mainstream schools from the 1980s (Tomlinson; 1983). Tomlinson (ibid) noted a tendency among teachers then to use SEN provisions, in the 1981 Education Act for instance, to justify the removal of those who had disruptive behaviour, or who spoke a non-standard language - which was perceived as a problem that needed to be dealt with in remedial classes or, to use Coard’s (1971) term, ‘sin bins’. This observation, though, had been made earlier by Edwards (1979) who noted that the non-standard languages spoken by Caribbean children disadvantaged them in English schools since such languages were perceived among teachers as a learning handicap. She (ibid) wrote:

The teacher who does not or is not prepared to recognize the problems of the Creole-speaking child in a British English situation can only conclude that he is stupid when he gives either an inappropriate response or no response at all. The stereotyping process leads features of Creole to be stigmatized and to develop connotations of, amongst other things, low academic ability (p.97).

The education literature also suggests that, during the early days, teachers’ perception of Caribbean children as having low academic ability manifested in misinterpretation of behavioural and psychological problems among these children. This had implications for Caribbean children
who had psychological problems [real or perceived] because, according to Tomlinson (1983), they were unlikely to be referred to a psychologist and were often left to become excluded from mainstream school, even while their parents were unable to help them educationally at home and had limited options in terms of seeking out alternative schools for them (Crozier, 1996).

During the 1980s, this reflected in increasing and disproportionate levels of exclusion from school among Caribbean children who, by the end of the 1980s, accounted for eight out of twenty per cent of 14-16 year-olds excluded, although they represented only two per cent of the school population (Blair M., 1994). Towards the end of the 1990s Caribbean children were between six and fifteen times more likely to be excluded than their white peers (SEU, 1998). This pattern of their disproportionate exclusion continued, although abating, throughout the 2000s. In the school year 2009-10, Caribbean children were four times more likely than white children to be excluded. By contrast, Bangladeshi, Indian, and Pakistani children were less likely to be excluded from school than Caribbean and white children (OfSTED, 2008; Palmer, 2010).

Exclusion from school among Caribbean children effectively ends their schooling career because, once excluded, they tend not to return to education or vocational training (Harris & Parsons, 2001; Rhamie & Hallam, 2002). As alluded to earlier, this reflects in low achievement - diminished life chances, unemployability, social exclusion, and poverty - in their adult life. These outcomes, according to Harrison (1992), foreground an inability to exert their will over events and societal factors and institutions that impact upon their lives. As a result, they are at an increased risk of social and economic related problems such as teen parenthood, delinquency, substance abuse, fractured families, dependency on state assistance, and a host of other high-risk behaviours that writers such as Harrison (1992) and Heale (2012) have documented.

Linkage between these social and economic related problems and poor educational outcomes among Caribbeans has been pronounced in empirical research since the 1970s (Scarman, 1981; Swan, 1981; Rampton, 1985; Modood et al., 1997; Pathak, 2000). However, Harrison’s (1992) insights Inside the Inner City revealed that, up to the end of the 1980s, little had been achieved in terms of improving their educational outcomes. His study affirmed that many Caribbeans and the local communities in which they live continued to be disadvantaged in educational terms, and, in common with other studies that had explored their experiences in education up to that time, he offered recommendations to address urban [inner-city] poverty and the corresponding disadvantages that were linked to their poor educational outcomes.

A redress of urban poverty, which blighted the lives of many Caribbeans, was among the objectives that fronted the New Labour Government’s mandate for social justice, which they pursued from 1997 through a Social Exclusion Unit. Mandelson (1997) defined social exclusion as “being cut off from what the rest of us regard as normal life” (p.1). The excluded, he said, “were the growing number of our fellow citizens who lack the means, material and otherwise to participate in economic, social, cultural and political life in Britain today, what others call the
underclass” (p.1). The Government sought social justice for the ‘underclass’ (ibid), otherwise understood as acutely disadvantaged groups, many of whom are Caribbeans, through initiatives to tackle low achievement in the inner cities in which they live (DFE, 1997; DfEE, 1999); the goal being to improve children’s school experience and, by implication, their level of educational attainment. This focus has reflected in visible improvement in educational attainment among some sections of the traditionally disadvantaged population, in which Caribbeans are included, and black children in general (Demie, 2007; Miyanji, 2012). For instance, in 2007, forty-nine per cent of black children attained a minimum of five top GCSE exam grades - defined as A*-C. This compares well against seven per cent who attained the equivalent in 1985, twenty three per cent in 1996, and forty-four per cent in 2006 (DfE, 2011). Black girls were shown to be doing relatively better than their male peers, with fifty-six per cent attaining a minimum of five A*-C grades in 2007. An analysis of exam results by race and gender in 2009, which was published in the Economist on 03/09/2011, showed that low attainment among Caribbean boys continued to be a concern. In that year, fifty-six per cent attained five A*-C grades, compared with sixty-five per cent of African boys and seventy per cent of black girls [the national average was seventy-four per cent]. There is a clear gender dimension in these patterns of attainment.

These figures substantiate the findings of numerous studies over the years which suggest that black girls do better at school than their male counterparts who, in addition to doing poorly at key stages in compulsory schooling, are the least likely among discernible social groups to attain higher educational qualifications (Fuller, 1980; Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Robinson, 1992; Modood, 1994; Gillborn & Mirza, 2000; Mirza, 2009; Ball et al., 2012). These patterns are encouraging for black women and girls who, Fuller (1982) asserted, have historically occupied subordinate social and economic positions because of their race, gender, and social class. However, while there is ample evidence that they are doing better than the men and boys in education, there has been some doubt that Caribbeans’ attainment is accurately reflected in this ambiguous black category. This is because there is a paucity of empirical data or analyses by ethnicity that show consistently high attainment among Caribbean women and girls. The odds of high attainment among them was doubted further by Nehaul (1996, p.132) who found that Caribbean girls did not appear to have greater chances of academic success than the boys did. Blair (2001) has also substantiated this doubt, noting that some schools that reported high attainment among black girls were actually successful for African and mixed-race girls.

Actual attainment among Caribbean girls, therefore, is not easily summarised because, as Mirza (2000) found, educational authorities use different composite categories - some record three black groups, some two, and some one - categories are usually Black Caribbean, Black African, Black other, and Mixed-race Black and other. These variations signal that comparing Caribbeans’ educational attainment by gender is problematic, an action Connolly (2006) dismisses as simplistic and, in effect, cautions against. Moreover, while poor educational outcomes among Caribbean men and boys have featured strongly in research on excluded and at risk groups (Wright, 1985; Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Sewell, 1997; Majors, 2001; Crozier, 2005), the educational
experiences of Caribbean women and girls are often subsumed under the broad category of ‘black women and girls’ (Fuller, 1980; Mirza, 1992; 2009). This gendered dimension in the examination of Caribbeans’ experiences may be underpinned by a wider approach that focuses on low achievement among minority men and boys as an international phenomenon (Archer, 2008). However, as mentioned earlier, it has been contested in studies by Connolly (2006) and Maylor (2009) who reasoned that ethnicity has a greater influence than gender on Caribbeans’ educational outcomes, which reflect in their socioeconomic outcomes. The next section offers insights into Caribbeans’ socioeconomic outcomes, as have been explored in empirical research.

### 2.2.6 Caribbeans’ Experiences in Socioeconomic Domains

Numerous writers have argued that Caribbeans’ socioeconomic experiences and outcomes have been shaped by a history of social exclusion and economic deprivation, both of which contribute towards the group’s poor performance in socioeconomic domains, relative to that of many other groups (Peach, 1991; Bhattacharyya et al., 2003; Byron & Condon, 2008). Some findings are reviewed here in the light of an awareness of the group’s relatively low levels of attainment in education and concentration in socially excluded and economically deprived local communities.

To reiterate, socioeconomic domains refer, broadly, to settings in which social and economic advantages are acquired for material gain (Halsey et al., 2001). By this definition, schools and workplaces are good examples (Lauder et al., 2006). Increased advantages acquired through performance in these domains signal progression among groups, and patterns since the 1970s have revealed persistently poor performance among Caribbeans, as a group, relative to that of many other [social] ethnic groups (Carrington, 1996; Dex, 1996; Iganski & Payne, 1999). Prime Minister David Cameron (2010) observed this in an article for the Guardian (2010). He noted:

> In Britain today, too many people are denied the chance to escape poverty and build a better life for themselves and their family. Sadly, this is especially true for people in Britain's black community. Black pupils are permanently excluded from school at more than twice the rate of white pupils. Some 9,500 black children leave primary school every year unable to read, write and add up properly. And of the 3,000 students who started at Oxford in 2008, only five are black Caribbean in origin. This inequality extends to the job market too, with recent research showing almost half of young black people are unemployed, well over twice the rate for young white people (17.03.2010).

Cameron’s observation, the details of which were not probed for the purpose of the study, acknowledges that Caribbeans - as a [social] ethnic group - are disadvantaged in socioeconomic domains and their poor educational outcomes are linked to less favourable prospects in these domains. This can be expressed as sustained inter-generational socioeconomic disadvantage. More specifically, limited access to or exclusion from [better] employment that has had consequences for their life chances across generations (Iganski & Payne, 1999; TUC, 2011).
It has already been noted that the majority of first-generation Caribbeans were employed in the low-skill sector of manual industries (Phillips & Phillips, 2009), in which they were advantaged workwise as a result of movement among working-class whites to the non-manual sector (Grosfoguel, 1998; Goulbourne & Chamberlain, 2001). As discussed earlier, the structural changes that affected these sectors from the 1970s gave way to education as a key indicator of socioeconomic progression, which has continued in contemporary Britain (Lauder et al., 2006). This means that many of them who had too little education or unmarketable occupational skills were unlikely to benefit directly from opportunities for progression in the restructured economy. Consequently, their unemployment rate increased manyfold relative to the national rate during the decades of the 1970s and 1980s (Blackaby et al., 1999). High rates of unemployment among Caribbeans, relative to that of the national population, persisted throughout the 1990s and 2000s, especially among the men whose employment prospects in 2012 had not changed since the 1980s (Li & Heath, 2008; Abbott, 2012). This affirms that patterns of socioeconomic disadvantages have continued among the second and third generations, who, like their elders, are also less likely than other groups to be self-employed or work in high-status occupations (Foner, 1985; Clark & Drinkwater, 2010). This suggests that they are disadvantaged both in terms of the kind of jobs that they do, and whether they have a job in the first place.

On a positive note, some studies in recent decades have revealed evidence of improvement in the current generations’ socioeconomic prospects, especially among the women who are more likely than the men to invest in education and attain qualifications (Robinson, 1996; Iganski & Payne, 1996). This, however, is in light of Lindley et al’s (2006) finding that Caribbean women, like the men, have not had an increase in employment prospects over the years and, like many of their forebears, they remain concentrated in low-level occupations in the public sector (Mirza, 2009; TUC, 2011). Furthermore, since 2008, economic recession in the British and wider global economies has led governments to make significant cuts in public spending. This has affected their employment prospects in the healthcare and social service sectors that tend to employ them, as they remain susceptible to redundancies that are affecting these sectors (TUC, 2012).

Speculations about the current generations’ better socioeconomic prospects, relative to those of their elders, may also be related to their assimilation into the mainstream population (Robinson, 1996; Berthoud, 2005). While this trend is indicative of progress in race relations, the literature points to an inter-generational cultural component, i.e., a social identity that influences their realisation of these prospects. As Chamberlain (1999) notes, it is about sustaining a Caribbean identity and a narrative of toil and grief - a narrative that appears to have changed very little in substance across generations (Byron & Condon, 2008). Consequently, the current generations, as a group, remain at relatively high risk of unemployment and poverty (TUC, 2012) that, in a similar way as the first generation, correspond to lack of, or low, attainment in education. This affirms inter-generational patterns of poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes, for which there are numerous explanations. Part 2 of this chapter, which follows next, examines some explanations for these outcomes in the light of the train of insights offered in this Part 1.
Part 2 - Explanations for Caribbeans’ Outcomes

In the previous Part 1, insights were offered into Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic experiences as they have been explored in empirical research over the past six decades. The trend of evidence from these insights would support the assertion that Caribbeans, as a group, have been, and remain, disadvantaged in educational and socioeconomic terms. In the light of changing trends in Britain’s social and economic landscapes, as explored by Halsey (1958; 1974, 1977; 1987; 2001) for instance, their persistent disadvantages is seen as a consequence of interplay among societal, cultural, and psychological factors that are dynamic and complex. Nonetheless, given the awareness of the disadvantaged position they have occupied in British society since their settlement here circa 1940, the question remains - why is it their educational and socioeconomic disadvantages have persisted relative to those of other social ethnic groups, which include recently settled Africans? Goldthorpe (1974) suggests that answers to this kind of question could be derived from analyses that may be conveniently labelled ‘social psychological’ and ‘culturist’ (p.220). The review in Part 1, however, inferred a third analysis of relevance that is here labelled societal. These three analyses, thus, are bases from which some explanations for Caribbeans’ persistently poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes are examined herein. First will be the societal, followed by culturist, and social psychological. The social psychological explanations draw on the works of American social psychologists who explored persistently poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes among blacks, in relation to other groups, in spite of increasing opportunities for social mobility and affluence - some enabled by affirmative action.

2.3 Societal Explanations - Caribbeans’ Outcomes

Explanations for Caribbeans’ poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes that are labelled herein as societal have been based on external factors - identified broadly as racism, ineffective schools, and social structures - that are extant in British society. These factors are believed to disadvantage Caribbeans in education and in the labour market by upsetting their prospects to obtain qualifications, high-status occupations, and decent wages that are precursors for leading a comfortable life, legitimately. They are examined in light of their implications for Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic outcomes. The first, and most widely explored, is racism.

2.3.1 Racism

Troyna (1993, p.10) defines racism as a structural relationship that is based on subordination of one racial group, distinguished on the basis of social identity or more commonly physical features such as skin colour, by another and which is supported by crude ideas of biological inferiority and superiority. In all instances, racism involves marginalization and exclusion of one racial group by another (p.13). In this sense, Caribbeans, as members of a non-white race, have historically been on the receiving end of racism, which, over the decades, has been
implicated in their persistently poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes (Tomlinson, 1983; Wright, 1986; Troyna, 1993; Gillborn, 2008; Mirza, 2009).

Until the 1990s, racism in Britain tended to be understood in terms of differential treatment of people based on their skin colour (Solomos, 2003). As a result, insights into Caribbeans’ poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes that were offered from a race relations perspective, discussed in Chapter 1, tended to portray the group as a homogeneous one - collectively referred to as black or Afro-Caribbean. This portrayal negates Caribbeans’ ancestral and cultural diversity and seems to have set a stage for essentialising them, in assuming that they are black - Africans implicitly - and within a Eurocentric cultural context - white middle and upper classes - black Africans and their descendants have been historically type-caste as inferior and ascribed undesirable virtues such as unintelligent, lazy, poor, and working-class (Hall et al., 1978).

This kind of racial typecasting has always been extant in British society, but was intensified with the arrival of the first generation (Phillips & Phillips, 2009). One of its notable consequences, Gillborn (1995) points out, is prejudice against Caribbeans who, because of their non-whiteness, are not typically offered the opportunity to start out in life on an equal footing with whites. This may be most evident in schools. As noted earlier, when Caribbean children debuted in English schools during the 1960s they were perceived as problematic in terms of their behaviours and intellectual abilities (Tomlinson, 1983). As such, they were treated differently than other groups’ children, especially white ones. There is some evidence that their differential treatment was motivated by beliefs among educators that they were intellectually inferior and, in effect, deviant and uneducable (Wright, 1986; 1992). These beliefs, it has been argued, were sanctioned by studies on white and black IQ differentials (Jensen, 1969; 1973; Eysenck, 1971; Herrnstein & Murray, 1996) that have been widely discredited (Rose, 1979; Flynn, 1980; 2012).

Nonetheless, the disproportionate representation of Caribbean children in SEN provision and low ability streams in schools during the early days of their settlement has been cited by some writers as evidence of racism among teachers and school administrators (Coard, 1971; Tomlinson, 1983; Gillborn, 1988; 1997). These racially motivated actions, they have reasoned, manifest in poor school performance, high unemployment, and low representation in high-status occupations among Caribbeans - that have persisted across generations. These patterns have been the basis for McCarthy’s (1993) observation that racism has become a permanent and stable phenomenon, more so than any other crises, that threatens the existence of black people in Britain. Its prevalence in schools, which are charged with equipping their children with values and skills for citizenship and employment in adult life, remains worrisome as, according to Gillborn (2008) and Strand (2011a), it continues to mutate and impact upon their outcomes.

In more contemporary contexts, differential treatment of Caribbean children in schools has been motivated by what Gillborn (1998) and Majors (2001) referred to as cultural racism. This was evinced among teachers who were not willing to affirm another’s culture, they tended to
misconstrue Caribbean children’s cultural specific behaviours and exclude them from school as a result. This resonates with Driver’s (1979) theory of cultural dissonance, which holds that where white teachers do not understand the cultures of Caribbean children, they tend to misinterpret their behaviours and impose sanctions upon them more frequently and more harshly than white children. According to Brooks and Grant (2001), this is the basis upon which Caribbean children have come to be seen as a problem, and how they become victims of racism in schools.

As inferred earlier, the effect of racism on Caribbean children in schools were known among educators and policy makers since the 1970s. Lord Rampton, who oversaw an inquiry into their experiences around that time, acknowledged this in his report on ‘West Indian children in our schools’ (DES, 1981). The report, which officially disclosed racism in schools, inspired education authorities to undertake measures to change teachers’ perception of non-white children, rid racism from schools’ curriculum, and limit the damage to all children - particularly black children (Troyna, 1995). Troyna (1995) notes, however, that racism is mutative - constantly changing, challenged, and reconstituted, even in contradictory forms. Some contemporary writers have argued from a critical standpoint that ‘new racism’ which affects Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic outcomes is masked in institutional forms (The-Guardian, 2008; Gillborn, 2008).

Lord Macpherson (1999) defined institutional racism as “the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture or ethnic origin”. Like Lord Rampton (1981) and Lord Swann (1985) before him, he found that this kind of racism was pervasive in the education system and made recommendations for policy changes to address its presence and effects on the educational experiences and outcomes of all children, especially non-white children. As noted earlier, some policies since the 1980s, some of which were intended to encourage anti-racist and multicultural education (Troyna, 1987; Foster, 1990), preceded marked improvement in levels of educational attainment among some non-white groups, notably black girls and Africans in general, in English schools. In the light of this evidence, it is fair to assume that they have had positive impact. However, significant inequality in attainment, reflected in GCSE exam passes at high grades for instance, has continued among discernible groups, with Caribbeans performing at relatively low levels. This has led to a focus on ineffective schools in some explanations for these persistently poor outcomes among them.

### 2.3.2 Ineffective Schools

Schools in industrial societies such as Britain, observed American Professor of Sociology Brint (2006), are institutions of socialisation and sites for cultural reproduction where children can learn technical and social skills that they need in order to be productive members of the local community and wider society in which they live and will work as adults. Research findings over the decades, however, suggest that the schools in the socioeconomically disadvantaged local communities in which Caribbeans typically live, and that which their children attend, are often ill equipped and ineffective in meeting these educational and social requirements, and, in effect,
are implicated in their poor educational outcomes (Roberts et al., 1983; Harrison, 1992; Foster, 1990; Mirza, 1992; OfSTED, 2008). The key finding is that the schools in these communities appear, often, to be mere holding places for children that offer them little opportunity to improve their chances of socioeconomic progression. From Harrison’s (1992) point of view, they seemed to function as “franking machines to stamp the words certified failure on most” of their output (p.285). Mirza’s (1992) research, which she undertook in some inner-city schools during the 1980s, corroborates this observation. She (ibid) found that Caribbean youngsters relied “heavily” on their schools for support to attain educationally and for “good, positive advice” (p.89) on career and success in the labour market. Their schools, however, were mostly poorly resourced and the staff unqualified in their ability to sufficiently guide them towards these ends.

These findings appeal to the belief that the problems faced by Caribbean children in ineffective schools are not different from those experienced by other social groups in the same or similar communities. Hence, they resonate closely with the evidence which suggests that impoverished environment is a key explanatory factor for persistently poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes among socioeconomically disadvantaged groups such as Caribbeans. The assumption, thus, is that poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes among Caribbeans has less to do with ineffective schools and more to do with their poverty, which is a consequence of persistent structural inequalities in British society (Wedderburn, 1974; Halsey et al., 1974; 2001).

2.3.3 Structural Inequalities

Social and economic relations in Britain are believed among sociologists and economists to be sustained by rigid patterns of classification and interactions among social groups, often within organisations, that function to include and exclude members on the basis of their educational, social, and economic backgrounds (Halsey et al., 2001). Put another way, these classifications have been shown to structure and perpetuate socioeconomic advantages and disadvantages among social groups. The first-generation Caribbeans, who were generally from disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds, were classified on the basis of their disadvantages, and positioned at the end of Britain socioeconomic order (Halsey, 1974). At this position, they were susceptible to further disadvantages that, among others, reflected in their overrepresentation in low-status jobs, poor housing, and disadvantaged communities (Brown, 1984). These disadvantages were compounded by their limited education and occupational skills, which corresponded to the social class that they were ascribed and that which would subsequently be passed on to their children whose chances of success in education were remote as a result. According to Harrison (1992):

In an unequal and hierarchical society, educational failure is all too often hereditary, just as success is hereditary. This occurs not through any genetic transmission, but because the parents’ circumstances provide the environment in which the child grows up: environment is hereditary. The school system obligingly certificates failure, in a way that largely determines the subsequent career and class of the victim (p.277).
The structural inequalities that disadvantaged Caribbeans in education and the labour market, when they first arrived in Britain, have evolved over time in tandem with societal and cultural changes (Lauder et al., 2006). Nonetheless, inequalities in educational and socioeconomic outcomes among ethnic groups have persisted, giving rise to what Gillborn (2008) referred to as “locked in inequality” (p.14). As the term implies, this kind of inequality is impervious. It is believed to manifest in Caribbeans’ slower accumulation of economic and social capital and, in effect, their poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes across generations (Li, 2005).

Economic capital refers to financial resources, but social capital is somewhat more ambiguous. Brook (2005) defines it as the investment and use of embedded resources in social relations for expected return. It includes norms and values that are conducive to educational attainment and labour market success, and may, therefore, offer or deny individuals access to embedded resources, which, according to Li (2005), are the social relations, community attachment, and social networks that can enhance instrumental returns such as better jobs and higher earnings. Li (2005) found that Caribbeans tended to score relatively low on these embedded resources, and that their low scores corresponded to high levels of deprivation - evinced by high levels of unemployment, poor housing, and low levels of affluence when compared with most Asian and white groups. These patterns of inequalities, which are treated in the literature as structural, help to explain Caribbeans’ persistently poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes.

2.3.4 Summary of Societal Explanations

The explanations herein examined how racism, ineffective schooling, and structural inequalities - as societal factors, help to explain persistently poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes among Caribbeans. As noted in Part 1 of this chapter, these outcomes are sometimes conceptualised as underachievement that reflects in low levels of educational attainment and high rates of economic inactivity - both of which appear to have precipitated many Caribbeans and the local communities in which they live into intractable social exclusion and economic deprivation. The next section examines some explanations for these outcomes that are based on Caribbeans’ ways of life, i.e., the explanations are culturist, to use Goldthorpe’s (1974) term.

2.4 Culturist Explanations - Caribbeans’ Outcomes

This section examines some aspects of Caribbeans’ ways of life - their behaviours, family life and living arrangements, sub-cultures, and social identities - that have featured in explanations for their poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes since the 1960s. Such explanations, which are based on these aspects, have evolved since then, but they maintain the premise that Caribbeans’ responses to their history of marginalisation manifest in aversive behaviours and oppositional sub-cultural tenets in a British society that is typically hostile towards contradictions of its mainstream norms (Dhondy, 1974; Driver, 1979; Mac an Ghall, 1988; Foster, 1992; Sewell, 1997). Some of these explanations are examined herein in a contemporary context.
2.4.1 Aversive Behaviours

Aversive behaviours among Caribbeans have been historically seen as raison d’être for their poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes. This has been apparent in studies undertaken in schools over the past four decades which turned up substantial evidence of aversive behaviours mostly of a deviant sort among Caribbean youngsters who tended to be difficult and disruptive (Dhondy, 1974; Furlong, 1984; Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Foster, 1992; Sewell, 1997; Strand, 2008).

Such behaviours have been linked to stereotypes such as ‘underachiever’, ‘unacceptable’, and ‘unsuitable’ (Bagley, 1972; Rutter et al., 1974; 1975), and have been most commonly identified among Caribbean young men and boys. For instance, in Mac an Ghaill’s (1988) study, which he undertook in a secondary school during the 1980s, he identified a group of Caribbean boys whom he referred to as ‘Rasta heads’. They had a strong anti-school culture and promoted their own model of success that was not predicated on educational attainment or employment in the mainstream. They were the archetypal educational underachievers, and their notion of success was based on their ability to assert themselves and command respect among their peers.

Mac an Ghaill (ibid) observed some high ability Rasta Heads, who had rejected mainstream notions of educational success and social mobility, had been demoted from top ability streams throughout their schooling career. Their strategy for managing their underachievement, he noted, was to act tough and invert the dominant school values. This they did by exhibiting anti-school, i.e., aversive, behaviours such as arriving late, demanding seats at the back of the class, refusing to be shamed, sleeping throughout lessons, not doing homework, causing disturbance during lessons, using bad looks, and refusing to take exams (Mac an Ghaill, 1988).

In a follow up study during the 1990s, Mac an Ghaill (1994) found a continuation of these behaviours among Caribbean boys who labelled their diligent and more educationally inclined contemporaries as ‘botty men’ (p.87) - a homophobic slur. Comparable studies by Furlong (1984), Foster (1992), Sewell (1997), and Strand (2011) revealed patterns of similar behaviours among Caribbean youngsters which help to explain their disproportionate levels of exclusion from schools, and their correspondingly poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes. Some explanations for aversive behaviours of this sort and correspondingly poor outcomes among Caribbean youngsters have been based on their family backgrounds and home environment.

2.4.2 Dysfunctional Family and Disadvantaged Home Environment

During the 1960s, some writers suggested that the educational development of Caribbean children was being hampered by family instability (Goldman & Taylor, 1966) and disadvantaged home environment (Beetham, 1967). They offered evidence which linked the inner-city culture by which these children were being brought up to their poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes. Three decades later, this link was articulated by Harrison (1992) who wrote that:
The inner-city child is more anarchic and indisciplined than average. Many children come from families where arguments, disruption and instability, often involving violence, are everyday occurrences. Added to these are the perennial attraction of truancy, delinquency and street life, and the intractable problems of discipline of many families, especially those with single parents. All these influences are reflected in school in attention seeking, insolence and inability to concentrate (p.279).

Implied in the above extract is that the family structures and home environment in which many Caribbean children are brought up are responsible for their inadequate pre-school readiness and overall poor outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains throughout their life. Numerous writers since the 1960s, Troyna and William (1986) for instance, have noted trends of poor educational skills among them, relative to other disadvantaged groups’ children, in schools. This relative disadvantage was affirmed in more recent studies (Economist, 2005; Gillborn, 2008) that highlighted their inadequate readiness to learn and lack of aspiration to attain educationally when they start secondary school. The evidence revealed that they begin secondary school with an educational handicap. Their ability to read at the start of secondary schooling was shown to be notably lower than that of other groups’ children and, by the time they complete compulsory schooling, typically by age seventeen, this would fall significantly below the national average.

Some of the evidence suggests that many Caribbean children are simply not prepared to learn, and they are not to be blamed because they grow up in dysfunctional or disruptive households in which there is little to no support for educational attainment (Harrison, 1992; Sewell, 2011). There is also substantial evidence of inadequate qualified parental guidance among Caribbean families. For, about sixty five per cent of Caribbean children live in one-parent households - nine out of ten of which are headed by women (Economist, 2011), over half of whom depend on income support or other state assistance (Berthoud, 2005; Palmer, 2009). This reality relates closely to the over thirty per cent of Caribbean children who are eligible for free school meals (Bhattacharyya et al., 2003) - a widely accepted indicator of abject poverty (Smith, 2003).

The evidence suggests, thus, that inadequate parental guidance, dysfunctional households, and poverty in Caribbean families manifest in attitudes and behaviours among their children that are not conducive to educational attainment. These attitudes and behaviours have been found to conflict with standards and expectations in the children’s schools, which are based on the ideals of socioeconomically privileged groups (Tomlinson, 2001). Harrison (1992) who found that their poor outcomes were related to the economy in their local community made this observation also. During the 1980s, he undertook an ethnographic study in the London borough of Hackney, which has one of the largest concentrations of Caribbean families in Britain, and concluded that:

Whatever the school does, it can never be the major educational influence in its pupils’ lives. Most children spend the crucial early years at home and by the time those from deprived homes start primary school, irreparable damage will have been done to their
potential through poor nutrition, lack of stimulation and verbalisation, and emotional disturbance. The family is a more potent influence than the primary school, the street is more potent than secondary school, television is more potent than either level. The poor neighbourhood is itself the principal school for its children, its inhabitants are the chief instructors. It is a disastrous environment for learning or discipline (p.298).

Here, the family and local community are seen as key settings in which children are socialised with attitudes and behaviours that figure in their interactions in schools. Socialisation agents in these settings - family members, community inhabitants, etc. - are implicitly charged with providing encouragement and support for their children’s learning. However, Harrison’s (1992) study revealed that Caribbean children were often deprived of encouragement and familial support to attain educationally. What is more, the community in which they were being brought up were shown to play a key role in fostering attitudes and behaviours that were not conducive to educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. Empirical research over the years has tended to sum up these attitudes and behaviours as output of oppositional sub-cultures.

2.4.3 Oppositional Sub-cultures

Numerous writers have provided evidence which suggest that some Caribbean children, by virtue of their socialisation in their families and local communities, exhibit traits that are differentially valued and antagonistic in their schools (Dhondy, 1974; Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Sewell, 1997; Davis, 2001). These traits, some example of which are hustler [street] ambition and usage of non-standard dialects, such as traditional Patois (Edwards, 1986) or contemporary ‘Jafaican’ (Dailymail, 2006), often manifest in sub-cultural tenets that are not conducive to educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. Usage of non-standard dialects such as Jafaican, also referred to sometimes as Ghetto-speak, has been especially problematic as noted by social observer Johns (2011) who referred to it as a “mashed-up, debased language that spectacularly disables young people, because nobody will give them a job if they talk like that”.

Such sub-cultural tenets that are believed to undermine Caribbean youngsters’ educational and employment prospects are nonetheless valued in some social circles in which they interact and develop sub-cultures. Gillborn (1988; 1990), for instance, noted the importance of interaction in some social circles, which fostered a value system that united members in common experiences of marginalisation in education. A similar observation was made by Harrison (1992) who found that some sub-cultures in inner-city schools, which cater to the majority of Caribbean children:

Create an alternative system of values, rewards and punishment, working in diametric opposition to the school’s formal values. This alternative system awards praise and acclaim precisely for maximum deviance from formal values: for mucking about in class, delinquency, neglect of work, as well as for out-of-school values such as sexual experience and street wisdom (p.292).
These observations, made earlier by Gillborn and later by Harrison, have been affirmed in recent studies that revealed pressures to perform poorly in education within social circles in which Caribbean youngsters were majority members (Haynes et al., 2006; Strand, 2011a). The evidence suggests that these social circles are spawned by sub-cultures that award more credence to deviant behaviours that function to antagonise teachers and other students than to educational attainment or efforts to succeed - especially in secondary school.

Sewell (1997) and Strand (2011b) cited 'street culture' and 'gangster culture', which are popular among urban youths, as examples of sub-cultures that glorify violence, materialism, and sex among Caribbean youngsters, and sanction behaviours among them that are not conducive to educational attainment but, according to Sewell (2008), are allowed by politically correct educationists to flourish in schools. In this regard, Caribbean youngsters’ deviant sub-cultural tenets are seen as a contemporary phenomenon. However, there is some evidence that these tenets are rooted in parental cultures that originate in the Caribbean. For instance, writers such as Dhondy (1974) and Sutcliff and Wong (1986) argued that tenets of resistance in Caribbean sub-cultures are rooted in the legacy of slavery, which Berry (in Nehaul, 1996) observed:

Made a terrific impact on Caribbean people. The forced labour experience they endured, that not belonging to oneself, that endless no-pay work, that being ineligible for common rights that uphold human dignity, that way of life called slavery translated itself into burdensome loss. Freedom became a haunting thought and prayer and dream of black Caribbean people. It has aroused a dynamic desire for resistance (p.17).

Evident in this extract is the suggestion that the legacy of slavery has left Caribbeans with an internalised resentment against the indignity and stigma of slavery. This may have been compounded, one might argue, by the dreary odds against significant economic development in the geopolitical situation bequeathed by slavery and colonialism in the Caribbean (Rich, 1986), and Caribbeans’ marginalisation in impoverished inner cities in Britain (Peach, 1991). In view of the history of slavery and colonialism in the Caribbean, and experiences of marginalisation in Britain, it appears that tenets of resistance have been cultivated and patterned in similar ways among the generations, and continue to impact upon the current generations’ educational and socioeconomic outcomes - both in the Caribbean and in Britain. Dhondy (1974) articulated their implications in the British context four decades ago. He characterised the second generation as:

A breed most dangerous to capital, as they refuse to enter the productive partnership under the terms that this society lays down. They have turned the labour market into a sellers’ market by refusing to do dirty jobs. School has not succeeded in inspiring them with ambitions they know they will not be allowed to fulfil. Their ambition can be characterised as survival. They refuse to work as their parents’ generation did. They need very little convincing about the slavery of this process, they are the children of it. Their culture is a day-to-day affair. An affair of the style and fashions they collectively
generate. They educate themselves within the community and carry their community into the school where one may see them gathered around Reggae, developing the social image of their group (p.49).

In spite of the fact that the second generation were mainly born and brought up in Britain, it appears that sub-cultures, in the form identified by Dhondy (ibid), were more appealing to them during their coming of age than what might have appeared to be Eurocentric cultures in their schools. The Reggae culture that Dhondy (ibid) cites is a permutation of the Rastafari religion that is revered among Caribbeans of different generations (Murrell, 1998; 2010), and, in recent decades, has overshadowed less radical traditional Caribbean religions such as Myal, Kumina, Poco, and Revival Zion that have historically influenced Caribbeans’ cultures (Murrell, 1998).

The Rastafari faith combines Afro-centric and Caribbean ideologies, which incorporate aspects of European and Asiatic religious traditions, to create a belief system that is distinctly Caribbean (Chevannes, 1990). This pluralism seems to contribute to its appeal among Caribbeans, many of whom espouse diverse religious orientations (Murrell, 2010), whose attitude towards education and behaviours in schools are influenced by its ideology. For instance, vintage Rastas avow a wholesale rejection of Eurocentric world-views which they believe are corrupt, prejudice against blacks, and oppressive of poor people (Murrell, 1998). Murrell (1998) theorised that they resist prejudices and disenfranchisement by developing a psychology of blackness that rejects racism, classism, and stereotypical ways of being that are coded in cultural forms.

Murrell (1998) argues that the Rasta psychology, which came about over a period of time in an oppressive environment, encourages Caribbeans to resist social exclusion and economic disenfranchisement that constrain their socioeconomic progression. This was most notably evident during the 1970 when Rastafari ideology was believed to have effectively raised political consciousness among Caribbeans and fuelled their desire for social change in their local communities (Chevannes, 1990). The change momentum, it seems, was mainly driven by the second generation who were inspired to resist marginalisation (Pryce, 1979). In a contemporary context, however, the Rasta psychology is believed to be the source of less savoury sub-cultures such as the Yardies and Ragamuffin that emerged during the 1970s (Murrell, 2010).

In a Caribbean cultural context, Yardie is a reference to a black male who is linked to a street life-style (Sewell & Majors, 2001), and Ragamuffin is often associated with lawless youths or a wretched life-style (Buckell, 2008). Both are rooted in the cultures of Jamaican ghetto dwellers, but Ragamuffin-ism has been propagated through modern Caribbean dance music such as Ska and Dancehall. One etymology suggests a connection with Urchins - an erstwhile racial slur that was used to describe Jamaicans, but it has been appropriated by Caribbeans to describe tough young Caribbean people (Buckell, 2008). Sewell (1997) noted that the Ragamuffin sub-culture was prevalent among Caribbean youngsters in the inner cities and, according to his Mr Jones, this was “because it lacks discipline” (p.116), which they exhibited through radical cultural
counterpoints such as locking their hair into natty bongos, smoking Marijuana publicly, living in squalid conditions, and abandoning English for non-standard dialects (Murrell, 2010). During the early days, Murrell (2010) wrote, these images perpetuated stereotypes of Rastas [Ragas] as unsanitary Dreads who controlled crime-infested local communities. Stereotypes that were given currency by the increasing decay, violent rioting, and criminal activities in local Caribbean communities during the 1970s and 1980s and, according to Troya (1993), fuelled perception of young Rastas as a social time bomb that was ready to rebel and tear apart the social fabric.

More recently, these activities have been discussed around the notion of gang and ‘gansta’ cultures (Sewell, 2011; Heale, 2012). In other words, cultures of radical variants of Rastafari are believed to have given way to gang cultures and the notion of ghetto culture that have come to characterise some local Caribbean communities (Telegraph, 2000; 2007; Heale, 2012). A visible identifier of these sub-cultures, identified by Heale (2012), is a strange cognitive landscape among youngsters - in which their peer group is all that provides safety. It is a way of life in which, “you keep everyone around you down. Make sure no one has a better life that you” (p.72). Consequently, within this landscape, the evidence suggests, there is a paucity of hope that corresponds to a cultural compulsion to tear down those who aspire to, or, do better.

Like Rastafari and its variants, these sub-cultures provide many Caribbean youngsters with a cultural narrative, i.e., a template for survival, in the absence of educational attainment and prospects of success in the mainstream labour market (Heale, 2012). They are, therefore, implicated in contemporary explanations for the continued poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes among Caribbean young people, especially among the men and boys. A significant development in contemporary research, however, is an increasing emphasis on disadvantaged social class culture in explanations for these poor outcomes, which have persisted among Caribbeans - as a social group with diverse and sometimes oppositional cultural tenets.

2.4.4 Disadvantaged Social Class

Social class, Halsey (1987) notes, refers to a group whose members share similar occupational and economic situation. Since the Wars, the intensive industrialisation that followed gave rise to numerous groupings, but Halsey et al (2001) found that Britons divided themselves into two broad groups of social classes - middle classes and working classes - that have somewhat persisted. These classes can be viewed as subcultures in the sense that they confer upon their members a set of norms and values that are carried down from generations to generations (Halsey, 1974). By proxy, the middle classes are believed to have attended a form of formal education and espouse cultural tenets that are consistent with mainstream labour market success. They are often contrasted with the working classes that are seen as mostly low-skilled or unskilled manual workers who have little or no education and espouse cultural tenets - value systems, work preference, language usage, religiosity etc. (Wedderburn, 1974; Jones O., 2012) - that correspond to low levels of educational attainment and socioeconomic marginalisation.
By this description, the majority of the first-generation Caribbeans were identified as working class (Jeffcoate, 1984; Peach, 1996). However, Willis (1977) and Rex and Tomlinson (1979), writing during the 1970s, used the term ‘under class’ to refer to Caribbeans who, in addition to their working-class cultural identity and tenets, were concentrated in impoverished inner cities and worked in dirty jobs that working-class whites felt were beneath them. As a result of limited social mobility across the generations, the majority of their children and grandchildren are still identified as working-class (Byron & Condon, 2008). This means that they are mainly employed in low-skilled or unskilled jobs, and espouse cultural tenets that are not conducive to educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. Moreover, they tend to delegate responsibility for their children’s education to schools, and are unlikely to participate in their children’s educational development (DES, 1981; Sewell, 2000; Maylor et al., 2009).

Some studies (Sammons, 1995; Gillborn & Mirza, 2000; Gillborn, 2007) have revealed, however, that Caribbean children from middle-class backgrounds were the worst performing among the middle classes and, in some cases, little better placed than their white peers from working-class backgrounds. Those from a working-class background also had lower levels of attainment than their working-class peers from other ethnic groups (Gillborn, 2007). These findings conjure up suspicions that Caribbeans’ poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes do not cohere into patterns recognisable as social classes. Pakulski and Waters (1995) offer some credence to this suspicion in arguing that social classes are crude and incapable of handling the nuances of contemporary identity politics and, in effect, divert attention from other more central and more morally problematic inequalities. The social class perspective, therefore, seems to obstruct an accurate understanding of poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes among Caribbeans.

2.4.5 Summary of Culturist Explanations

The culturist explanations herein examined how aversive behaviours, local environment, sub-cultural tenets, and disadvantaged social class culture may help to explain poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes among Caribbeans. These factors are all different but, like the societal factors, they help to explain low levels of educational attainment and poor socioeconomic outcomes that have persisted across generations of Caribbeans in Britain. These persistently poor outcomes are examined further from the point of social psychology in the next section.

2.5 Social Psychology Explanations - Caribbeans’ Outcomes

The literature review in Part 1 revealed diversity in educational and socioeconomic outcomes among Caribbeans in Britain, but the consensus, nonetheless, is that over the past six decades they have performed less well than other groups in education and socioeconomic domains. Both the societal and culturist explanations examined earlier offered insight into the persistently poor outcomes that characterise the group, but an understanding of these continued poor outcomes in light of increasing opportunities for groups’ progression in British society, as demonstrated by
recently settled Africans, remains wanting. Also, there remain some curiosity and questions surrounding the lower levels of attainment among Caribbeans, in relation to other groups, in privileged social classes and the noted better educational and socioeconomic outcomes among Caribbean women and girls, relative to those of men and boys, although women head over fifty per cent of Caribbean families. These questions are clearly complex and may not be resolved in this thesis. However, this section re-examines Caribbeans’ poor outcomes from the point of view of social psychology, which may offer a fuller appreciation of diversity in their outcomes.

As a start, the decades of the 1960s and 1970s were exciting times for educational and social psychologists in the western world. The works reviewed herein suggest that the excitement was driven by major changes in the social, economic, and political landscapes of North America and Europe, whose economies were buoyed by industrialism after the Wars. Around that time, the American Civil Rights Act was passed with, among others, the intent to protect the educational and socioeconomic rights of its non-white groups, especially those labelled as black (Steele S., 2007). Western Europe - Britain, France, and Holland - in a parallel vein had its newly settled non-white population of which Caribbeans, as a group, accounted for a significant percentage.

In the western world, for the first time in these groups’ history, they had come to be seen as having rights to succeed in education, and society in general - after centuries of their economic exploitation, educational deprivation, and social exclusions, which were, expressly in America, sanctioned by laws. Once these non-white groups became visible in the education system and the labour market, however, it was apparent that they were doing poorly in comparison to their white peers. This attracted interest from psychologists in that, after centuries of disadvantages, now presumed alleviated, these groups did not seem ready to thrive in education and socioeconomic domains; they perform persistently poorly on leading indicators of progression.

Jensen (1969; 2011) in America and Eysenck (1971) in Britain, both educational psychologists, explored persistently poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes among these groups from the point of view of intelligence and educability. Intelligence, they argued, is largely genetically inherited, and educability, by contrast, is the ability to learn scholastic subjects under conditions of ordinary classroom instruction. This point of view has come to be known as the IQist notion - which asserts that black groups do poorly in education and society, in relation to white groups, because they have lower levels of intelligence and educability, which reflect in poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes. This assertion, however, by all known measures has been found to be unsound. Halsey’s (1958; 1977) and Flynn’s (1980) early works were efforts to explain how this could not be true and Goleman’s (1996; 2007; 2010) more recent work on behavioural and brain sciences suggests that this may be impossible. This is the background against which social psychology has offered empirical insights into this troubling deviation from expectation.

In this section, persistently poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes among Caribbeans in Britain are examined from the viewpoint of four theoretical accounts, each of which introduces
a degree of coherence in explaining their persistently low achievement from a social psychology perspective. The accounts are based on C.Steele’s (1997) disidentification and stereotype threat theory, Majors’(1992) cool pose theory, Ogbu’s (1991; 1998; 2008) cultural inversion theory, and S.Steele’s (1998) race holding theory. These theories originate in America [USA] where they were developed to explain the increasing gap in educational attainment and socioeconomic progression between blacks and other groups since the passing of the Civil Rights Act in 1964.

The Act was a basis of hope for sustained social and economic progression among all groups and, in effect, a reduction in the impact of racism and structural inequalities that were known to disadvantage non-white groups, particularly black ones, in America. However, the accounts will show that their relevance is not limited to America. For, like blacks in America, Caribbeans in Britain are defined by their non-whiteness and are chronically disadvantaged in educational and socioeconomic terms. The accounts examine their experiences and offer interpretations for their outcomes from the viewpoint of the theories. They are adapted to a British context and stress local societal and cultural references to build a picture of how Caribbeans’ responses to their poor experiences in education and socioeconomic domains may have become habituated and are transmitted across generations. The first is disidentification and stereotype threat.

2.5.1 Disidentification and Stereotype Threat

In light of Caribbeans’ poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes, relative to those of many Asian and white [social] ethnic groups in Britain, Steele’s (1997; 2011) disidentification and stereotype threat theory has been adapted to explain the persistence of these outcomes after cultural factors - an example of which is family life, and societal factors - an example of which is ineffective schools, have been taken into account. The theory holds that educational and socioeconomic success in industrial societies such as Britain is predicated on success in education – referred to otherwise as school. According to Steele (1997):

To sustain school success one must be identified with school achievement in the sense of its being a part of one’s self-definition, a personal identity to which one is self evaluatively accountable. This accountability--that good self-feelings depend in some part on good achievement--translates into sustained achievement motivation (p.613).

Steele (ibid) reasoned that negative group stereotypes that are associated with being black undermine black peoples’ ability to identify with education and socioeconomic outcomes that are predicated on educational attainment, which is seen as the domain of the stereotyping group - whites. He hypothesised that group stereotypes function as threats “in the air” (p.614) that work their way into individuals’ actions through a subconscious process, and devaluation emerges in the aggregate as a series of responses to negative stereotypes. Devaluation is motivated by what he termed ‘stereotype threat’, which exists when blacks face situations in which their actions could confirm a negative stereotype about their group. He contends that, in
order to understand what in the experience of blacks - as groups that are diverse and sometimes competing - might frustrate or inhibit their identification with education:

One must turn first to social structure: limits on educational access that have been imposed on these groups by socioeconomic disadvantage, segregating social practices, and restrictive cultural orientations, limits of both historical and on-going effect. By diminishing one's educational prospects, these limitations (e.g., inadequate resources, few role models, preparational disadvantages) should make it more difficult to identify with academic domains (p.613).

According to the disidentification hypothesis, negative group stereotypes, such as intellectual inferiority [IQist notion] and aversive cultural tenets [Culturist notion], which have been heaped upon blacks, coupled with structurally imposed disadvantages and inadequate human capital, threaten how they think about and evaluate themselves, i.e., their self-concept, in ways that are less present for other groups, especially white ones. This hypothesis is a basis for explaining why Caribbean youngsters, such as Mac an Ghaill's (1988) 'Rasta Heads', may refuse to take exams, for which they may also refuse to prepare. This can be explained in terms of possible fear that their failure could affirm ability-demeaning or other negative stereotypes which they may be aware that teachers and society, in general, hold against their group (Gillborn, 1997).

As discussed earlier, schools and the local communities in which they are situated are settings in which negative stereotypes against Caribbeans are perpetuated (Mirza, 1992; Majors, 2001). Therein, Caribbean children experience threats to their self-concept and, by implications, would become inclined to disidentify with education in an effort to save face. Also, we have seen some evidence which suggest that negative stereotypes that manifest in differential treatment of Caribbean children in schools underpin inequalities in the labour market and other structural disadvantages that undermine the relationship between educational attainment and success in the mainstream. This was explored in the explanations for poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes among Caribbeans that are based on societal factors. They suggest that even those Caribbeans who attain relatively well in education are unlikely to be rewarded in the same way as their white peers, and, in as a result, would have little incentive to identify with education or expend efforts towards educational attainment as a means to progress in the mainstream.

Osborne (1999; 2001), a professor of educational psychology, has expounded upon this disidentification hypothesis. He reasoned that, because identification with education is perceived among disidentified black groups as the domain of the majority and stereotyping group - whites - those who disidentify tend to develop a self-concept that is insulated from negative group stereotypes. By this, he implies, they would not be motivated to do well in education because their self-concept is not linked to educational attainment. This postulation can be applied to explain why Caribbean children, including those considered to be of high ability, who disidentify with education would not be shamed by ridicule or poor performance at
school (Mac an Ghaill, 1988). A reason for this may be simply that education attainment is not linked to their self-concept; a reasoning which resonates with Steele’s (1997) articulation that:

> If the poor school achievement of ability-stigmatized groups is mediated by disidentification, then it might be expected that among the ability-stigmatized, there would be a disassociation between school outcomes and overall self-esteem (p.623).

This is consistent with Wright’s (1985) evidence. Three decades ago, she found that the low priority teachers accorded to Caribbean children in schools led to their increased deviance and, in some cases, a conscious rejection of schooling. This tendency was evidenced earlier in the review on Aversive Behaviours which revealed that some Caribbean children viewed their school as a setting in which to affirm their individuality and command respect by way of what can be understood as disidentification. In this regard, disidentification enhanced their self-concept, which was not linked to educational success. This may help to explain their disproportionate exclusions from school, low levels of educational attainment, and correspondingly high levels of economic inactivity, poverty, and social exclusion - that have persisted across generations.

The disproportionate exclusions from school and lower levels of attainment among Caribbean boys, in particular, suggest a greater tendency for them to disidentify with education. Nehaul (1996) and Sewell (1997; 2009) affirm this. Nehaul (ibid) asserts that stereotyping affects Caribbean boys more than the girls and Sewell (ibid) points to a combination of gender and race stereotypes that make identification with education more difficult for them. Also, Sewell (ibid) observes that Caribbean boys, who disidentify, do not attain well educationally because of their sub-cultures that sanction their devaluation of education and resistance to schooling. This observation resonates with the empirical evidence that links their disproportionate exclusions from schools with behaviours and sub-cultural tenets that are anti-school and not conducive to educational attainment. These behaviours and sub-cultural tenets, which also function to affirm stereotypes such as ‘underachiever’ and ‘uneducable’, encourage the perception of the group as a social problem; further evinced by their high levels of economic inactivity and predisposition to criminality that can be explained as consequences of disidentification, which protects them in education and socioeconomic domains where they are often stereotyped and feel vulnerable.

Upon reflection, disidentification functions to help prepare them, psychologically, for life in their local communities in which there is little connection between educational attainment and socioeconomic reality. In adult life, they integrate well in their local communities where they engage with the means by which those before them make a living. Incidentally, we have seen that these communities are typically socioeconomically disadvantaged, although they have highly developed local economies that, both Harrison (1992) and Heale (2012) observe, are driven by unregulated and illicit activities. Disidentification helps to prepare them for life under these circumstances, and its tenets are passed on by socialisation agents, such as elders and peers, to youngsters who may experience stereotype threat in schools and other settings.
2.5.2 Cool Pose

Majors and Billson (1992) undertook ethnographic studies among black men and boys in America and postulated that their behaviours and poor performance on several educational and socioeconomic indicators were linked to their historical experiences of oppression - which include slavery, social exclusion, racism, and societal inequalities - that have come to reflect in poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes. They surmised that black men and boys - more evidently - responses to their recurring experiences with these adverse societal factors - mainly racism and inequalities - that block their life chances manifest in stylistic behaviours. These behaviours, Majors and Billson (1992) reasoned, amount to a ‘cool pose’, which, by definition:

Is a ritualised form of masculinity that entails behaviours, scripts physical posturing, impression management and carefully crafted performances that deliver a single, critical message: pride, strength, and control. It eases the worry and pain of blocked opportunities. Being cool is an ego booster for black males comparable to the kind white males find through attending good schools, landing prestigious jobs and bringing home decent wages. The cool black male epitomizes control, strength and pride in a context where he has learned that the classic virtues of thrift, perseverance, and hard work do not give them the same tangible rewards that accrue to whites (p.4-5).

According to Majors and Billson (1992), cool pose is an invisible code of behaviour that is used among black men and boys to combat the injustice that they routinely experience by virtue of their skin colour. It is essentially a front that masked their damaged pride and shattered confidence, which are consequences of their immersion in a racist society. This hypothesis has been supported by Hardy and Laszloffy (1995), psychotherapists, who assert that racism and structural disadvantages, for instance, ignite cultural rage in black people and there are limited opportunities for them, as a group, to vent the intense emotions that have accumulated throughout generations of racial injustices (p.59). Their cool pose, therefore, helps them to manage their frustration and feelings of rage in the face of racial prejudice and discrimination while preserving their self-concept, which is often informed by factors other than education.

The cool pose hypothesis aligns well with the notion that Caribbeans, especially the men and boys, adopt and display behaviours that they think convey a sense of their coolness, esteem, and cultural attachment. As Mac an Ghaill (1988) and Gillborn (1988) found, these behaviours typically differ from their teachers’ expectations and the norms in their schools - where they are often misunderstood or interpreted as defiant, aggressive, and intimidating. This suggests that the guarded disposition in their cool pose problematises their school experience and results in conflicts with teachers, and others, who may be uncertain about how to maintain relationships with them (Sewell & Majors, 2001). Consequently, their cool pose invites harsh responses from teachers and their corresponding challenging or protest behaviours, as they are inclined to protect their self-concept. This echoes in findings over the past six decades which suggest that,
as Caribbean children behave and interact in ways that differ from the expectations and norms in their schools, their learning and, ultimately, their educational attainment suffer.

From this point of view, Caribbean children’s behaviours in schools, which can be defined as cool pose, can be posited to explain their persistently poor educational outcome. This was attempted - although not explicitly so - by Dhondy (1974) and Willis (1977) who observed during the 1970s that Caribbean boys’ machismo laddish behaviours were anti-school and impeded their educational attainment. This observation was again made later by Mac an Ghaill (1988; 1994) and Sewell (1997), both who found that cliques of Caribbean boys had patterns of behaviours that led to them underachieving in education. Over the decades, these behaviours have been posited as products of minority cultures that are oppositional to mainstream cultures, and have been referred to variably as resistant cultures (Dhondy 1974), anti-school cultures (Mac an Ghaill, 1988), ghetto cultures (Telegraph, 2000), and street cultures (Sewell, 2011).

Connolly and Bruner (1974), both social psychologists, assert that there is an official ideology of despair in these minority cultures and parents pass on the basic tenets for survival therein on to their children through socialisation. However, while such children are socialised with culturally sanctioned behaviours that will allow them to survive in their local communities, these behaviours may manifest in a cool pose which is inconsistent with the norms and expectations in their schools. It can be argued, thus, that the irreconcilable differences between their cool pose and the expectations and norms in their schools translate to their placement in low ability streams and low achievement throughout their compulsory schooling career and adult life.

**2.5.3 Cultural Inversion**

Ogbu (1992; 1998), known for his theories on phenomena involving race and intelligence, explored how race and ethnicity played out in educational and socioeconomic outcomes among discernible racial and socioeconomically disadvantaged minority groups in America [the USA]. He found that social and economic marginalisation affected motivation, depressed IQ scores, and undermined educational attainment among black groups; thus, relegating many of them to a permanent underclass. Within the confines of an underclass, he observed, black groups tend to develop behavioural patterns and reverence towards norms that typically contradict the dominant value system from which they believe themselves to be excluded. Ogbu (1992) labelled the process ‘cultural inversion’, which, he wrote:

> Is the tendency for minorities to regards certain forms of behavior, events, symbols and meanings as inappropriate for them because these are characteristic of whites. At the same times, the minorities value other forms of behaviors, events, symbols and meaning, often the opposite, as more appropriate for themselves. Thus, what is appropriate or even legitimate behavior for in-group members may be defined in opposition to white-out-group members’ practices and preferences (p.8).
The cultural inversion hypothesis, therefore, is based on sustained experience of social and economic marginalisation and a mix of psychologically and environmentally determined responses that are produced and transmitted across generations through socialisation (Ogbu, 1998). It assumes that individuals’ and groups’ responses to their experiences are not only psychologically and environmentally determined, but are culturally acquired across generations. These culturally acquired responses, Ogbu (2008) contends, are the criteria that must be used to differentiate and explain differences in groups’ educational and socioeconomic outcomes.

As seen earlier, tenets of cultural inversion among Caribbeans have been linked to their legacy of slavery (Dhondy, 1974; Sutcliff & Wong, 1986). These tenets are believed to have originated among the first-generation immigrants, many of whom came from materially poor backgrounds in the Caribbean (Maunier, 1955). Although one of their motives for coming to Britain was to lead a better life (Chamberlain, 1998), their marginalisation in British society may have forced them to cultivate tenets of resistance that are inherent in Caribbean sub-cultures, such as Rastafari inspired ones for instance. The literature suggests that these tenets were perhaps passed on to their children and grandchildren, who were likely socialised to be mindful of mainstream cultures and the factors that determine success in the mainstream. Consequently, they may have come to invert cultures upon which educational attainment and socioeconomic progression are predicated, not because they are seen as bad or undesirable, but because they are seen as unsuitable for facilitating a better life within the contexts of marginalisation and socioeconomic disadvantages that characterise the reality of many Caribbeans in British society.

Cultural inversion among Caribbeans implies that they necessarily develop social identities that are different from those of the dominant [white] population, and would selectively devalue educational attainment and socioeconomic progression that they consider alien to their reality. Both Mac an Ghaill’s (1988) and Sewell’s (1997) ethnographic studies offered insights into this process among Caribbean youngsters, some of whom viewed educational attainment, defined by obtaining high exam grades, as effeminate and the purview of the group [whites] that they held responsible for their disadvantages. Therefore, to them, educational attainment symbolised demasculinisation and abandonment of their struggle against marginalisation, racism, and socioeconomic disadvantages, and, in effect, a devaluation of their Caribbean heritage and [or] ‘acting white’ - these being undesirable and inappropriate aspects of their Caribbean identity.

The cultural inversion theory also suggests that Caribbeans who continue to be marginalised in disadvantaged local communities may view educational attainment as a way out of their communities and familiar social circles. This was demonstrated by Mac an Ghaill’s (1988) high ability Rasta Heads who “rejected individual social mobility and refused to allow a black elite to be created among them” (p.106). In essence, since educational attainment implies progression in the mainstream and a venture into unfamiliar and perceptively hostile social circles, they would not be psychologically inclined to pursue educational attainment that could possibly alienate them from their social group and precipitate their marginalisation in the mainstream.
**2.5.4 Race Holding**

Shelby (1998; 2000) explored the slipping educational and socioeconomic position of black Americans, relative to that of other racial groups, since the passing of the Civil Rights Act, and reasoned that memories of past injustices and the historical oppression of blacks function to undermine black people’s perception of themselves and their ability to advance in mainstream domains. He (ibid) postulated that perceptions of white superiority that linger in the minds of black people make them fearful to take responsibility for their own progression. This fear, he claimed, is driven by self-doubt and concerns of individually confirming stereotypes of inferiority and inability to sustain their own progression. This results in what he termed ‘race holding’, a psychological condition whereby blacks cling to their race, rather than their individuality, to escape from self-doubt and responsibility for their progression (S.Steele, 1998). He explained:

Race holding is based on the assumption that a margin of choice is always open to blacks (even slaves had some choice). And it tries to make clear the mechanism by which we relinquish that choice in the name of race (p.27).

In race holding, socioeconomic progression is a group objective for which no individual member of the group will independently take responsibility. Individuality is invisible, and notion of progression is aligned to the group - for which whites are held responsible. In this relationship, whites assume responsibility for the “problems blacks suffer and blacks are, in an odd way, responsible for preserving the weaknesses that keep others responsible” (S.Steele, 2000, p.48). This deflection from individual responsibility to whites’ responsibility gives rise to what Shelby calls ‘redemptive white racism’ - where whites seek moral superiority at the expense of blacks’ progression. He (ibid) noted that when whites are held responsible for solving black problems:

They are given a degree of ownership over a black problem. And, again, they are likely to use this ownership to get history’s monkey off their backs; that is, to satisfy the mandate for redemption that history has imposed on them, not the mandate that history imposed on blacks to achieve equality and parity with whites. These different mandates to resolve history are also a great pressure to repeat history, to have whites take agency over black life and use it for their own ends (p.72).

Within the context of socioeconomic progression, agency is an essential mediational means. According to Shelby (2000), it is ultimate responsibility combined with possession. He (ibid) contended that one has agency over something - achievement, a problem, the advancement of a group - when two things are true, ”You have the freedom that allows you to be responsible for it and you accept that this responsibility belongs to you and not to someone else” (p.74).

In sum, the theory would suggest that Caribbeans’ limited socioeconomic progression in British society is a result of deflected responsibility and negation of agency. This may help to explain
why the group has failed to cultivate ethnic solidarity and enable wider socioeconomic progression in their local communities (Goulbourne, 1991). Despite their relatively long history in Britain, there is little evidence of their effort to procure collective progression in their local communities. This compares oddly with the African and Indian subpopulations that settled in Britain later than Caribbeans. Like Caribbeans, these groups are believed to be subjected to racism, ineffective schools, and structural inequalities, but have had notable mainstream success seemingly as a result of their collective effort at community building and ownership of responsibility for their socioeconomic progression (Modood et al., 1997; Blackaby et al., 1999; Modood 2003).

One might argue that, unlike the African and Indian subpopulations, race diversity among Caribbeans militates against race holding because, as discussed in Part 1, they do not constitute a homogeneous race. This observation, however, is countered by the substantial evidence, in the literature, of a distinct group identity among Caribbeans, which exists within the context of ethnicity rather than race. Furthermore, their non-whiteness and common experiences of racism were key factors that united them in local communities (Lewis et al., 1990). In this regard, race remains relevant in contextualising their experiences and outcomes, most notable from the race relations perspective that has inspired debate and change around racism that has historically disadvantaged them and, in so doing, improve their lived experiences and life outcomes. Some successes, discussed earlier, have reflected in initiatives at both governmental and grassroot levels since the 1970s. But, where Caribbeans are seen, from the race relations perspective for instance, as victims of racism over which they do not have control, improving their educational and socioeconomic outcomes is assumed to be the responsibility of governments, and white-British public more generally. Consequently, Sewell (2008) notes, Caribbeans are not sufficiently challenged to take responsibility for their outcomes and, as race holding suggests, the victim status that they are ascribed functions to compound their deflection of responsibility for their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression, both of which require individual agency.

According to Shelby (1998), a victim mind-set functions to blind blacks from opportunities for their individual progression and the development of their group so that they can be equal with other groups (p.67). In this regard, it is seen to militate against the individual’s and the group’s progression, because responsibility aversion manifest in hesitation to pursue educational attainment or academic excellence for fear that failure will affirm inner doubts about their abilities. This articulation helps to explain why some Caribbeans would scoff at or ignore things educational while deriding (Harrison, 1992, p.292 offers some examples) those who do well educationally and progress in the mainstream - charging them with offenses such as abandoning their culture (Mac an Ghaill, 1994) or acting white (Sewell, 1997; 2011).

Race holding suggests that progressive Caribbeans would be inclined to settle away from the group, typically in predominantly white communities, in order to escape these charges. They are then susceptible to what Shelby (1991, p.25) calls ‘integration shock’, which characterise a feeling of displacement and doubt about stereotypes to which the colour of their skin makes
them vulnerable. This, the theory infers, may result in a sense of guilt that they are abandoning their heritage and a weary fatiguing search for an identity that is exacerbated by the desire but inability to fit in. In facing this dilemma, they may resort to race holding to help manage their anxiety or integration shock. This action, Shelby (1998) reasoned, leads to 'race fatigue' (p.26) that undermine their progression and characterise their experience of living in a progressive enclave that is frequently deemed the domain of whites. This interaction between cultural and societal factors, in a similar way as in the other accounts, has a broad conceptual underpinning.

2.6 A Conceptual Account of Caribbeans’ Outcomes

This section offers a reflection on the issues of poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes among Caribbeans that were re-examined in the preceding accounts. In essence, these issues surround the reciprocal influence of Caribbeans and contacts in their social world, and, in this regard, they are sociopsychological (Hollway et al., 2007). Their common societal and cultural influences, however, can be understood from a broader theoretical approach that is concerned with individuals’ actions and experiences in their social world and how products of culture, such as cultural resources, are transmitted across generations. This approach, herein referred to sociocultural, is indebted to the work of Lev Vygotsky (1896-1934), the Soviet psychologist and founder of the cultural-historical psychology theory, upon which Wertsch (1985; 1993; 1994) drew to explore human actions in settings that structure their social world, and observed that:

At the most general level a sociocultural approach concerns the ways in which human action, including mental action (e.g., reasoning, remembering), is inherently linked to the cultural, institutional, and historical settings in which it occurs. The relationship at issue here between human action and sociocultural setting is not one of unidirectional causality. In particular, the claim is not that sociocultural settings somehow cause human action. In a sense, just the reverse may often seem to be the case - human action may seem to constitute sociocultural settings (1994, p.233).

Implied herein is that individuals’ experiences and actions and the settings in which they occur are not only interrelated, but are also shaped by cultural and societal factors, and, in effect, are sociocultural. Individuals’ experiences and actions in various settings, however, are mediated by means that the sociocultural approach requires consideration of. For, as Wertsch (1994) notes, social actions “must be understood as involving an irreducible tension between the mediational means provided by the sociocultural setting, on the one hand, and the unique, contextualized use of these means in carrying out particular concrete actions, on the other” (p.202).

Consideration of the means by which individuals’ experiences and actions are mediated in sociocultural settings, as the sociocultural approach requires, was evident in the four accounts. These means - affirmed as disidentification, cool pose, cultural inversion, and race holding - were seen to have been transmitted across generations through socialisation, and functioned as
non-material resources that low-achieving Caribbeans were assumed to have used to mediate their persistently poor experiences in education and socioeconomic domains. Put more simply, Caribbeans who were doing poorly in education and socioeconomic domains were assumed to have used these non-material resources to mediate their experiences therein. This assumption, however, is not unique. It resonates with observations among social groups whose experiences in industrial societies have been studied. Bourdieu’s (1977; 1986; 1990; 2010) seminal work, for instance, offers insight into the function of culturally derived non-material resources in the experiences of privileged social groups. His (ibid) early conceptualisation of these resources, however, was cultural capital - which can be understood broadly as acquired dispositions and sensibilities that are convertible, on certain conditions, into economic capital. In a Bourdieurian sense, cultural capital is acquired primarily through familial transmission - for instance through elaborate language and dress codes that are conducive to success in school and the work place.

This notion of cultural capital has been elaborated by Lareau (1987; 1988) who asserted that it is typically used as a filter for inclusion in and exclusion from social groups. She postulated that, through socialisation, individuals acquire this capital to help them to achieve educational and socioeconomic success within their social groups and wider society, in general. This postulation, however, is based on the experiences of socioeconomically advantaged groups whose cultural capital is held to be convertible to economic capital - in a Bourdieurian sense. It implies that groups that are educationally and socioeconomically disadvantaged do not have cultural capital that is convertible to economic capital and, as a result, poses a problem for understanding social mobility among these groups. This is the backdrop against which DeGraaf (1986), in his study of how culture plays out in educational outcomes among social groups in the Netherlands, used the concept of cultural resources to suggests that which all individuals possess and which impact upon their educational attainment. These resources, he hypothesised, are provided by cultures - to be used by individuals to mediate their experiences in their social world and the wider society of which they are part. This hypothesis resonates with Bruner’s (1996) claim that “learning and thinking are always situated in sociocultural settings and always dependent on the utilization of cultural resources” (p.4), which, DeGraaf (1986) and Bruner (1996) reasoned, may offer advantages in education and socioeconomic domains because of specific disposition with which they are associated - such as reading behaviour and linguistic skills, for instance.

Numerous writers, notably in Europe and America, have written about culture and cultural resources in similar ways as DeGraaf and Bruner - contributing to a field whose literature has grown in recent years. Gladwell (2009), Lareau (2011), Sánchez-Jankowski (2008), and Sowell (1978; 1979; 1995) have all made valuable contributions. Sowell’s (ibid) work, for instance, explores patterns in groups’ cultures as products of environments that may have existed across oceans, in the lives of unknown ancestors, yet transmitted across generations in the form of cultural resources, which, he found, are often masked by visible culture identifiers - language, dress, customs - but their varied usage among group members are revealed when hard choices must be made, and sacrifices endured, to achieve competing goals. Therein, Sowell suggests
that variation in usage of these resources shape educational and socioeconomic outcomes among black groups, and Sánchez-Jankowski’s (2008) offers insights into how they help sustain marginalised immigrant communities in America. These findings were found to be consistent with those of Payne (2001) and Lareau (2011) who undertook ethnographic studies among black and white middle-class, working-class, and poor families. Payne (ibid) theorised that the habits, values, and beliefs of the generationally poor, which are transmitted across generations in the form of culture, help to explain why their children tend not to do well in education. She hypothesised that the generationally poor see the world in terms of their local settings, which, she observed, were disorganised, noisy, and cluttered. A common attitude among them, she found, is that “society owes them a living” (p.64) and fatalism, not choice, being a major tenet of their value system. This, she explained, is because they tend to live for the moment, money is not or cannot be saved - it is spent on immediate needs, and they are less likely to have viable long-term goals. This culture, she reasoned, has implications for the education of their children because, while they are prepared for survival in their disadvantaged local communities, their attitudes and behaviours often contravene the expectations of their schools and teachers.

Lareau (2011) affirmed that such disadvantaged families are less able to play an active role in their children’s educational development through organised activities, or foster a desire in them to succeed educationally. Her evidence revealed how working-class and poor families relied on ‘accomplishment of natural growth’ in which their children’s development unfold spontaneously with only basic comfort, food, and shelter being provided, whereas, middle-class parents, both black and white, engaged in ‘concerted cultivation’ designed to develop their children’s cognitive potentials and skills. Each of these childrearing approaches has its own benefits and snags, but lack of concerted cultivation among children in working-class and poor families was noted as a key factor that disadvantaged them in education and socioeconomic domains, as they were not prepared for educational and socioeconomic success. This, though, is not to say the pattern of poor outcomes among them was intractable. For, as Murray (2007) reasoned, there is always the chance for less privileged groups to cultivate cultural resources to overcome disadvantages.

In light of this reasoning, it is here assumed that Caribbeans acquire cultural resources in various settings, many of which are disadvantaged in educational and socioeconomic terms. As a result, their usage of such resources may manifest in aversive behaviours that conflict with expectations in schools (Dhondy, 1974; Mac an Ghaill, 1988; Sewell, 1997). But, this is not all. Mirza’s (1993) and Sewell’s (1997) observations among Caribbean children in English schools revealed patterns of attitudes and behaviours that aligned perfectly with successful schooling and post-schooling careers. These patterns resonate with those that Sewell (1978; 1979) observed among Caribbeans in America whose patterns of behaviours, which they exhibited in education and socioeconomic domains, enabled their progression in American society. This suggests that Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains vary within the group, and are mediated by cultural resources whose usage among them, in a similar way as socialisation and childrearing practices (Roopnarine & Carter, 1992), is diverse.
Emphasis on diversity in usage of cultural resources among Caribbeans, therefore, is vital in examining the patterns in their educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes, which, over the decades, have improved fairly albeit remaining poor relative to those of other ethnic groups with which they are often compared. This has been especially apparent among the current generations whose patterns of experiences and outcomes are characterised by increasing hybridity, evolving in a host of settings – family, local community, religion, education, occupation, etc. This increasing hybridity affirms the appropriateness of the sociocultural approach in examining their experiences and outcomes in multiple as opposed to specific one-dimensional ways. More specifically, it offers a premise from which Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes can be explored in light of an understanding that their cultural resources are provided by their cultures, are transmitted across generations, are acquired through socialisation in various settings, and that their social world, in which such settings are components parts, are fluid, changing, and inherently complex and fragmented.

2.7 Reflection

This chapter has offered insights which affirm that despite Caribbeans’ relatively long period of settlement in Britain and the increasing availability of opportunities for groups’ socioeconomic progression in British society - the group has remained largely disadvantaged in educational and socioeconomic terms. This is adequately evidenced in the literature - but close insights into how Caribbeans, a group of diverse cultures, mediate their experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains remain wanting. Moreover, the literature focuses, overwhelmingly, on the experiences of socioeconomically disadvantaged Caribbeans, perhaps the majority, and, as such, does not sufficiently address diversity in Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic outcomes that have so far shown to be multifaceted and elusive of standard theorisation. This has been apparent in the relatively limited consideration of high attainments among some sections of the Caribbean derived population - notably among girls and women, an area that has been little researched. This is indicative of an imbalance in how Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic outcomes have been represented in empirical research and signals the need for a fuller account of their experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains.

This may contribute towards a theory of diverse patterns of educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes within the group. As an objective, this is both reasonable and timely - in light of trends in education and socioeconomic domains in Britain and the numerous theories that have been developed to explain low achievement vis-à-vis high achievement among groups that share similar characteristics and patterns of outcomes as Caribbeans (Lauder et al., 2006). In adopting a sociocultural approach to explore some aspects of Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes, particularly how cultural resources impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression, this thesis hopes to contribute to knowledge in this area. The next chapter discusses the procedures involved in this undertaking.
3.0 Research Question, Design, and Methods

3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the research question, design, and methods that guided the inquiry that formed the empirical part of the study. The inquiry was undertaken with a purposive sample of Caribbeans whose accounts of their experiences, relayed to me by themselves, were interrogated in order to 1) identify patterns in their educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes, 2) ascertain the cultural resources that they acquired and used to mediate their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains, and 3) determine how these resources impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression in Britain. In light of the sensitive nature of these undertakings, the chapter includes a discussion on trustworthiness, ethical concerns, data analyses, and reflexivity - and how these were dealt with throughout the inquiry, which is set in England, in a historical context that spans six decades - from the 1950s.

3.2 Research Question

The research question that the inquiry was undertaken to answer is ‘How do cultural resources impact upon Caribbeans’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression in Britain?’ Impact is used here to mean the ways cultural resources, by which Caribbeans mediate their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains, affect their attainment and progression. There is no simple way to understand how this happens, but, in attempting to offer a plausible account that answers the research question, the following questions have had to be answered:

- What are the cultural resources that Caribbeans acquire and use to mediate their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains, and that which impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression?
- How do Caribbeans in Britain acquire the cultural resources that impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression?
- How do the cultural resources that impact upon Caribbeans’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression vary among individuals, across families, and across generations?

Chapters 1 and 2 offered insights from which it is inferred that cultural resources, which are provided by cultures (DeGraaf, 1986), are dynamic - continuously evolving with the societal factors that influence them. Hence, through answering the sub-questions, the cultural resources that are provided by Caribbeans’ cultures and how these resources are acquired and used across generations were to be ascertained. This is the backdrop against which an answer to the main research question of how these resources impact upon Caribbeans’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression could be wrought - an undertaking that involved an inquiry in which the experiences of a purposive sample of Caribbeans were elicited and analysed for that purpose. The research design and methods that guided the inquiry are discussed next.
3.3 Research Design

Before embarking on the study, I did not know what to expect or what I would find. However, as I mentioned in Chapter 1, I did have a few hunches as to what I might find. Given the research question, I needed to be clear as to what type of evidence would be needed to answer it in a convincing way. The literature review was a source of inspiration. The various studies that I reviewed offered insights into how Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes, understood from their point of view, would permit me to answer the research question plausibly. This would be feasible by following in the path of numerous researchers before me who, as discussed in Chapter 2, adopted a sociocultural approach that requires consideration of both societal and cultural factors that impact upon individuals’ experiences in discernible settings – dubbed sociocultural. Once I had decided upon this approach, I set out to structure the inquiry, not to test my hunches, but to explore Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes, and to understand how cultural resources impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

The first step in this process was to outline what I wanted to find out, whom I needed to talk to, and how I would do so. Intensive brainstorming for the purpose of this outline over a few weeks during the first semester of 2008 culminated in a resumé of questions that formed part of an inquiry guide, an example of which can be found in App.VI. The guide pointed to seeking out Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes, and understanding how they mediated these experiences and outcomes in their social world. Caribbeans’ social world, however, are influenced by the ways that they live their lives in Britain – primarily as members of family units [as a group] or as individuals who are sometimes [partially or entirely] detached from a family unit in an inter-generational sense (Goulbourne & Chamberlain, 1998).

Differences between Caribbeans who live their lives as members of inter-generational families and those who live as individuals detached from a family unit in an inter-generational sense are subtle, but exist nonetheless. A notable difference is in a varying sense of individualism arising from what Goulbourne and Chamberlain (1998) describe as the collapse of tribal affinities and customs that accompanied slavery and subsequent colonialism in the Caribbean. A key feature of this individualism, Goulbourne and Chamberlain (1998) noted, is, within a Caribbean cultural context, the worth of the individual varies but often outweighs the value of belonging to a group. With this in mind, ten families that consisted of multiple generations and ten unrelated individuals - all of Caribbean descent - were recruited to participate in a quasi-ethnographic inquiry. They formed a purposive sample that reflected diversity in their backgrounds and the diverse ways by which Caribbeans live their lives, some detail of which are offered next.

3.3.1 Sample: The Participants in the Inquiry

The participants whose experiences are presented in this thesis constituted a purposive sample that espoused a range of cultural, educational, and socioeconomic backgrounds. A summary
here cannot do justice to the richness in experiences captured in the inquiry, but this section offers an insight into who the participants were and how they came to participate in the inquiry.

When I set out to recruit my sample, I had a few thoughts about how I might do so - one being that I could approach leaders of Caribbean churches and local communities who might help me to meet Caribbeans who may be receptive to this kind of research. From my experiences in a past employment - working as a business development mentor - I knew this is an effective way to meet Caribbeans who share common interests. This I thought, however convenient, would be a disadvantage for what I wanted to achieve through the inquiry; I wanted diversity in many forms, especially across generations. Too, as mentioned earlier, I wanted the sample to reflect the ways Caribbeans live their lives. With this in mind, I set a basic sample criteria that half of the participants must be in families that include a minimum of two generations - the first having immigrated to Britain by the start of the 1970s, and the second and [or] third must have been brought up or educated in Britain. My approach to recruiting this sample would then turn to my inquisitiveness, and advice and recommendations from people with whom I was acquainted.

- The Families

Family 1 – I shall call the Titoes. I met Triston [second generation] in 2008 at a bus station in Old Trafford. This had happened a few times and we talked sometimes. I would learn that he was of Caribbean descent, his father from Barbados and mother from Jamaica. We eventually got around to talking about my study and that I wanted to meet people who would participate in my inquiry. We agreed to talk more formally about it, which we eventually did. He introduced me to his father, stepmother, former girlfriend, and three of his four children - one of whom would also participate. They were all very friendly and welcoming, and I was invited to visit the family home in Old Trafford occasionally. Mr Tito, Triston's father, invited me to his church a few times, which, according to him, was to “find me a husband in the house of the Lord”. He introduced me to two other families - the Williams and the Enslies - that would also participate.

Family 2 - I shall call the Phillips. I met Mr Phillip [first generation] in 2009. A lady acquaintance of mine, a patient of his in psychotherapy, introduced me to him. Our first contact was via email after I had given her my email address and asked her to discuss our friendship with him and let him know that I was interested in meeting Caribbeans who might like to talk to me about their experiences. She had not known of his exact origin, which turned out to be Jamaica, only that he was black. After she had told him about me and given him my email address, he contacted me and we arranged to meet in his clinic, where I visited him a few times. He introduced me to his daughter, who in turn introduced me to her children. I visited her several times at her home in Lancashire. She was always welcoming and friendly, talking openly about matters of family life, offering intimate detail of her ways and the ways of her parents, siblings, and children. She offered to introduce me to her brothers, but we agreed that this was neither convenient nor necessary. She was, however, comfortable sharing their experiences and outcomes with me.
Family 3 - I shall call the Leroy's. I met Lloyd [second generation] in 2008. A mutual friend of ours introduced me to him. After we had come to know each other, I learned that his parents were from Jamaica. We talked about my study and he offered to participate in the inquiry under the condition that his daughter's picture would be printed in my final thesis, which we agreed later was not a good idea. He introduced me to his girlfriend, two of his children, a friend of his whom he described as rough, his father, and two older brothers whom I visited in Warrington. They were welcoming and excited about sharing their experiences with me. In 2011, however, I received news that Lloyd had taken his own life...the day after I had a Facebook conversation with him about a horticulture business he wanted to start and about which he wanted to talk to me seeing that I have a background in business development. I was invited to his funeral where I met several other members of his family, some of whom I have stayed in contact with.

Family 4 - I shall call the Majories. I met Megan [second generation] in 2008. A colleague of mine introduced me to her. During our first conversation, I learned that her mother was from Trinidad and her father from Jamaica. We talked about my study, and she offered to introduce me to her parents for its purpose. This was done under the condition that certain questions about her family life, which she considered private, would only be asked to her. She helped me to understand her parents' way of life, informing me that it was deeply troubled and insisted on her being present whenever I would meet with them. Her father, however, eventually decided that I should ask my questions to Megan. Ms Marjorie was more open and friendly, and I visited her at her home in Denton with Megan. I have stayed in contact with the family. In March 2013, I received news that Ms Marjorie had passed away...the day after I had a Facebook conversation with her father, which occurred in the said month, she asked to be kept in my thoughts, but not to be expected to socialise as she mourned her mother's passing.

Family 5 - I shall call the Williams. I met Mr William [first generation] in 2009. Mr Tito [F1.1] introduced me to him informally, and I would learn that he was from Jamaica. He invited me to his church and pray-meetings, and to his home where I met his wife, his children - Wilma and Wilton, and his granddaughter, Wilton’s daughter, Wynant. Mr William was the speaker in the family, and we often talked away from the other family members. However, his daughter Wilma, who lived nearby, wanted to meet with me in her own home to, according to her, "give me the whole story". She was very open and friendly, talked about her family life, entrusted me with some of her private sentiments, and wished that we would remain friends, which we have.

Family 6 - I shall call the Edwards. I met Mr Edward [first generation] in 2009. My landlord introduced me to him at a community centre where he volunteered as a teacher. We became friends and I would learn that he was from Guyana. He introduced me to his wife, a registered nurse, his son, a musician, and the memory of his daughter who he had lost to an autoimmune disease in 2008. I would meet the family on a number of occasions at their home in Old Trafford. Mr Edward introduced me to another family, the Dmitris, that would also participate.
Family 7 – I shall call the Enslies. I met Ms Ensley [first generation] in 2009. Mr Tito introduced her to me during one of my visits to their church. I would learn that she was from Jamaica and she invited me to her home so that we could talk about how she might help me with my study. She was, like most of the other first-generation participants, rather suspicious of my interest, but she eventually warmed up to me after we had talked about the Caribbean and the Antilles, which she thought was in Portugal. She introduced me to three of her four daughters and her granddaughter and grandson. We talked about her family life and discussed traditions, which she did going through family albums, explaining who everyone was, where they lived, and what they were doing. I attended a few pray-meetings and other social events with her also.

Family 8 – I shall call the Dmitris. I met the Dmitris in 2009. Mr Edward introduced me to them. Our meetings took place at their home in Oldham. During our first meeting, I met Mr and Mrs Dmitri, who were both from Barbados. They were very friendly and, after we had discussed the study and how the family would participate, they introduced me to one of their daughters and invited me to visit any time that I “wanted to talk”, which I would do on one other occasion.

Family 9 – I shall call the Christophes. I met Chester [second generation] in 2008. A mutual friend of ours introduced me to him. Once we had been introduced, we exchanged contact details and arranged to meet for the first time in 2009 in Sheffield. During our first meeting, I learned about him, his fiancé, his two older brothers who live in London, and his parents - both of whom were from Dominica. He invited me to visit his home, once during which I met his mother briefly, and other social events in Sheffield, during which I learned more about him and his family life.

Family 10 - I shall call the Andrews. I met Andy [second generation] in 2010. A mutual acquaintance introduced me to him. After several attempts, we eventually met in a place of his choosing in Manchester city centre, where the other of our meetings also took place. He was friendly, and I would learn that his parents were from Jamaica and that he had always wanted to meet someone like me, which was meant to be understood as the desire one has for owning a “Ferrari in the ghetto”. He had me talk to his girlfriend once to confirm that he was meeting “someone from university”, and invited me to meet his family in Moss Side, but I did not take up that offer. He had a lot to say about his life and family, some of which obviously caused him distress. I did agree and arranged to meet his daughter, Andrea, but this never materialised.

As discussed earlier, in addition to these ten families, ten individuals of Caribbean descent also participated in the inquiry. These participants can be thought of as the other half of the sample, though this is not to be understood in an absolute numeral sense. By this is meant that the ten individuals do not equate to ten families. These individuals, however, may have been members of family units although they participated in the inquiry as individuals. They were recruited in similar ways as the families - access to them was facilitated by our mutual acquaintances. Some detail as to who they were and how they came to participate in the inquiry are offered next.
• The Individuals

Individual 1 - I shall call Ms Leoni, an eighty-five-year-old first-generation from Carriacou, Grenada. Another participant, Mr John [PP6.1], introduced me to her. She lives by herself in a self-contained apartment in a geriatric nursing home in Bradley, Huddersfield, where I first visited her with Mr John and where all our subsequent meetings took place. She has four surviving children and numerous grandchildren, some of whom visit her occasionally.

Individual 2 - I shall call Kerry-Ann, a thirty-year-old third-generation of Kittitian descent. A mutual acquaintance who I had known from my college years in St Kitts introduced me to her. She lives with her four very young daughters - all under the age of eleven - in the local Caribbean community in Lewisham, London, where I visited them on a number of occasions.

Individual 3 - I shall call Indira, a thirty-eight-year-old second-generation from Jamaica. Another participant, Kerry-Ann, introduced her to me. She lives by herself in the local Caribbean community in Lewisham, London, where I visited her and where most of our meetings took place. I was also invited to meet in her church and at the hospital where she works as an auxiliary nurse.

Individual 4 - I shall call Tanisha, a thirty-two-year old third-generation. She is of Dominican descent and lives with her son and niece in Newham, London. A distant relative of mine, her friend, introduced me to her and she invited me to her home where our meetings took place.

Individual 5 - I shall call Sonia, a twenty-nine-year old third-generation of Jamaican descent. Sonia and I met during a local Carnival event in Old Trafford in 2009. She lives with her two very young children - both under the age of five - in the local Caribbean community in Moss Side, Manchester, where the majority of our meetings took place.

Individual 6 - I shall call Mr John, an eighty-two-year-old first-generation from Carriacou, Grenada. A mutual acquaintance introduced him to me. He lives by himself in a senior citizens apartment complex in Huddersfield. During our first meeting, he invited me to visit him in his home, where all our meetings took place.

Individual 7 - I shall call Natalie, a seventeen-year-old third-generation of Jamaican descent. Natalie and I met in 2009 at a fundraising event in Old Trafford, where she lives. After we had become acquainted, we discussed my research and she offered to participate. She invited me to her home where I met her mother but she shared her experiences with me as an individual.

Individual 8 - I shall call Shania, a nineteen-year-old third-generation of Jamaican descent. A mutual friend introduced me to her during a fundraising event in Manchester at which we were both present. She was very friendly and invited me to meet at her home in Openshaw, Manchester, where she lives with her mother.
Individual 9 - I shall call Steven, a forty-seven-year-old second-generation from Grenada. A mutual friend introduced him to me for the purpose of the study and he agreed to participate in the inquiry as an individual. Our meetings took place in casual public settings in and around Huddersfield, but I also visited him at his home that, according to him, he had built himself.

Individual 10 - I shall call Anthony, a forty-four-year-old from the Commonwealth of Dominica. A mutual acquaintance introduced me to him. He lives in the local Caribbean community in Deptford, London, where he invited me to meet, apparently, so that I could see where he lives. During our first meeting, he showed me around the local community and its more significant facilities. This kind of activity was common during my meetings with the younger participants. Some closer insight into characteristics and limitations that typify the sample are offered next.

3.3.2 Sample: Characteristics and Limitations

The sample constituted the ten families and ten individuals whose experiences were explored throughout the inquiry. Before they would participate, they were helped to understand what the study was about and any consequence of their participation. As noted earlier, they often invited me to their homes, jobs, churches etc., during which times I was able to discuss the study - its purpose and my motivation. After understanding the purpose of the study and agreeing how they would participate, they were invited to sign a participation consent form (App.V) to confirm that they understood the purpose of the study, that their participation in the inquiry was voluntary, and that they could withdraw their participation at any time without consequence.

The members in the ten families spanned four generations and numbered about one hundred. This was combined with the ten individuals who did not participate as part of a family. Details of their backgrounds are provided in App.III and App.IV, but it must be stressed that their selection was based on their range of cultural, educational, and socioeconomic backgrounds, and also differences in genders and ethnicities, which reflected in a diversity of experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains. This ensured that adequate relevant data were collected from which the impact of cultural resources upon the participants’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression could be determined. Nonetheless, the sample presented with some limitations. For instance, as noted earlier, the participants were recruited mainly through recommendations from our mutual acquaintances. This had the implication of introducing some bias since it can be assumed that people who know each other, to the extent that they could confidently recommend them for participation in research, may share common interests and characteristics. As a result, the sample, although capturing some of the diversities in the Caribbean derived population, cannot be said to be representative of it in a strict sense.

The evident diversities among the participants were most pronounced in their lived experiences, outcomes, and overall ways of life. However, there were commonalities that identified them as Caribbeans. For instance, they originated [partly or fully] in the Caribbean, espoused a distinctly
Caribbean heritage, and shared other commonalities that can be gleaned from the family trees and vignettes in App.IV. Their identities are protected with pseudonyms, but their area of residence in England and their country of origin in the Caribbean are indicated. In addition to a pseudonym, each participant was assigned a code between F1 and F10 for families, or PP1 and PP10 for individuals, and a generation code between 1 and 3. Mr, Mrs, or Ms used before pseudonyms indicates first generation who emigrated from the Caribbean. The second and third generations were mainly born and brought up in England. There was a fair mix of men, women, girls, and boys - who were all between the ages of sixteen and ninety at the time of the inquiry. They were generally keen to participate in the inquiry and curious as to what I would find.

Some families and individuals were more accessible than others and I came to know them well. My conversations with them were conducted in English which, as noted in Chapter 1, was not the first language to some - especially first-generation participants - whose first language was Patois or Kwéyòl. However, throughout our conversations, I summoned my insider experience of their social world to ensure that their expressions and meanings were understood within their situated social settings and cultural contexts. Nonetheless, it was apparent that some of them held suspicions about my identity and interest, which I later understood to be a result of my distinct heritage. To some participants, I did not fit their idea of a Caribbean person, especially because I do not speak an English based Patois. For example, during my first meeting with Mr William [First-generation Jamaican] I was challenged about my identity and accent, and had to explain that I am able to speak Caribbean dialects, but not English based ones. This explanation was also repeated at a meeting with Mr Edward [first-generation Guyanese] during which he spoke in a Guyanese dialect and we were able to decipher some Dutch and French influence.

It bears to note that suspicions about my identity and interest were most common among the first-generation participants - who were all senior citizens. For example, Mr William warned that he would not have participated in such a study twenty years ago because, in his words, “we are not always able to express ourself to people from university, we don’t understand what’s going on there”. Some other first-generation participants expressed fears about con merchants, crimes, and door-to-door sales people. This made my interactions with them a bit more difficult than I had anticipated but, over time, I was able to convince them of my genuineness as a student undertaking the study for educational purposes only, and was, it seemed, able to allay some - if not all - of their suspicions. The inquiry process, i.e., conversations, interactions, and observations between them and me, became easier as I gained their trust and commitment. Some details of my approach in exploring their experiences and outcomes are provided next.

3.3.3 Approach to Exploring the Participants’ Experiences and Outcomes

Exploring the participants’ educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes involved social actions - such as listening, observing, and talking - that were guided by my specific interest in how they mediated these experiences and outcomes. By this, I mean that I wanted
to understand how they made sense of these experiences and outcomes in their social world and the wider British society. Therefore, the term 'lived experiences' captures the kind of experiences and outcomes that I would explore. The term describes their first-hand accounts and impressions of living as a member of a visibly distinct group in a culturally and economically heterogeneous British society. For instance, when they talk about what it is like to be black or poor in a largely white or affluent setting, they are relaying a lived experience. These accounts offered nuanced insights into their social world, and the opportunity to ascertain the cultural resources that impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

This approach draws upon the notion that individuals’ experiences and outcomes cannot be understood in isolation from the settings in which they are socialised, and which constitute their social world (Vygotsky, 1978; Wertsch, 1989). Caribbeans’ social world, though, are not simply organised by various settings but, as noted in Chapter 2, are influenced by a diversity of social identities (Roopnarine & Brown, 1997). For such reasons, the inquiry necessitated a design that enabled an understanding of the participants’ experiences - in relation to their social identities - in the settings in which they were socialised, and which constituted their social world. This led to a design that is based on understanding research participants’ realities and the meanings that they ascribe to their experiences in settings in their social world (Richardson, 1994) - the objective being to understand the patterns that exist (Schofield, 2002). In adopting this design, the inquiry was a qualitative one with an objective to build an understanding of the relationship between the participants’ lived experiences and their social world (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Bryman (1988) affirms the defining characteristic of qualitative research as the expressed commitment to understand individuals’ experiences and the norms and values that inform their social world from their own point of view. This approach draws upon traditions of ethnography, which is broadly understood as the organised study of a social group in anthropological studies of cultures. According to Hammersley and Atkinson (2007), ethnography involves:

> The ethnographer participating in people’s daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions, collecting whatever data is available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research (p.3).

By this definition, ethnography is a long process and requires that the ethnographer spend as much time as to live with the people being studied in order to establish valuable knowledge about the whole of their culture. In this thesis, valuable knowledge refers to the extent to which one understands how cultural resources impact upon Caribbeans’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. Achieving this understanding involved spending time with the inquiry participants, observing and interacting with them in their natural settings - examples of which are their homes, schools, jobs, and churches - but not living with them. In this regard, ‘quasi-ethnographic’ is a more apt descriptor of the inquiry design. It implies that some aspects of ethnography were used in undertaking the inquiry to obtain an understanding of how cultural
resources impact upon the participants’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression from their own point of view (Murtagh, 2007). This was carried out in the participants’ natural settings but was constrained by our limited interactions because I did not live with them. Therefore, ‘quasi’ in the time spent and ‘ethnographic’ in the approach and methods used.

Quasi-ethnography was suitable for collecting the evidence upon which answers to the research question and sub-questions were to be based because, in using the approach, emphasis was placed on understanding the participants’ experiences from their point of view. This process necessitated methods of inquiry that permitted access to them in their natural settings in their social world. For this purpose, three key methods - discussed in the next section - were used.

### 3.4 Methods of Inquiry

Researcher’s diary, ethnographic interviews, and participant observation were the methods that I used to elicit the participants’ account of their experiences in their natural settings. These methods emphasise subjective realities and ensured that both my experiences and those of the participants were part of the research process. By this, I mean that the methods permitted both myself and the participants to generate meanings to the experiences that were being relayed – while our conversations remained organic and interactive - the only exception being when the Inquiry Guide (App.VI) was used to direct conversations for the purpose of clarity (Seale 1998).

Interactions with the participants ranged in duration from forty-five minutes to an entire day at times. This amounted to approximately 900 hours or 38 full days of interaction over three years (App.III). This time includes interviews that were pre-planned around the participants’ normal activities - some of which I participated in or helped them with. Some details of the time that I spent and the number of meetings that I had with each participant are provided in App.III. The applicability of each method of data collection in the inquiry will be discussed separately, but it must be stressed here that, during meetings, participants were encouraged to talk freely about:

- early life growing up in the Caribbean or Britain - experiences, expectations, and aspirations
- parents’ and relatives’ level of education and types of occupation
- attitude towards family, community, faith, employment, education, and quality of life
- peers and role models - experiences, behaviours, traditions, activities, and achievements
- understanding of educational attainment and socioeconomic progression
- perceptions about culture and education
- experiences with other Caribbeans in Britain or elsewhere

#### 3.4.1 Researcher’s Diary

The researcher’s diary is a book in which I kept a written record of my activities, thoughts, and reflections about the inquiry and the study in general. Its use, as a method of data collection, resonates with ethnographic studies in which participants engage in casual dialogue about their
experiences, and the researcher records the substance of the dialogue in a diary book (Jones K., 2000). Because it was a key method of my data collection, I kept one with me at all times during the three years of my fieldwork. In it, I recorded a substantial amount of data about my experiences in the field, as well as what the participants were saying and doing, sometimes inconsequentially. For instance, in it I recorded my observations about children’s activities and experiences that they sometimes relayed to me when they were present during my meetings with their parent[s]. This was the only means by which I could record such data because I did not seek to interact with children for the purpose of the study.

Participants were frequently reminded that I was making notes about our conversations and my interactions with them, and they indicated when their disclosures were “off record” - meaning that I was trusted not to use these experiences for the purpose of the study, which I did not. It was also an effective method of data collection in enabling me to record participants’ profile and non-verbal expressions which could not be captured in recorded interviews - for instance:

- Participants’ gestures and informal responses about their culture and family traditions.
- Participants’ gestures about their social world and their status and experiences therein.

As noted earlier, the participants’ accounts of their experiences were relayed by themselves in the form of open dialogues - in their natural settings in which they were both participating and observing. These dialogues, which were recorded in my diary, represented their accounts of their experiences and construction of their own reality, both in retrospect and in real-time. Corti (1993) defended this method as “one of the most reliable means of obtaining information” (p.1) in its most natural form, because the diary is part of the 'natural' situation. The data I recorded in my diary were continuously reflected upon by me. This functioned to orientate me to some fairly intimate aspects of the participants’ social world and encouraged me to annotate in real-time the patterns in the participants’ experiences that ultimately formed bases for inferences (Miles & Huberman, 1984) about their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

In addition to its function as a source of continuous reflection, my diary was also an instrument in which I transferred my mental notes about the variety of unique experiences that emerged in the data set. This helped me to identify recurring patterns of experiences and outcomes among the participants, which I did not only annotate, but also compared and [or] contrasted in real-time. This was a remarkable advantage because the practice of continuously comparing the patterns in the participants’ experiences, for instance, contributed to the robustness of my analyses and final account. The use of ethnographic interviews is examined next.

3.4.2 Ethnographic Interviews

In a similar way as with the researcher’s diary method, I used ethnographic interviews to elicit the participants’ accounts of their experiences in their natural settings. As the term interview
implies, the method was based on conversations between the participants and myself, wherein questions were asked to obtain information from the participants - the aim being to understand the meaning of what they were saying (Kvale, 1996). These interviews were often pre-planned and I tended to rely on the Inquiry Guide (App.VI) to help steer conversations. Nonetheless, the interview questions were generally organic and aimed at drawing out an understanding of the participants’ social world from their point of view - seeking insights into how they understand it and how they mediate their educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes therein. With this method, I used three interview approaches - advocated by Spradley (1979) - to gather data that were relevant to answering the research question. These were informal-conversation-interview, standardised-unstructured-interview, and guided-interview approaches.

The informal conversations were mainly used to introduce the study to participants, to gain their consent to participate in the inquiry, and to confirm the best way they would participate. The unstructured interviews were similar to the conversation approach but I tended to focus on very specific questions that pertained to their educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes. These interviews were typically carried out on a one-on-one basis. However, it was common for first-generation participants to invite their second-generation children to help them remember some particulars. This tended to transform one-on-one conversations into a family dialogue in which different members contributed and, in effect, provided the opportunity to affirm patterns of experiences and outcomes across generations. For example, during a meeting with Family 8, the second-generation participant, Dernelle [F8.2], explained that her inspiration for studying textiles at university was drawn from her childhood experience with her mother who made their clothing. Her mother, Mrs Dmitri [F8.1], appeared baffled at this revelation but during a one-on-one conversation with me, she confided, “we did not have money to buy clothes for them so I use to buy cloth and make their clothes, but I never think it affected her”.

For the purpose of reflection, and subsequent analyses, some interviews were recorded using a dictaphone. This was done with the participants’ permission, but the dictaphone was usually kept discreetly in my pocket or in my bag. This was mainly to minimise distraction during conversations, but also in the interest of security, that it would be safely with me in the event that I needed to exit the meeting unexpectedly. The audios were transcribed word-for-word in the evening following interviews when the data were fresh in my mind and I was able to fill in gaps in the transcripts with the notes from my researcher’s diary. The transcripts were made available to the participants who wished to see them for verification and feedback. This served to enhance their reliability, and presented an opportunity to reassure the participants that the transcripts and audios were identified by pseudonyms, which were created and known only by me, and to remind them that unused data would be destroyed at the end of the study. This was essential for maintaining their commitment to participate, and to reassure them of how their identities and accounts of their experiences were protected. The diary method accommodated the concerns of participants who were willing to share their experiences but had reservations about being audio recorded for reasons such as not feeling comfortable with a recorder.
The data from the interviews were initially in the order in which the participants relayed their experiences, but were later organised in temporal order so that patterns of their experiences and outcomes could be analysed and interpreted. This was the basis for follow-up interviews in which the Inquiry Guide (App.VI) was used with participants to check their accounts and focus on patterns of experiences that were revealed in the data from informal conversation interviews and the standardised unstructured interviews (Seale, 1998). In that way, it addressed specific concerns and enabled me to direct participants in clarifying particulars in their accounts that they had discussed or alluded to before. The participant observation method is examined next.

### 3.4.3 Participant Observation

Unlike the researcher’s diary and the ethnographic interview methods, participant observation required my active interaction with participants in their social world, my objective being to learn about their ways of life in their natural settings through observing and participating in activities of their daily life (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). Thus, my immersion as a participant in their social world was based on my ability to maintain a non-judgmental attitude, my interest in learning about their ways of life from their point of view, my being a careful observer and good listener, and my openness to the unexpected in what could be learned (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). This position enabled me to acquire first-hand knowledge about the norms and values that informed their social world, and was invaluable throughout the inquiry in the following ways:

- Providing me with an opportunity to participate in the participants’ daily-life activities and to gain an understanding of how they mediated their experiences and outcomes.
- Providing me with a source of questions for participants and an opportunity to check for informal and nonverbal expressions in their responses.
- Providing a context to guide my relationship with participants and become known to them.
- Seeing how their lives are organised and are affected by cultural parameters.

Participant observation offered some flexibility in collecting relevant data because I maintained openness as to what I would find. I made mental notes of most of my observations that were relevant to the study’s purpose, and recorded my observations in my researcher’s diary at frequent interludes. The participants were invited to give me feedback on my observations. This permitted me to obtain clarification and an in-depth understanding of a wide range of issues and activities that I could have easily overlooked while using the other methods. For example, I observed a ritual at a Pocomania Church in London during which the female bishop, chanting in glossolalia, attempted to cure an unknown ailment in a young child who was being swung in rock-a-bye motion by other female members in the congregation. It later occurred to me that the child’s parent [mother] had complete faith in that process, more so, it was explained to me, than in conventional medicine - for the child’s illness and cure were in “God’s hand”. This kind of observations provided depth and a rich layer of quality to the data that I collected because I was able to experience, first-hand, some of the societal and cultural factors that influence their
decisions. In that way, it was an effective method for collecting primary data in a natural form, as well as orientating me to some profoundly intimate aspects of the participants’ social world.

### 3.4.4 Comparison and Complementarity of the Methods

The three methods that I used to elicit the participants’ accounts of their experiences enabled me to collect a range of data, which were analysed to identify commonalities and differences in their educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes. This process enhanced the suitability of the different methods, which were complementary throughout undertaking the inquiry. For instance, the ethnographic nature of the inquiry entailed my immersion in the participants’ social world in order to gain an intimate understanding of how they mediate their experiences and outcomes therein. However, there were constraints that limited my interactions with them and, consequently, the kind and amount of data that I collected. But, in light of such limitations, each method was used in different settings in a complementary way that allowed it to increase trustworthiness, which will be revisited later, in my account. In support of this, an insight into the settings in which the inquiry was undertaken and data collected is offered next.

### 3.4.5 Settings in Which the Inquiry was Undertaken

The settings in which interviews and interactions with the participants took place were always agreed with them, but the majority of the first meetings with second and third-generation participants, especially those who participated as individuals, took place in casual public settings that both them and I were familiar with. Casual settings include shopping centres, recreational parks, and local community centres. I met the first-generation participants, some of whom had limited mobility, in their homes. As mentioned earlier, I was sometimes invited to meet or visit them in their church and/or their place of work. This was similar for participants in professional employment - I was often invited to meet in their place of work, usually in their office. During these meetings, it was necessary to take safety precautions. Other than avoiding late meetings, I made a habit of informing someone of my whereabouts and expected time back home.

As the participants became more comfortable with me, over time, some of them invited me to family socials - such as pray-meetings and Sunday lunches. Some senior female participants often invited me to *sleepover*. This was usually when I travelled to other English cities from Manchester to meet with them. It might be that they genuinely saw me as their “child”, as it was not unusual for them to refer to me as “the little girl” or “child”. During my visits to some single mothers, whom I had known over a longer time, I helped with tasks such as baby-sitting, shopping, and hairdressing, which I sometimes found daunting. They often jested about how unusual it was that in my late twenties I did not have children, and would speak of “hooking” me up with relatives of theirs. These jests were part of pleasant rapport during our interactions. They are also indicative of the pleasant nature of my relationship and interactions with some of the participants, but the inquiry process, nonetheless, presented me with some challenges.
3.4.6 Challenges While Undertaking the Inquiry

The process of undertaking the inquiry has so far been presented as rather straightforward, but this was far from the case. The research design was subjected to uncertainties in framing the right research question, collating a purposive sample of participants, and the general feasibility of undertaking an inquiry that involves one of Britain’s most disadvantaged ethnic minority groups. My supervisors helped me with brainstorming and mind mapping. However, my meetings with them were generally conducted under my own duress, me being forever mentally and physically distressed from having to combine working in full time employment with the immense literature that I needed to read and write about, even while conducting fieldwork.

The literature also made a stressful read. My intense engagement with the experiences of my people as hated, oppressed, exploited, and excluded, and being stereotyped as aggressive, lawless, jobless, fractured families, less intelligent, and educationally underachieving - and having to write about these experiences and stereotypes - must have changed me in some way that I am yet to discover. For, as Allport (1954) puts it, “one’s reputation, whether false or true, cannot be hammered, hammered, hammered into one’s head without doing something to one’s character” (142). Nonetheless, throughout the study, and undertaking the inquiry, I remained confident that it was doable and convinced myself that it was something that I needed to do in order to satisfy an enduring curiosity that I have about Caribbeans - what they have in common and what they do differently in terms of educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

As I have indicated earlier, another of my challenges was in getting to know the participants. While access to the families and the individuals who participated in the inquiry was generally trouble free, getting to know them on an intimate level was sometimes problematic. Being of Caribbean descent and mainly brought up in the Caribbean, it was apparent that I had underestimated the difficulties I would encounter in accessing some participants’ social world. This was particularly true among the participants who were sceptical about my origin, which led to some difficulties in getting to know them on an intimate level. They frequently questioned my mixed Caribbean heritage. This was because the majority of the participants had not known of the Dutch Antilles but most did know of Dominica, from where my maternal family originate. The participants who had a Dominican background were most open to casual talk that they sometimes did in Kwéyòl. Nonetheless, even with this common cultural reference, they often pointed out my differences, especially my hybrid accent and Asiatic features, which they tended to romanticise when I explained that my grandfather was Arawak, an aboriginal people of the Caribbean. Some participants who seemed informed about diversity among Caribbeans were openly accepting of me as their own, i.e., Caribbean, albeit my differences. These differences gave me an insider-outsider status, which means that while I am of the Caribbean, I differed from them in that I am not fully from the Commonwealth Caribbean where they originated, neither was I brought up in Britain. This led to questions about my legitimacy in trying to make
sense of their experiences and outcomes within local educational and socioeconomic contexts. Hence, I felt obliged from the outset, in Chapter 1, to open up my background to reader’s scrutiny, because it is implicated in my account of the participants’ realities. In this way, my account is offered from an outsider-within perspective (Maylor, 2009). The within dimension corresponds to the insider aspect of my identity and it is here emphasised, for it may have been the main factor which made access to the participants, and perhaps the whole study, possible.

The obvious differences between the participants and me was a challenge that I had to overcome - given that they were legitimate grounds for some reservation about their interactions with me, or caution in their conversations with me. Sometimes, our differences led to anxieties about our relationship and, on occasions, I needed to make decisions about their participation, and set strict conditions in my mind to manage my interactions with them. For instance, participants who would not honour their agreement to meet with me were contacted to make sure that they were not unwell or that there were no problems that had come about because of their meetings with me. I would always leave my contact detail if they had problems or wanted to contact me for any reason. Subsequent no-shows were accepted as a decline to continue their participation. This meant that a number of participants, although few, who started out in what appeared to be good faith dropped out at some point during the fieldwork. Nonetheless, their experiences and consent declaration constituted data that were analysed and used for the purpose of the study.

Another challenge was with the data collection itself. During guided interviews, care was taken to ensure that the participants were responding to questions about their lived experiences. This necessitated my occasional intrusion to address one recurring problem - where participants tended to talk inconsequentially, off the subject, or vaguely. The process of teasing out the participants’ experiences in the spirit of their openness inevitably brought about this problem. Dealing with it required tact and care was taken to avoid asking them leading questions or suggesting outcomes, but a number of techniques, suggested by Woods (2006), were introduced during conversations to attain clarity, depth, and trustworthiness. These include:

- Checking on apparent contradictions, implausibility, exaggerations, or inconsistencies: 'Yes, but you said before?' 'How can that be so if?' 'Why not?' 'Why would they do that?'
- Inviting opinions: 'What do you think of that?' 'Do you believe that?'
- Asking for clarification: 'What do you mean?' 'In what way?' 'Can you give some examples?'
- Asking for explanations, presenting alternatives: 'Couldn’t it also be that?'
- Seeking comparisons: 'How does that relate to?' ‘Some others have said that'.
- Asking for further information: 'What about?' 'Does that apply to?'
- Seeking comprehensiveness: 'Do you all feel like that?' 'Have you anymore to say on that?'
- Asking for meaning: 'Would it be fair to say that?' 'Do you mean?' 'In other words?'
- Asking hypothetical questions: 'Yes, but what if?'
- Presenting opposing argument: 'What would you say to the criticism that?'
These questions and interjections enabled my participation during interviews, while I remained engaged as an active listener. They also encouraged the participants to remain focused because close attention was paid to what they were saying. At times, I found it helpful to introduce something of myself, perhaps a similar or contrasting experience to that of the participants. This was done in the interests of sustaining rapport, encouraging discussion, and constructing meanings, but was likely to have had an effect on their responses. This I accepted as a possibility that would not hinder my ability to understand how they mediate their experiences and outcomes in their social world, because I maintained openness and a non-judgemental attitude throughout my observations and interpretation of their experiences and outcomes.

However, I cannot deny that my observations and interpretation of the participants’ experiences and outcomes were subjected to my own biases, known otherwise as researcher’s differences (Davies, 2007). In light of this awareness, I engaged in self-reflection continuously, which encouraged me to be mindful of the influence of my own biography on the research process and, hopefully, to minimise its influence on my interpretation and account of the participants’ experiences and outcomes. This is characteristic of and often encouraged in qualitative inquiries (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), like that which I undertook, and other comparable ethnographic traditions such as critical ethnography (Anderson, 1989), open ideological research (Lather, 1986), and reflexive ethnography (Davies, 2007) which all share the common objective to understand and interpret research participants’ experiences in their social world.

Lastly, dealing with personalities and family dynamics was a concern throughout the inquiry. The participants were all unique personalities and, although there was no visible sign of mental illness, I needed to be especially cautious with those who displayed signs of frustrations or social pain signalled by tears while they recounted experiences. My approach in these situations was to empathise with them and conclude our meeting. This was sometimes met with subtle snide comments that I typically disregarded. It was also common for participants to invite my opinion on family disputes - to which I always politely declined. However, I did become involved in the life of some participants in ways that I believe helped with easing their daily life. For example, I have been called upon to read and write letters and cards on behalf of participants who are functionally illiterate. My most recent involvements included filling in the National Statistics data form, reading and filling in a job application form, writing a letter of complaint, and writing to British Gas to inquire about winter fuel rebate for pensioners. These activities, although outside my purpose as a researcher, serve as evidence of the level of trust that I was able to establish with some participants, and that I hope will continue after the study concludes. This brings me back to issues of trustworthiness, which was a concern throughout the inquiry.

3.5 Trustworthiness in the Inquiry

The inquiry was designed to obtain evidence of the participants’ educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes, and to give a plausible account of how cultural resources impact
upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. This undertaking conjured up concerns about trustworthiness in my interpretation and account of their experiences. These concerns are addressed in this section, which offers an insight into the measures that I took to ensure my account reflected the participants’ realities, i.e., by addressing issues of credibility, transferability, and power relations that are associated with this kind of research (Guba, 1981).

3.5.1 Achieving Credibility

The inquiry presented me with an opportunity to interrogate the participants’ accounts of their experiences and ascertain the cultural resources that impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. This was accomplished by using the methods and approaches discussed earlier, and maintaining rigorous subjectivity (Wolcott, 1994) in my interpretations of their experiences. As such, the interpretations upon which I based my account are liable to a credibility test. Drawing on the work of Guba (1981), Shenton (2004) asserts that credibility attempts to demonstrate that a true picture of the phenomenon under study is presented. This true picture has been presented herein by using multiple strategies to obtain evidence of the participants’ lived experiences, and continually checking my interpretations with them to ensure my account reflected their realities. Bryman (2004a) referred to this process as triangulation.

Two kinds of triangulation were undertaken throughout the inquiry. The first was data triangulation (Bryman, 2004), which entails gathering data through multiple strategies, so that slices of data at different times and social situations, as well as from a variety of people, are gathered. According to Bryman (2004), the act of collecting data using multiple strategies helps to improve trustworthiness and enhance confidence in the ensuing account. This is because the data collected using multiple strategies can be compared or contrasted to reveal commonalities and differences. Thus, by comparing and contrasting the data collected through the different methods, I was able to develop a fuller picture of the participants’ realities than could have been arrived at by using one method. For instance, the data from my diary were compared with interview transcripts. This allowed me to compare the quality of the data generated using the different methods and to ascertain whether the data generated revealed common patterns.

The second kind of triangulation that I undertook was among participants within families. This involved crosschecking participants’ experiences and outcomes across generations in their family. This, where possible, was a valuable exercise because there were diverse contextualised experiences and outcomes across the generations, which revealed common patterns around which participants’ experiences and outcomes cohered. This kind of triangulation also revealed inconsistencies in some participants’ accounts of their experiences that were corrected through respondent validation. This required in-depth interrogation of their accounts, but it served to increase trustworthiness in my account, which was subject to some inevitable limitations. For instance, while triangulation helped to improve the reliability of the data, this was based on the assumption that data collected using the different methods could be unambiguously compared.
and treated as equivalent in ability to address the research question. This, however, was not always possible because use of the different methods was constrained by the social situation in which they were used (Denzin, 1970). As an example, the data collected in a participant’s office were likely influenced by situations that were different from those in the participant’s home. Nonetheless, the substance of the data, once triangulated, proved credible in that it pointed to the same interpretation of the participant’s experiences. This helps to improve the extent to which others, using the methods and approaches discussed herein, can replicate the inquiry and my account. Shenton (2004) referred to this process as dependability, which presents a challenge to the credibility of my account because some of my observations are tied to the situation of the inquiry, and may in fact be frozen in the ethnographic context. However, Lincoln and Guba (1985) stress the close ties between credibility and dependability - arguing that, in practice, a demonstration of the former goes some distance in ensuring the latter.

3.5.2 Transferability of Findings

The ethnographic nature of the inquiry evoked concerns about the extent to which my account, which is based on the experiences of a small number of families and individuals in their natural settings, represents an independent social reality and contributes to knowledge about the wider Caribbean derived population in Britain. These concerns, although legitimate, were mitigated by the assumption that social experiences are shared within groups and, as Denscombe (2007) would argue, although each group member’s account of his or her experiences may be unique, it is a sample within the group. Therefore, one properly socialised member of the Caribbean derived population will bring to everyday life a catalogue of experiences that are shared within his or her group[s] and can offer useful insight into experiences within his or her group[s].

This is consistent with the theoretical notion that individuals’ experiences cannot be understood in isolation from the settings - which include their social group[s] - in which they are socialised (Vygotsky, 1978) - a notion that has been evident in the works of writers who have undertaken research among Caribbeans. For instance, in Chapter 2, it was shown that some Caribbean youngsters who were underachieving in education were found to have patterns of aversive behaviours that were reflective of their membership in cliques - whose norms sanctioned such behaviours (Mac an Ghaill, 1988; 1994; Sewell, 1997). Such finding suggests that it is plausible to study Caribbeans’ social reality through the experiences of a sample of competent members of the Caribbean derived population, which is what has been done here. In this regard, there may be a degree of “fit” (Schofield, 2002) between the participants’ experiences and those of others, perhaps in their group[s], to which one may be interested in applying the account offered here.

Moreover, the naturalistic paradigm ensured a focus on participants’ lived experiences, which revealed common patterns in their social realities, although their accounts of their experiences were unique to them. This suggests that, although the participants’ accounts were unique, they collectively provide insights into Caribbeans’ social realities from which a plausible account with
adequate potential for transferability and theorising the group’s educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes can be offered. This I endeavoured to produce herein. However, I am conscious that it is my account and I have provided an audit of the research methods and approaches so that others may judge the extent to which it reflects Caribbeans’ social realities.

3.5.3 Balance of Power Relations

Balance of power implies that there was equal power distribution between the participants and myself, as researcher, throughout the research process. Sustaining this balance is an important goal in qualitative research, especially that which involves participants who occupy a position of social subjugation (Opie, 1992). For that purpose, the inquiry was designed to ensure that the participants were motivated by their own willingness to participate. However, a balance of power was at times difficult to sustain because I often found it necessary to make the decisions about how the data were to be analysed and presented. This tilted the power in my favour and represented a potential threat to the trustworthiness of my account. This potential threat was overcome, nonetheless, by obtaining feedback from the participants - a process, also referred to sometimes as respondents’ validation (Woods, 2006), that involved giving the participants an opportunity to affirm or change my interpretation of their experiences. This was most common with the audio interviews because the transcripts were either discussed with or offered to the participants for their feedback, which played an important role in my analyses and presentation. This action, however, gave rise to a number of ethical concerns that needed to be satisfied.

3.6 Ethical Concerns Throughout Undertaking the Inquiry

An ethical concern I had from the outset was to ensure that the participants understood the purpose of the study and how they would participate. This was particular to the first-generation who were all senior citizens and some who had difficulties with Standard English, which was not their first language. As mentioned earlier, care was taken to ensure that they understood the purpose of the study, that their participation in the inquiry was voluntary, and meetings would be on their own terms. I always asked whether they would like to invite someone else such as a relative or friend to our meetings. This was sometimes possible, but they were generally happy to meet with me on their own. My interpretations of their experiences were always discussed with them to make sure that I understood what they were saying within the contexts and settings in which they situated their experiences. Our conversations were casual and directed with their comfort in mind. This ensured that they were comfortable with our discussions and that they felt assured about the confidentiality of their participation. Woods (2006) wrote that research participants want to be assured that the researcher can be trusted to be honest with the information given. In undertaking this inquiry, relationships were cultivated along this line.

Confidentiality was another ethical issue that influenced the processes employed in undertaking the inquiry. As a matter of respect for the participants’ privacy, my questions and interjections
that guided our conversations were nuanced with the reminder that private detail would not be discussed, unless they wanted to, and that a pseudonym would be used instead of their actual names. I explicitly discouraged them from revealing activities that were of a criminal nature and assured them that unused data, including that which they indicated were off record, transcripts, feedback, and the audio records of their interviews with me would be destroyed at the end of the study. This assurance - also inscribed in the participation consent form (App.V) - was meant to encourage them to participate openly in discussions about their lived experiences.

Care was also taken to ensure that matters of discussion with each participant were exclusive, i.e., by ensuring that information they disclosed about family members were not discussed with any other person/s and, by this measure, would not place them at risk of embarrassment or strained relationships. However, they were made aware that extracts of their accounts would be printed verbatim in the final thesis, and the participants’ feedback, known to have an ethical dimension (Woods, 2006), was meant to ensure that they were happy with the substance of their conversations with me. Soltis (1989) advises researchers to observe the “non-negotiable values of honesty, fairness, respect for persons and beneficence” (p.129). These principles were inscribed in my commitment to not harm the participants, to honour their concerns about their participation and to protect their identities throughout and after the study.

Another ethical dilemma was my commitment not to treat the participants as a homogeneous group, but as individuals with diverse experiences, outcomes, and distinct life accounts. This encouraged me to treat each account as unique to the participant, while remaining aware of their varied cultural contexts (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). This gave rise to the dilemma of how to reconcile each participant’s account with the need to generate valid scientific knowledge about the Caribbean derived population, of which all of them are legitimate members. I resolved this dilemma in the knowledge that the process of knowledge generation was contingent on the participants being able to tell their story in their own way, knowing that their accounts are about their lived experiences - that may be a fair representation of the wider group, i.e., Caribbeans, with which the study is concerned. This brought me to the issue of representation.

As discussed in Chapter 2, empirical research on Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic experiences have tended to identify them by their immutable characteristics and represent them as a homogeneous group. This has functioned to objectify their experiences and expose them to essentialism and politicisation (Spencer, 2006). Consequently, throughout the inquiry, I became increasingly concerned about how I would represent the participants in my thesis. I wished neither to objectify their experiences, nor to represent them as a homogeneous group. However, I have wondered of the possibility that my data and thesis could be misunderstood, misinterpreted, and misused – potential pitfalls in qualitative research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000).

Considering how the products of my inquiry could be misused has led me to reflect on my participation in this likely outcome - by having rendered the participants’ accounts of their
experiences for interrogation by others, and exposing them to potential negative consequences (Miles & Hurberman, 1994). It is also true that my thesis may subscribe to imperialism of scholarship (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000), being unintelligible to some of the participants who contributed to its production. In this respect, it is herein acknowledged that I, like others before me, may have failed to fully grasp the political and ethical implications of the study. With this note, I will now discuss my approach to analysing and presenting the participants’ experiences that were the basis for my account and answers to the research question and sub-questions.

3.7 Analysing the Data

Analysing the patterns in the participants’ experiences was neither a simple nor a quick task. In fact, it was intensely laborious and time consuming. Once I had transcribed and validated the audio conversations, the transcripts were combined with the data from my researcher’s diaries to make up over two hundred pieces of material that I needed to make sense of and offer an account of what they mean. ‘Make sense of’ being another way of saying to search for patterns in the participants’ accounts, and try to understand what they mean within their given contexts.

I used the NVivo software to organise the data in digital files - which I did in real time. By this, I mean that I filed the data digitally as I collected it. Since I adopted a sociocultural approach to guide the inquiry, it made sense to cluster the data by settings, i.e., the settings in which the participants situated their experiences. From the outset, five key settings - family, community, religion, education, and occupation - were apparent and consistent. An early observation was that these settings were similar to those that featured in the literature review in Chapter 2. This gave me confidence that I might be doing the right thing, and that these were suitable settings around which to analyse the participants’ experiences (Holstein & Gubrium, 1998). The huge amount of data, nonetheless, needed to be filtered, i.e., I needed to separate usable from unusable data. This I did by highlighting participants’ experiences that related to educational attainment and socioeconomic progression, and excluding all else. By this action, my usable data was reduced to one hundred and twenty A4 pages from which I selected, unsparingly, that which would help me to answer the research questions and, in effect, feature in my analyses.

Much of the data that were deemed usable and selected to feature in my analyses were derived from the ethnographic interviews - much of which were audio recorded. This, however, was interesting but not surprising, neither was it a coincidence, as the data that I recorded in my researcher’s diary and through participant observation were used mainly for my own orientation throughout undertaking the inquiry and reflection on my experiences, learning, analyses, and personal growth. In addition, the ethnographic interviews in themselves proved sufficiently in-depth and a natural source from which I was able to draw extensive extracts that could be included in unedited form in my analyses and presentation. This had the advantage of presenting participants’ contribution in their own words - with their culturally specific nuances. The usable data, nonetheless, remained clustered by the settings that were bases for my first
phase of data analysis. This involved searching through the data, identifying patterns in the participants’ accounts of their experiences, and highlighting consistencies and deviations. Emerging patterns were affirmed by bringing together, digitally, common experiences in the participants’ accounts, which I organised in a table as in App.VII. The table (App.VII) enabled me to further scrutinise how the participants positioned their experiences in various settings, to make straightforward comparisons among families, and to develop family case studies (Yin, 2008). This helped me to reduce data further - by focussing on and analysing inter-generational experiences in families, which I compared and contrasted with the individuals’ experiences. From this exercise emerged an insight into the ways by which the participants understood their social world and mediated their experiences therein. The mediational means were highlighted digitally - they denoted cultural resources that were to be interrogated to determine their impact upon the participants’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

For instance, ‘family support for educational attainment’ was highlighted preliminarily as a cultural resource because participants frequently referred to support from family members as an “advantage” in enabling them to attain educational qualifications, which led to them obtaining [better] jobs. This, however, suggested that the participants who had not attained educationally might have not had family support for attainment and this, in effect, invalidated the inference of family support as a cultural resource that all Caribbeans have, and that which impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. This led me to re-interrogate how family figured in participants’ educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes, and ‘familial influence’ in children’s educational development emerged as the right resource that all the participants had acquired in their families, but in varying forms. Clusters of experiences in the various settings were interrogated in the same way to ascertain the cultural resource that all the participants had acquired, irrespective of their backgrounds, and which impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. Where resources appeared over or under-inclusive at first ascertainment, they were interrogated throughout the analyses. Once they were found to be coherent, I organised them alongside the corresponding socioeconomic trajectories that differentiated the participants in the summary table in App.VIII.

The final stage in the analysis was to affirm whether there was cultural continuity across the generations and, if so, in what form. Miller and Glassner (1997) suggest an approach to develop ethnographic studies participants’ accounts of their experiences as narratives that render them understandable within their given contexts, and present them as such. Since the majority of the participants were in families, it was convenient to develop narratives of their experiences within families, which, as noted earlier, were bases for case studies. This would also be the first stage in presenting my findings. Crucially, however, it enabled me to identify patterns of cultural continuity across the generations in families and lay them bare for analyses. My findings could then be presented as analyses of family case studies and sociocultural settings, hereon referred to sociocultural analyses, in which the participants were socialised and acquired the cultural resources that impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.
3.8 Presenting the Analyses

My decision to present my findings as [family] case study analyses and sociocultural analyses was based on two convenient but also important reasons that are here discussed separately.

- **Case Study Analyses**

  The first reason, case study is a convenient approach from which a large amount of the data from the participants in families was summarised into narratives. In addition, it rendered these participants’ experiences, situated in various contexts and settings, explainable in a coherent and theoretical manner. This is consistent with Yin’s (2009) view of the goal of case studies, which is to understand complex social phenomena within real-life context in order to develop theory.

  The second important reason is that the family, as a setting in which the participants were socialised, offered a key to understanding cultural continuity across the generations. This is because the family was a viable context within which inferences about educational attainment and socioeconomic progression across the generations could be made. As a result, [family] case studies were developed around the experiences and outcomes of members in the ten families that participated in the inquiry. However, four distinct, but illuminating, cases were selected to be presented in this final thesis. Their selection was based on the diversity of experiences, outcomes, and backgrounds within them - derived both in the Caribbean and in Britain.

  Such experiences, outcomes, and backgrounds, which were inter-generational, offered in-depth insights into the more pronounced patterns that characterised the participants’ experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains. In that sense, they were a reasonably good representation of the range of experiences, outcomes, and backgrounds across the sample of families and, upon this basis, it did not appear necessary to present the case studies of the entire ten families in this thesis – an undertaking that would not only have been substantively repetitive, but also tedious. The case study analyses were followed by sociocultural analyses.

- **Sociocultural Analyses**

  The sociocultural analyses involved examining the participants’ experiences within the settings in which they situated their experiences and in which they were socialised, acquired, and used cultural resources. The key objective in using this approach was to identify patterns in their experiences that could then be interrogated further for the purpose of theoretical development - the objective being to construct an explanation for Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic outcomes. This is, therefore, the first important reason for presenting my findings as such.

  The second important reason for presenting my findings in the form of sociocultural analyses is that, as noted earlier, the participants generally situated their experiences in the five settings around which I developed the analyses. Therefore, it was a convenient approach from which
they could be given a role in constructing my account of how cultural resources impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. This I did by including generous extracts from their own accounts in the analyses – thus, allowing them to speak for themselves where possible. This, however, presented with a recurring problem.

During conversations, participants frequently introduced issues surrounding their private lives about which they spoke inconsequentially. In order to protect their interest and maintain the integrity by which they believed the study to be guided, parts of these extracts were filtered. By this action, some context of their experiences may have been lost. However, I endeavoured to maintain the originality in their accounts, and give readers an insight into their experiences as relayed by themselves, and understood and presented by me. This, it is hoped, will encourage readers to make their own judgements about my interpretations, analyses, and presentation, and, if possible, extract alternative interpretations – in the light of the following limitations.

3.9 Limitations in the Analyses and Presentation

A notable limitation in the analyses and presentation is the reference to a fixed set of settings around which the participants’ experiences and outcomes were analysed. This may lead readers to think that these settings were exhaustive and mutually exclusive, which they were not. The decision to use them as analytic categories was based on their capacity to cohere the participants’ experiences which were relayed in creative ways, and, on the need to emphasise the settings in which the participants’ were socialised, acquired, and used cultural resources - as encouraged by the sociocultural approach (Wertsch, 1994) by which the inquiry was guided. By this decision, the influences of the conspicuous factors of skin colour and gender on the participants’ outcomes were not examined in detail. This, however, is not a significant limitation because the participants’ backgrounds (App.IV) discounted such factors as uniquely salient in enabling their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression in a contemporary Britain.

A second limitation is the seemingly little attention given to the influence of societal factors, such as racism and social structures that were examined in Chapter 2, on the participants’ educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes. It must be noted that these factors were not disregarded entirely. They were accepted as embedded in the history and everyday life of Caribbeans and, while they may have influenced the participants’ socialisation in various settings, they did not assume much salience in an account of how cultural resources, provided by their cultures, impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

Thirdly, it was noted earlier that the manner in which the participants were recruited introduced some bias in the sample, which is compounded by the retrospective nature of the inquiry. The experiences upon which my account is based were drawn from the participants’ memory, which could possibly have been distorted. Consequently, although measures were taken to improve trustworthiness, there may be an element of fiction in my account (Clifford & Marcus, 2010). On
this note, it bears to assert that the study makes no claim to the whole truth or to represent the social reality of the entire Caribbean derived population in Britain. Nonetheless, the participants’ experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains that are represented in this thesis is not to be seen as isolated, because their experiences are not only unique to them, but are also shared by others in the wider social group of which they are legitimate members.

Lastly, I feel obliged to stress that the account given here is my own and, as noted earlier, it is the product of negotiated and perhaps unequal exchanges between the participants and myself. The interpretation of the participants’ experiences and outcomes is also my own. It is based on a collection of accounts that were relayed to me by the participants and I do not deny that my account may be influenced, in some way, by my own values. In light of this acknowledgement, an insight into the construct of my account and how conclusions were wrought is offered next.

3.10 Conclusions

The case study analyses and the sociocultural analyses constitute my account of how cultural resources impact upon the participants’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. This account acknowledges that societal and cultural factors that influence the participants’ educational and socioeconomic outcomes are interacting - and evolving as such. This allows the participants to be seen as agents of cultural reproduction and architects of their social realities.

The working assumption, derived from the inquiry into their lives, is that they acquire cultural resources through their socialisation in various settings that constitute their social world, which is susceptible to changes in the wider British and global societies of which it is part. Upon the basis of this assumption, I was able to determine and emphasise how cultural resources impact upon the different generations’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression by:

- Developing inter-generational family case studies that illustrated how cultural resources were acquired and used by the participants to mediate their experiences in various settings.
- Developing sociocultural analyses around the participants’ experiences that underpin their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression and, in effect, their life trajectories.

Once I was satisfied with my account, I revisited the literature to compare my findings with some empirical accounts and to draw conclusions, which helped me to strengthen my account and situate it within the body of literature on minority cultures, diversity and disadvantages among social groups in education and socioeconomic domains, low achievement among social groups, and social [groups] psychology in Britain. However, I am mindful that my account and conclusions may be laden with my own values (Myers, 1995), and, in light of this mindfulness, the next section offers some reflection on my experiences and learning throughout undertaking the inquiry. This, it is hoped, will help my readers to understand and, if they feel inspired, judge how my own values and experiences may have influenced my interpretations and conclusions.
3.11 Some Reflection: Reflexivity

In the context of social research, reflexivity at its most immediately obvious level refers to the ways in which the products of research are affected by the personnel and process of doing research (Davies, 2007, p. 4).

At the outset, I acknowledged the experiences that inspired me to undertake research about Caribbeans. These experiences inform my worldview and values, which are products of my socialisation, and inevitably influence my interpretation of social realities. As such, my position, understanding, and interpretations that are influenced by my values are an integral part of my account and my reflexivity is here necessary. This section offers an insight into my experiences of undertaking the inquiry. It is essentially a reflection on my processes, production of this thesis, and personal growth, which were influenced in some way by my experiences and values.

A key value that I brought to the research process, as an example, is personal responsibility. It is my belief that I can have no real power without taking responsibility for my own educational and socioeconomic outcomes. This belief is derived from my background in the Caribbean and the education and discipline that I received during my years there. For instance, the schools that I attended in Dominica were governed by very strict autocratic regimes that enforced discipline through exclusion and corporal punishment. Individualism and personal responsibility for [your] behaviour were important norms. So, while I would have been punished for arriving at school late, whatever the reason, or my socks not being long enough, it did not matter that I had never been represented at a parents’-teachers’ meeting or that my Grandmother never saw my school report cards. Even if she did, she would not understand what they meant anyway. Nonetheless, she held education in very high regard, which she demonstrated in her own way.

My Grandmother had high expectations of me and I knew that even if she did not understand the education system, she ensured that I understood education was important and attainment was my only way out if I were to escape a life of poverty. This she demonstrated through her inversion of traditional valuation of yardwork and schoolwork where, in my case, schoolwork became more highly valued than yardwork. As my reward for attaining well, I was allowed to forgo church [the bane of my childhood] and assume full responsibility for my behaviours and achievement at school. Good behaviours were never verbalised, but by the ways bad behaviour and low achievement were sanctioned, I knew what they were. Bad behaviour would be met with corporal punishment and low achievement would be met with exclusion from school and continued poverty in my adult life. As a result, I came to value and aspired towards, as a goal, educational attainment measured by high grades and the behaviours expected by the school.

These experiences in my history permitted my openness throughout that my account is not value free and may in fact be laden with my own values. However, in order to mitigate the influence of my values on my interpretation of the participants’ experiences, I took measures to
ensure my account is reflective of their realities, and, in so doing, improve the trustworthiness of my account. Furthermore, to avoid seeing what my own experiences might have guided me to look for, or what I might have liked to see, I encouraged the participants to talk freely about their experiences and outcomes without using a standardised questionnaire. Therefore, the data that I collected reflected what they wanted to share and felt comfortable sharing with me.


The inquiry provided an opportunity for the participants and me to engage in social actions that include talking and observing. As such, a range of subjectivities is implicated. For instance, my experience of schooling in the Netherlands, and awareness of ubiquitous racism that influence Dutch-Antillean cultures and social relations (Leydesdorff, 1998) meant that I was able to relate to their concerns about racism and ethnicity, and the particular ways that non-white people are type-caste in western media and societies. These concerns resonate with the purpose of the study. However, while I was able to identify with many of their concerns, it was sometimes uncomfortable for me to empathise with some of their actions and values, especially those that concern personal responsibility. Some participants appeared to absolve themselves from any form of responsibility for their actions – especially some that seemed irrational and undermined educational attainment and socioeconomic progression, such as engaging in criminal activities and negligence of participation in their children’s socialisation and educational development.

It was also apparent that my experiences of schooling in the Caribbean and Europe and the values I place on educational attainment and socioeconomic progression differed from those of some participants who, in response to some of my probes, occasionally referred to me variously as “too young to understand”, “white woman in a black skin”, “preferred by whites because you’re brown not black”, “innocent”, “having white blood”, “caramel”, “brainy”, “posh black girl” or “different”. I have assumed that these perceptions of me, although questionable, influenced their interactions with me and, as a result, my reflexivity poses a dilemma because it implicates the influence of these perceptions in my interpretation and account, and the standards that I maintained throughout the inquiry. By this, an unequal power relation as an issue was evident.

This I mitigated through concerted efforts to remain neutral in the various situations of exchange. And, in light of my awareness of the participants’ various perceptions of me, I endeavoured to include contributions from them generously, in unedited form where possible, in my account. This shows that even with occasional tilts in our power relations, they were partners in the construction of my account and our relationship was necessarily interdependent (Habermas, 1988). This interdependence helped me to answer the research question plausibly, and contributed, vitally, to my growth by way of my increased awareness of my positions as a brown-skin, young, university educated, nulliparous, Caribbean woman of European nationality and an origin that is other than the English speaking Caribbean; positions that I had not given much thought to before or perhaps, as some participants would say, have “taken for granted”.
I have learned of the many ways that these different positions are perceived and valued, and especially how they differentiated me from the participants. For example, one participant confided, “I agreed to meet because you are my Caribbean sister but you are not like the blacks around here; I like you because you are pretty and nice to talk to”. It is only appropriate for me to acknowledge that these perceptions and my various positions have been instrumental in the generation of the knowledge claim in the study. These positions define me and it is possible that the study, in whole or in part, has been conceived through the lenses of my own positions and experiences. Additionally, through undertaking the inquiry, I have developed an increased sensitivity of how my understanding of what it means to be Caribbean is shaped by experiences from my own upbringing, and that there are more commonalities than differences among Caribbeans that are often overlooked - either because they are misunderstood or not well articulated. Some participants appeared eager to point this out, and it was apparent that they hoped to have their sentiments communicated through narratives of their lived experiences.

To this end, I would like to conclude this chapter by reiterating that differences in orientations, especially educational ones, between the participants and me may have had implications for how their experiences and perceptions have been interpreted and written about by me in this thesis. This may be understood in terms of the varied personalities and experiences that we brought to the research process. For instance, during our conversations and interactions that pertained to the study, I observed tendencies for some participants to behave or use language in certain ways that embodied their various social identities - black man, father, professional, youngster, single mother, independent woman, Christian, educated, gangster, rude boy, etc. Here, social identities, which they may or may not have been aware that I am conversant with, were used in negotiating their exchanges with me as they undertook to position themselves and their experiences, reassuringly, within various cultural, institutional, and historical contexts.

Admittedly, I sometimes did find myself overwhelmed, but I endeavoured to understand and account for their varied displays in the true spirit of honesty. This commitment implicates me in the process of constructing meanings and knowledge (Shacklock & John, 1998), perhaps in the hope of challenging conventional representations of Caribbeans in Britain and contributing towards change in their life circumstances through the study. Because, while I accept that there are personal commitments that influenced various aspects of the study, I believe that these commitments, which are partly shaped by my values and experiences, motivated me to undertake it; not only for my own pleasurable purpose, but also for the possibility that it may inspire social change that will benefit the participants, perhaps not directly but indirectly. For, although I insist on making a non-politically motivated contribution to knowledge and inspiring debate through having undertaken the study, it is an observation of mine that renewal and progression, in the disguise of social change, are often brought about by debate. In this regard, the study’s purpose extends towards inspiring social change that will benefit the Caribbean derived population in Britain - and elsewhere. This I believe is a desirable and reasonable goal.
4.0 Case Study Analyses: Four Cases of Caribbean Families

4.1 Introduction

This chapter begins the analyses and presentation of the findings from the inquiry - that formed the empirical part of the study. In it, four case studies, which are based on the experiences of participants in four of the ten families that participated in the inquiry, are presented. All four families have three generations - the first emigrated from the Caribbean to Britain during the 1950s, and the second and third were born, brought up, and educated in England. Their family trees and background vignettes, which were mentioned in Chapter 3, are provided in App.IV.

The case studies showcase a range of origins, ethnicities, and cultures, as well as diversity in experiences and outcomes among the families. The focus, however, is on understanding the different generations’ experiences and outcomes from their own points of view, and presenting their experiences as narratives that are developed around the key concepts with which this thesis is concerned, namely - cultural resources, educational attainment, and socioeconomic progression. As such, extensive use is made of extracts from the participants’ accounts of their experiences. This functions to give them a role in the development of the case studies about their families, but also, crucially, because their contributions help to keep the analyses grounded in the data, and in line with the purpose of the study outlined in Chapter 1 and the ultimate aim of the case studies, which is to articulate recognisable patterns, i.e., commonalities and differences in experiences and outcomes among the families and across the generations. Some insights into the rationale surrounding the selection of the four families are offered next.

4.1.1 Case Studies Rationale

As noted earlier, four distinct but illuminating family cases were selected to be presented in this chapter. Their selection was based on the diversity of experiences, outcomes, and backgrounds among and within the families - derived both in the Caribbean and in Britain. Such experiences, outcomes, and backgrounds, which were inter-generational, offered in-depth insights into the more pronounced patterns that characterised the participants’ experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains. As such, they were a reasonably good representation of the range of experiences, outcomes, and backgrounds across the sample of families. Upon this basis, it did not appear necessary to present the case studies of the entire ten families in this thesis - an undertaking that would not only have been substantively repetitive, but also tedious.

Throughout the analyses, generous extracts from the participants’ own accounts are included in unedited form – thus, allowing them to speak for themselves where possible. In some cases, especially in families 3 and 4, not all the family members whose experiences are included in the analyses were able to speak for themselves. In these cases, family members who participated relayed the experiences of those who were inaccessible or unable to speak for themselves.
4.2 Case Study 1 - The Tito Family

Family Case 1: Generation 1

Mr Tito came to England from Barbados in 1958 when he was twenty-two years old. Before he left Barbados, he had not had any experiences with paid-work but had attended basic school, which he completed at the age of fifteen without formal qualifications. He explained:

My two sisters were here and they said I should leave home and come and see how other people live. Before, I did nothing back home. I was 22 when I came. I use to walk around the streets with a pocket comb and glasses [sunshades] in my pocket. Rude-boy style you know...yes...yes! We found it easy, just walking around and playing games you know? Dominoes, draughts, tennis, cricket, anything just to keep ourself going. When we enter this country, it was a different type of life altogether. Because we came here with a different mind-set. We came here to live a different type of life and then the work process involved...was different and we settled down into working and then after meeting our girlfriend - in my case, because some men from the West Indies sent for their girlfriend back home, to get married and have a family [Mr Tito/OT/2009].

Mr Tito’s main motivation for coming to Britain was a desire to lead a different life from the one he had led in the Caribbean. He had a girlfriend in Barbados but, when he came to England, the relationship ended. He explained that relationships with women in the Caribbean were mainly casual, but the life in England was different. In 1960, he married Ms Tito. They were married until she died of bowel cancer in 1999. Unlike Mr Tito, Mrs Tito who was from Jamaica had not had any experience in formal education. Before she came to England, she had been a carer for her younger siblings and her own three children, who were left with relatives. They were hardly spoken about during meetings with the family and their outcomes are unknown by Mr Tito.

Mr and Mrs Tito settled in Manchester. They were Christians and, as a religious couple, he said they were expected to marry after having courted for "six months to one year". According to him, having a family was part of leading a Christian life. In his own words, “it is normal for people to have a family, this is church life. Church life in the Pentecostal system. Christians live a different kind of life to the people of the world. The Bible teaches Christians how to live”. In addition to being mandated by their faith, married life had economic connotations. For instance, he informed that married couples could claim their yearlong taxes back at the end of their first year of marriage, and he got back £35.00 in 1961, which, according to him, “was a lot of money to have in your hand at the time” and they "spend it on food and other things”.

During their early days in Manchester, the family lived at various addresses - in single-bed rooms - in houses that were owned by Caribbeans. At one point, they lived near the local
Caribbean community but, according to Mr Tito in the following extract, they did not want to settle there:

I believe the thing is that, black people congregate in areas where they feel more safe. In the community where everybody would be able to get together and you get a lot of the bad things that use to happen - like shooting, prostitution, you know? You get everything. The prostitution was mostly the white girls but there was also black girls. These girls did not want to work; they wanted this life-style. They got more money doing that kind of work than going out to work 8 hours a day. If they wanted work, there was plenty factories around. Very few would get work as lawyer and doctor. The Pakistanis, they come from Pakistan, the majority are doctors. They are also business people. They come here well prepared for what they want to do, but not many from the Caribbean are business minded. And I said I would not live there [local Caribbean community]. But I lived near it for about a year and then I moved to Old Trafford. This was a better community. Otherwise, I would not have stayed [Mr Tito/OT/ 2009].

The Titoes had three children who were born in Old Trafford. Daughter Tania was born in 1962, son Triston was born in 1964, and son Trent was born in 1974. After the birth of their first two children, the family had difficulties finding housing that was suitable for their growing family. Social housing was in short supply as a result of the Wars and, their experiences suggest, private property owners loathed to rent to Caribbean families, especially those with children.

During their early years in Old Trafford, Tania and Triston lived with their parents in single-bed rooms. Mr Tito intimated that, “that was difficult because the room was full” and they spend most of their time outside and frequently moving to different addresses. Poverty and poor living conditions were their reality. Mr Tito identifies himself as working-class in this regard:

I am with the working class. First, you’ve got the upper class who are the rich and famous, then you have the middle class who live between the upper class and the lower class. So, the working class is the one that is the poorest of the three, I think. In the Caribbean community you get some are working-class and some are middle-class. The majority would have to be working-class [Mr Tito/OT/ 2009].

In spite of their poverty and subscription to an educationally and economically disadvantaged social class, the family was eventually able to purchase their own home in Old Trafford:

We bought the house £1500.00 in 1966. I tried first in Chorlton but the [estate] agent wouldn’t sell me. He told me he could get me in Moss Side. At the time we had the kids and we needed somewhere for them to live. People with their house here did not want anyone that had kids. We were living in different places, you know. Because when we first came, there wasn’t any where to live. White people wouldn’t take you so we were
living in different West Indians’ house in one room. We had to rent one room and when we started having kids, there was two kids in [the] one room with me and my wife and it was crowded and very hard like that, because people didn’t want to rent you; they said they don’t want kids in their house. That was the main reason. Anyone who had a house wouldn’t want to rent to someone with kids. The accommodation was not like now where government build houses so people could rent. We would get a room this week and by next weekend they give you notice. You have to look for another room. Sometimes, three times in one month you would live in different places. I remember once I use to take [Triston] and [Tania] outside about half past six in the morning in summer so the landlord could sleep. And even that was not enough because they gave us notice to leave their house, even we lend them money to buy it [Mr Tito/OT/2009].

Mr Tito informed that homeownership was an aspiration he had had when he came to England, but security for the children and the real prospect of homelessness were the main factors that motivated him to “make sacrifices” and purchase a home of his own. This was made possible through an informal means of investing money in a savings scheme with other Caribbeans:

There is something we call Partner, well we save money like that. One person is in charge of the money. Say twenty people come together and one person is in charge. Say it’s £20.00 each and it’s 20 people, so that would be £400.00 collected in one week and one person get that £400.00. The next week someone else would get the £400.00 and so on. That is how black people save money for their home [Mr Tito/OT/2009].

It is an age-old Caribbean micro-financial practice - known variously as Sou-sou [Trinidad], Box [Guyana], Padnahan [Jamaica] or Partnership [British Windward and Leeward Islands]. The pay that partners receive is called a Hand. Mr Tito informed that members of Partnership schemes had a better chance of affording assets that could improve their life circumstances. In his case, he was able to purchase the three-bedroom semi-detached house, in which he currently lives.

Mr and Mrs Tito worked in the manual sector in the healthcare and manufacturing industries. Mrs Tito first worked as an auxiliary nurse - cleaning dead people. That she did for a few years before she went on to a local factory where she worked for twenty years until it closed in 1987. Mr Tito worked at local factories until he was made redundant in 1986. He then went on to work as a parking lot attendant until he retired in 1996. As a low-income family, they were able to satisfy their material needs by pooling their incomes, which they supplemented by letting out rooms in their home. They did not pursue further education or vocational training. Mr Tito said:

I was working with a logistics company, warehousing at the time, and I did not pursue other skills, not because it was not available, but you get the minority who would go into education, but not many. Everybody was trying to look for a job where they could pay their rent and so forth. Both men and women [Mr Tito/OT/2009].
Mr and Mrs Tito shared responsibility for maintaining their household, but their roles were distinct and rarely intersected. Mrs Tito was responsible for the children’s welfare, education, and housekeeping, while Mr Tito contributed financially and reinforced discipline. He spent most of his time away from the room or home, either at work or at the bookies (Diary 1 note, 2009). The children were expected to attend school and church. Corporal punishment, as a form of discipline, was routine and mainly administered by Mrs Tito. The threat of corporal punishment from Mr Tito was also equally effective as a form of discipline, however, he said:

I never needed to beat them because they were good kids. I lived my life like the Bible said. I did not get into trouble or anything. I think my children see how I live my life and they live their life like that [Mr Tito/OT/2009].

Although Mr Tito did not pursue further education or vocational training, he believes education, in general, could improve his children’s chances to do well in British society. According to him:

They were born in this country. They should look to do something better than working in a warehouse. Well going to college and trying to go forward in the society [that] he was born in [Mr Tito/OT/2009].

His understanding was that education is a means by which his children’s life chances could be improved, but he felt that however education figured in their life was a “decision they have to make”. He acknowledged that his participation in his children’s educational development was minimal, but he “send them [to] school and would not tolerate truancy or bad behaviour”.

**Family Case 1: Generation 2**

The Titoes’ children were born and brought up in Old Trafford. They attended primary school, secondary school, and Youth Training Schemes [YTS] in Old Trafford and Stretford, which they completed without qualifications that could permit them to progress unto higher education or professional employment. Daughter Tania lives in Manchester. She is divorced with two adult children. Mr Tito said that she once worked as a secretary at a local charity, but little else is known of her since she became estranged from the family after her mother’s death. The second child, first son Triston, has not been married. He has four children by two different mothers and lives and works in a predominantly white local community in a London suburb. The younger son, Trent, lives on a predominantly white social housing estate in Wythenshawe, Manchester. He has one biracial teenage daughter whose whereabouts is unknown by the family. He works in Chorlton in a supermarket warehouse as a shelf stacker. He visits Mr Tito occasionally.

The three Tito children were brought up in a “Christian way”, which, Mr Tito claimed, is “different from the way of the world”. As youngsters, they attended church and Sunday school, and, according to Triston, were “nurtured with principles” that would eventually guide his life:
My parents were very religious. We attended the Church of God. I remember having to go to church. Not going was not an option. I stopped going when I was about 14, when my parents gave me the right to refuse. I stopped because I got bored. My religion and my parents taught me to be good; not to lie, steal…nurturing and so on. From day one, Christianity defined who I am as a person. It is how I was brought up with Sunday church. I went to two churches, one was predominantly white – that was the Sunday school, which was nearby and children went. But there was also the Church of God, my parents [Dad] have been going to for over 20 years [Triston/OT/2009].

In addition to his moral compass, Triston credits many of his life’s decisions to his religious grounding. When he stopped going to church, he followed the Rastafari movement briefly:

Rastafari came around in 1978 when I was about 14. I was still at school. I was not thinking deeply about it. We were about 15 boys, all with Jamaican parents. We hung out together. All about 13-14 years old. Bob Marley was big at the time. During the 1970s and 1980s there was this big Rastafari movement that everybody remembers. Even if they were not involved, they knew about it. Every young black boy wanted to identify with the movement. Dad was very against the idea. Mum did not say much. She was from Jamaica so maybe she could relate to it and thought differently. Listening to the music and lyrics about Selassie, I felt confused because I was in the church and had known of Jesus, but that didn’t matter. It was popular. I use to have my ghetto blaster playing loud Reggae music and discussing Rastafari livity, but Dad was against the movement and stopped me from following it. Some of my friends who did not go to church believed Selassie was God. Since there was a void, so it was easy to fill with Selassie and Rastafari. They got a flat together when they were about 16 [years old] and left home to live as Rastas. They changed their lifestyles and their diet. Stopped doing a lot of things. Stopped eating meat and smoking Marijuana. Some went on to harder drugs and are addicts to date. Others changed and did other things with their lives. At the time, I was going in a different direction [Triston/OT/2009].

Triston explained that his religiosity influenced the decisions that he made as a youngster - that saw him going in a different direction from his friends. His religiosity, thus, differentiated him from them, but he attended school and shared some common interests with them. His learning and schooling were encouraged by his parents. He explained that, before he had started school, his mother had taught him to read - even though she was barely literate, and his father, who would not tolerate behaviour that was deemed unruly or unlawful, ensured he attended school:

I went to school in Stretford. Most of my school friends were Jamaican. I remember being able to read at age 5 when I started school. There were no preschools back then. Mum taught me to read. I was a middle of the road student. I had friends who were a lot brighter, and some who were a lot less bright than me. After secondary school, I
went to North Trafford College. I enjoyed going to school. Most of my friends at school were the same that I played with out of school, so it was fun. The school was about two-thirds white and one-third ethnic - mainly Caribbean and Pakistani origin. The Chinese were not many but they were the top performers. Their parents were very strict. They would do their homework after school. Caribbean parents were also strict, but we were able to get away with not doing homework than the Chinese. We were 12 of us as friends - about 10 would truant. I never truanted. I knew my Dad would have laid into me. My friend’s parents were similar to mine, [in that they would be beaten for truanting], but this did not stop them. They had no fear. I was the only one who had a father not from Jamaica and wondered if that made a difference [Triston/OT/2009].

Triston remembered that, from around the age of five, he wanted to become a car mechanic. After his compulsory schooling, he went on to a technical college where he studied auto mechanics, woodwork, and mechanical engineering (Diary 1 note, 2009). Some of his friends went on to college to study similar subjects and others went on to work at local factories.

After college, he attended a YTS that led to an apprenticeship as a painter-decorator and then as a blacksmith. He intimated that the “blacksmith apprenticeship was the most awful work experience” he had ever had and that he quit prematurely with hopes of joining the Army “as a way out of not having a job”, but he was discouraged by his mother who was “not happy” about him joining the Army.

Tristons’ mother had reservations about the Army, which, he said, “she never discussed”. Once he had decided against joining the Army, he started work at the factory where his father also worked. After he had been working at the factory for one year, he accepted an invitation from a female acquaintance to attend a vocational course that she had been attending. The course enabled him to learn basic office procedures and seek employment in an office environment:

In 1984, I was 20 [years old] and working at a factory warehouse shifting boxes. I was not feeling good about myself, and Dad came from the same background. I remembered the talk from my parents that they did not want their children to do the same as they had done. My parents use to tell us that we had opportunities in this country and should do better. One day I asked myself, “why are you shifting boxes? I am fairly educated and can do better”. So I decided to leave the warehouse after one year and go back to college where there was a secretarial course. I had heard about the course from a black girl who was attending it. It was specially to help black people. I went on the course in 1986 for six to eight months. I learned office procedures and how to type for eight months. Then, at the end of the course, the teacher gave a certificate and a prize for the pupil who had exceeded expectation. When my name was called [for the prize] I was surprise. The course was attended by mostly women. If there were forty, about five were men and there were few whites [Triston/OT/2009].
Triston attended the course during the day and received a government stipend that he used to support himself. He had his first of four children when he was eighteen years old. His girlfriend [of Jamaican parentage] at the time worked at the local laundrette so, according to him, “she paid most of the bills” and his “parents helped too”. Since attending the secretarial course and attaining occupational skills, he has always been able to find non-manual work. He has been working in a customer services role for the past twelve years and is, in his own words, “quite happy” in his job. He sees it as “good progress” from his factory job and that he is one of only two blacks in the company’s workforce of over 300 staff, the other being of African descent.

Triston lived with his parents until 1985. That same year, he moved to live with his girlfriend and daughter in a rented flat near the university campus in Fallowfield, Manchester. His second daughter was born in 1989, and his son was born in 1993. He did not aspire to be married, neither to acquire his own home. As far as he was concerned, he said, they “lived together as a family so marriage was not necessary”.

In 1996, Triston moved to live in London with his girlfriend and three children. He explained that “it was her decision” to move and they were able to get social housing in the local Caribbean community in Brixton because “she had a sister who lived there”. According to him:

The Caribbean community in Brixton is visibly progressive and more prosperous than in Manchester. They own their own businesses, stores, they are solicitors, office workers. The local authority in Manchester is responsible for the little progress among blacks here. The authority hands the power to people who decide who will be progressive. They are responsible for black people not prospering in a way [Triston/OT/2009].

Like his parents, Triston has not pursued further education. However, he has encouraged and guided his children to attain educationally and to do better than he has done. He explained that his parents encouraged him to do better than they had done and ensured that he attended school “but did not take an active role” in his education, which saw him completing compulsory schooling without qualifications. Drawing upon his experience of lack of educational attainment, his attitude towards his children’s education, presented here, is different from his father’s own:

Parents should take an active role in their children’s education. I have been very hands on with my children. My daughters went to university. This one [first - Trevicia] studied politics and [second one] studied sociology. I thought that because of my experience I did not want the same for my children. I wanted to be there for them. In the beginning with [Trevicia], it was mainly her mother who did everything, but I’d go to the parents’-teachers’ meetings to see how she was doing. She was a strictly A student. Now I am more involved. I go more often for my son. He is at the top of his class but behaviour wise there is a bit of problem, so I call the school to check on him [Triston/OT/2009].
Triston said that he “wanted to be there” for his children and he believes that his “role as a father” is essential in determining their educational outcome. This he showed by helping his children with learning and schoolwork, attending meetings with their teachers, and telephoning the school to check on their progress. These actions are in addition to the general interest that he takes in the daily care of his children. Although he has not been married, he has had what he said were “stable relationships” that he believes are important in his responsibility as a parent and contribution to his children’s upbringing. According to him, he “wanted to do better” as urged by his parents; he “wanted to join the Army, as a way out of not having a job”; he “wanted to be there” for his family; “wanted to be good”, as mandated by his Christianity.

**Family Case 1: Generation 3**

The three elder of Triston’s four children, now young adults, live in London where, he observed, Caribbeans are more prosperous than in Manchester. During their early years, they lived with both parents in Fallowfield, where they attended nursery school and primary school. Both their parents, Triston and their mother, worked, shared responsibility for childcare, and participated in their educational development. According to first daughter Trevicia, “there was a lot of books” in the home and they were encouraged to read. She intimated that “from an early age” she aspired to work in government or own a business so she and her younger sister were encouraged to read and were helped by their mother and father. They enjoyed learning and, in her own words, “the attitude at home was encouraging of education from a young age”.

Trevicia explained that she and her sister “enjoyed doing well and being at the top of the class”. Once they moved to London, they progressed through the top-streams in secondary school, attained high grades at the key stages (App.IX for key stages) in their compulsory schooling, and progressed to college and university. Trevicia studied political science at university and her younger sister studied sociology. Their university education was paid for through a government grant, for which they were eligible. This was based on the combined income of their parents, which was below a certain threshold. She did not know what the threshold was at the time. Her brother, who has also done well at the key stages in his compulsory schooling, hopes to study Accountancy at university. Trevicia is in full time professional employment. She explained:

> Education wise I read politics at university. Once I graduated the appeal for working in government died out and the type of positions I was interested in required more than just a degree. So the best thing was to sign up with a few really good agencies and, through doing enough contracts, find out what I like and what I’m good at. I’m a Senior Project Analyst at the Royal Bank of Scotland. This does not quite relate to my childhood aspiration to work in government. I came about this employment through undertaking several short-term contracts in a project management environment, which developed my skills and ability to apply for this position [Trevicia/LDN/2009].
Trevicia is married and has one daughter. Like her father and grandfather, she admits to being religious and keeping a Christian faith. Although she does not attend church - as she once did - Christianity, nonetheless, is a significant socialising force in her family life, in a similar way as it appeared in the family life of her grandfather Mr Tito and her father Triston. It legitimises the decisions that she makes and is implicated in her attitude towards family and marriage, which she sees not only as a “right thing, but also a spiritual thing”. This attitude finds resonance in her early years, which, she said, were spent within a nuclear family structure:

Wanting a secure foundation relationship-wise has always been something I’ve found really important. In comparison to being brought up within a stable environment, i.e., a nuclear family structure. I definitely think that it contributed to the value I place on relationships and commitment. A large proportion of the people I know or have as friends are either married or in a long-term relationship where the attitude towards commitment is very high [Trevicia/LDN/2009].

She lives with her daughter and husband [of Jamaican parentage] in Brixton, and she has been saving towards homeownership, which she sees as a "natural next step". Unlike her grandfather Mr Tito, who identified himself as working-class, she does not identify with a social class:

I have not categorised myself into a social class. I don’t believe social class dictates much of anything in today’s society. Overall, I think it depends on how each Caribbean parent is raised and what values they have, that governs what they say to their children. Caribbean people are very individualistic [Trevicia/LDN/2009].

Trevicia makes a connection between her upbringing and her educational and socioeconomic outcomes. This, she explained, reflects in her approach to life challenges, which she attributed to the investment her parents made in her educational development at an early age:

My Mum invested in getting me lots of books that I actually liked and so the interest for reading and learning was always there. My Dad use to recite the times-tables to me at bath times and I could never quite grasp how to memorise such a complex thing. I’ve never really been good with numbers but his approach perhaps made a difference to me still being open minded when trying to tackle something that I’m less good at than something like English that I absolutely loved and always did well in. But these things my parents did were at a very young age from 3-4 years onwards [Trevicia/LDN/2009].

Academic related learning and an understanding of the vocational usefulness of educational attainment were introduced into her socialisation from an early age, from when she nurtured aspiration to work in government. This aspiration motivated her to study politics at university, because she was aware that realisation of this aspiration corresponded to attainment in higher education. However, after having completed her university education, she was no longer interested in her early career aspiration to work in government. Nonetheless, having a degree
opened up other employment opportunities, which is the basis upon which she has obtained professional employment that her higher level of educational attainment has enabled her to do.

4.3 Case Study 2 - The Phillip Family

Family Case 2: Generation 1

Mr Phillip was eleven years old in 1959 when he came from Jamaica to live with his parents in South London. His parents, who were from rural communities in Jamaica, had attended basic school that they completed without formal qualifications. Before they came to England, his mother had worked as a dressmaker and his father had worked as a handy man. According to him, his parents came in hope of leading a better life, and he, as the eldest of their three children who were left with grandparents in Jamaica, was later able to join them here:

Before they came, Mum always did dress making. I think she learnt that from her Mum and other people around, and Dad did a variety of jobs. Dad was a shoemaker. He did a bit of carpentry, he worked the land, he sawed board - because back then they cut wood by hand, so he did that, and I think that’s why they decided to come to England because the opportunities in the countryside weren’t as plentiful as in this country. They came for better opportunities. I think they had friends who had come to England before them. I think they were encouraged to come. This was a land of opportunity so they came and they had to make their own way. There was no one to help them as such. So they came to London, rented, and eventually they were able to buy their own house [Mr Phillip/Denton/2010].

Mr Phillip’s education started when he came to England at the age of eleven. He started at a secondary modern school in Balham, South London. This was different from his earlier-years experiences in Jamaica, which, he said, “was centred on attaining practical skill for farming and manual work”. He explained, “coming to London was a real eye opener in contrasts to living in a little village”. People in his rural community in Jamaica believed that there were opportunities in England to lead a better life, and that, once here, they would readily be availed of these opportunities to bring about an overall improvement in their quality of life. This was an overriding perception in Jamaica and, before he left, he was “aware that the purpose of emigration was to lead a better life”. This he had hoped to achieve through education. As a boy in Jamaica, he nurtured aspirations to become a doctor:

When I was living in Jamaica, I was walking through the market place one day and this lady from the market said..."little boy what would you want to do when you grow up”, and I immediately said without thinking that I want to be a doctor, and I had that in my mind when I came here. So obviously, as a boy I researched what I needed to do or what exams I needed to get...I needed to get English and the sciences, so I focused my mind on that, and at school they noticed my skills were more practical than theoretical,
so I was put in the middle stream which is a technical stream. The teachers did...and my exam results did...the test we had pointed to that [Mr Phillip/Denton/2010].

As a boy, Mr Phillip understood that educational attainment and professional employment as a medical doctor were linked, and researched the subjects and experience that he needed in order to pursue medical studies. From the age of fourteen, he volunteered as a first aider with St John's Ambulance Brigade in London. His volunteering service enabled him to expand his social circle and gain medical related experience that he enjoyed. According to him, “becoming a doctor was not only about having a job, but having a profession that was useful and had [social] status”. This was how he hoped to achieve and sustain a better life in England. However, at secondary school he was placed in a non-academic stream in which he excelled at Woodwork. He completed secondary school at the age of sixteen with a grade A in Woodwork on his Certificate of Secondary Education [CSE] and lower grades in several other non-academic subjects. After compulsory schooling, he went on to further education and qualified as a nurse:

It was obvious by [age] 17 that I wasn’t going to get the A-levels to get to medical school. So I thought the next best thing is to be a nurse. I was slightly disappointed but also pleased because I was able to get into nursing. You see, the primary goal was to get into a profession that I wouldn’t have to worry too much about getting a job wherever I went. I wanted a ticket so I could go anywhere. Not so much a job, but a profession. I wanted something that I could feel proud of. A profession gives you peace of mind and it gives you pride. It makes you, I am not so sure about life enhancing, but certainly a gratification that you are able to go through the hurdles of education and eventually come out with what is a professional title. That means a lot to me. Joining the St John’s Ambulance Brigade as a first-aider at the age of 14 was an excellent move because I acquired skills that I was able to use in my nursing and, even more importantly, got me more integrated into the community [Mr Phillip/Denton/2010].

After his compulsory schooling, Mr Phillip worked as an auxiliary nurse during the daytime and studied Maths and English at night school. The night school was free, but the training it offered was not sufficient to enable him to go on to study medicine, so he pursued nursing instead. Though disappointed at not being able to study medicine, nursing as a profession was a compromise he felt he had to make after he had accepted that his aspiration to become a doctor was not realisable. Having a high-status occupation was important to him. He believed that a professional title represented a “passport to better employment wherever” he went. After he had worked as an auxiliary nurse for a number of years he sought further education and training to qualify as a psychiatric nurse and, later, as a counsellor. This career trajectory corresponds to his level of educational attainment and defines his socioeconomic progression:

By looking at what education provides, which is what I think I did, I knew that in order to progress I needed to get as good an education as possible. I know you need education in
order to advance in any society, not necessarily book learning. You could go to the jungle and, at first, you could be ignorant of the local people’s point of view, but by observing them and learning from them you increase your standing in that community, so it is not just theoretical or bookwork; it is skills. As you get more educated, you learn that you need to budget. I wanted to get a good job in order to earn enough to have a reasonably good standard of living and going back to the education again, I think you need the education in order to get the wage to live the life-style [Mr Phillip/Denton/2010].

Until the 1970s, Mr Phillip lived in a racially heterogeneous community in Balham, South London. During his years there, he met the woman who would become his wife. She was a midwife, born in London to an Irish immigrant family. They were married in 1971 and had their first of three children, daughter Felicia, in 1972. That same year, when Felicia was six weeks old, the family left London and moved to work as nurses in a small, predominantly white, community in Humberside, where their sons Frampton and Freddie were born in 1973 and 1977 respectively. The children always lived with their parents and during their childhood years, Mrs Phillip stayed home to care for them while Mr Phillip worked as a nurse in full time employment.

In 1974, the family migrated to Saudi Arabia where, Mr Phillip said, “opportunities for nurses were plentiful and wages were higher than in England”. There, he worked as a specialist nurse in an American military hospital, and was able to save towards homeownership in England. The family returned to England in 1975 and, upon their return, lived in a trailer park in Humberside for a short time before they purchased their first home. A few years later, the family, with three children, purchased a bigger home in an upwardly mobile community in a Manchester suburb.

Family Case 2: Generation 2

The Phillip’s children were brought up in predominantly white upwardly mobile communities, most in which they were the only bi-racial family. Although of mixed-race heritage, they were identified as blacks and were treated with race related reservation in their local communities. Felicia explained that as a youngster, “I always felt as a misfit and that I was responsible for my race”. According to her, she felt expected to have behaviours that would not reflect her individuality, but the racial group with which she was identified. This was understood in terms of behaviours that were acceptable and those that were not. She explained:

As a child I always felt that it [being an ambassador for my race (Diary 2 note, 2010)] meant don’t do anything wrong because not only will you be judged as an individual but you will damage black people. Because other people will have a lower opinion of all black people if you do things wrong, and it will be - oh well that’s just black people. Even now as an adult woman, I am not immediate in expressing anger. Because, in growing up, obvious anger was associated with being savage, and being a savage meant being black and working-class [Felicia/Hyde/2010].
This extract, above, offers insights into how notions of race and social class informed life in the upwardly mobile communities in which the Phillips lived. Such life, Felicia recounted, involved losing friends whose parents were opposed to their association with blacks, and isolation and negative stereotypes that she and her brothers experienced for the sake of their non-whiteness:

When I was growing up I lived in a little village and there was me and my brothers who were black/brown children and there was a boy called David - that was it. Everybody else was white. I never had any black friends because there weren't any black people to be friends with. I think that people just see black men almost like a stereotype, like they gonna be tough, they gonna be gangsters. I am sure things have not changed that much. I remember that both my brothers had been asked, if they went into town, they would be asked for drugs and neither of them were into drugs, and they would find it offensive that people would assume they had drugs or they were selling drugs because of the way they look. And I know for myself one girl I was friends with, her parents told her not to be friends with me anymore because I was a junkie. I did not know what a junkie was at the time and I don't think she did either. I was about 14 [years old]. This made me feel like an outsider, because a few people's parents had said to my friends do not hang about with me anymore because I was a bad influence. But I certainly was not into drugs. I did not have any exposure to drugs when I was growing up. I think I was the kind of person who would try them if they were around. But it was not what people were doing when I was a teenager [Felicia/Hyde/2010].

Because they were the only black/mixed-race family in the local communities in which they lived, they did not have many friends. The family's response to this experience, revealed in their accounts, was guided by their belief in their ability to do better for themselves. Felicia intimated that in their “family, one of the defences against prejudice is an attitude of better than”; meaning, above prejudice and failure of any sort. Her parents were motivated by a desire for a better life for themselves and their children, who were brought up to value educational attainment and aspire to high-status occupation. According to Felicia, they were encouraged and guided to do well at school, and to connect their learning with occupational aspiration:

When I was really young and we lived in Saudi Arabia, my Dad made me posters to put on my wall - like the alphabet and then there was the numbers from 1 to a 100. He has always made me feel like it [going to school] was important and he would always shine my shoes for me. People would go to school and have a carrier bag with their stuff, and nobody really bothered about what they carried their stuff in, but he would always be like, “don't go like that!” He would be more proud. They both would go to parents'-teachers' meetings, and have always been very proud of us and encouraging us, you know. Growing up; if you did a painting, they would say, “you could be an artist”; if you did a dance, they would say “you could be a dancer”; if you sing a song, “you could be
a singer”; if you write something, “you could be an author”. It was take the little things you do and the message was, “if you work on that, you could be” [Felicia/Hyde/2009].

Evident in this extract is that both Mr and Mrs Phillip participated proactively in the educational development of their children, who were bestowed with encouragement and guidance to attain educationally throughout their growing-up and schooling years. These parents did not only facilitate their children’s learning at home but also, being Christians of Catholic faith, ensured that their children attended what they believed were “good Catholic” schools. Felicia explained:

When I went to school, there was me and my brothers. No other black children in primary school. This definitely made me feel like an outsider and a misfit growing up, and in my adult life to not expect to fit in. All my experiences growing up have been in line with white Catholic, white peers going to good Catholic schools. When I was nearly 9 I went to St Paul’s in Hyde. I enjoyed it but I felt stifled - my intellect and opportunity to advance myself. I was way ahead of my peers and I think the school didn’t push me on but kept me treading water while my peers caught up. I was very tall, clever, and precocious. I was very intelligent and I learned things quickly [Felicia/Hyde/2010].

Mr Phillip held the Catholic schools, which his children attended, in very high regards, but he did not believe that this was a significant factor in their level of achievement. Instead, he believes that “it is only God” and “God only helps those who help themselves”. Though he identifies himself as a Christian, his children had not attended church, neither Sunday school, during their growing up years but, he said, both he and his wife “had very high expectations” of them.

Mrs Phillip was responsible for keeping the home and overseeing matters that related to the children’s education but, according to Mr Phillip, “she consulted with” him to help guide their educational development and school experience. Felicia relates this level of their parental involvement in their educational development to their social class identity:

I am middle-class because I am a professional woman. I have a degree, I have studied beyond that. My parents are professional people and I’d think we are aspirant. In education, having a family that has aspiration in GCSEs, not to be well that’s done, you are finished. You do it so that you can do your A-levels and you do your A-levels so that you can do your degree, and you do your degree so that you can get a good job, and in the job, there is still a lot to be learned. It’s just that attitude, that there is always new skills to develop and new understanding to achieve and that you can achieve it through hard work, diligence and paying attention, and that you will not sit back and say, “alright!, I have got the job now, that’s me done for life” [Felicia/Hyde/2010].

Felicia and her brothers attained well at key stages (App.IX) in their compulsory schooling and went on to college, university, and professional employment. Their father, Mr Phillip, explained:
My daughter got her degree in psychology. My first boy [Frampton] got a degree in theatre and costume design and the younger lad [Freddie] got a degree in philosophy, of all things. I think he got 2-1s in that. So that’s really good. At the present time, my daughter qualified as a counsellor as well, and she is working in a school as a behaviour support worker. I think that’s the title for it. [Frampton], the older lad, I think he is a little bit disappointed. He went to America for a good number of years - for up to eight years to Los Angeles and he was hoping that, with his degree, he would be able to get into the film industry. That was an ambition but, unfortunately, it didn’t work out, so he qualified in things like life coaching and fitness training and various other things. So he had a very constructive time out there [Mr Phillip/Denton/2010].

Felicia relates her level of educational attainment to experiences of her upbringing that “was very supportive and pro-education”. From her early years in Saudi Arabia to her junior years at school, she said that her parents “continuously reminded” them that they could achieve a lot because they “are clever”. Felicia explained that, “as a child”, she aspired “to become an archaeologist”, an aspiration which, she said, was influenced by television programs that she was encouraged to watch. Throughout her teenage years she nurtured various healthcare related occupational aspirations, which include being a “physiotherapist and a psychotherapist”. After university, she worked as a behaviour support worker and in her current employment, at a secondary school, she works as a teacher and behaviour support manager – positions to which she was promoted after working as a counsellor and a team leader for student support services.

All three of the Phillips’ children had been married. Frampton and Freddie did not have any children during the time of my fieldwork. Felicia was married for eighteen years, which she considered a success. Her ex-husband is white British and they have three children who were born and are being brought up in an affluent suburb in Lancashire. She explained that her decision to settle in that community was based on her “satisfaction that the children would integrate”. She said that she has “very high aspirations” for her children but wants them to make their “own decision about their profession”. This attitude towards education and profession connects the Phillips from one generation to the next and is indicative of cultural continuity.

Felicia noted, “having parents from a professional background has been important” in shaping her aspiration to achieve the same. She is now undertaking her postgraduate studies, which she likened to her father who, after having qualified as a psychiatric nurse, attained further qualifications to become a counsellor. Other than aspiration to attain educationally, Felicia mentioned that her “parents had very high expectations” of her and “encouraged” her “to study hard to achieve” and to “believe” in her abilities. In these similar ways to her parents, who were active in guiding her school experience and educational and occupational outcomes, she believes it is her “obligation to extend the same level of support” to her own children.
Felicia believes that her children were born with their intelligence, but it needed to be nurtured so that their abilities could develop. She maintains that her “family is responsible for providing them with the environment and stimulus” to attain educationally, and, so far, this has reflected in all three of them being “keen learners and doing well at school”. She also credits the community in which her children are being brought up with their “educational success” thus far, but more so that both she and her ex-husband - who is an engineer, “co-operate to ensure that there is minimal disturbance to their development” and that they do well educationally.

**Family Case 2: Generation 3**

Frederick is Felicia’s first child and only son. He attended state primary and secondary schools in Hyde and Stockport where he attained well educationally. Like his grandfather and mother before him, he said that from an early age he was encouraged to connect educational attainment with realising a high standard of living and better employment prospect in adult life:

> My parents encourage me to do well. Always about learning, education, working hard and striving to do better. I do gardening with my grandfather and he encourages me to do well. Education and school set you up better for the future. Give you a better chance of getting a better-paid job; give you better opportunity in later life. More money and a better standard of life. Buy a big house and nicer things. I’d prefer to live in a bigger house than a smaller one. Give you more room, more comfort [Frederick/Hyde/2010].

According to his mother, Felicia, Frederick was “always in high ability streams” throughout his compulsory schooling. He attained nine A*-C exam grades and is currently pursuing studies in Accounting, Economics, Psychology, and English Literature at college. He hopes to progress on to university to study “maybe psychology”. Frederick’s motivation to do well educationally is linked to a desire for material comfort. He said that he “would like one day to own a nice big house with a lot of space” - a psychological connection between education and material comfort that can hardly be overlooked. He “enjoys reading and finds learning and passing exams very easy”, which, he thinks, is “a bit unusual for a boy”. His experiences suggest that his penchant for reading and learning is derived from his early childhood experience - he was born when his mother was attending university. She said that he “has always been exposed to literature”.

Frederick and his sisters are being brought up in a predominantly white community, but his experiences are different from those of his grandparent and parent. Unlike his mother, who felt like a misfit, he feels integrated in his community and does not identify with a social class:

> I feel pretty integrated in society. I don’t have a social class and have never really given it any thought. I achieved high grades at GCSC level. That’s the only achievement I’ve got. I don’t enjoy learning but I find it easy to take in information. I don’t know if that helps or my upbringing. I have always had a healthy and safe upbringing. Never had
any serious problems that have affected me, so I suppose that’s good. I have always been supported [educationally] by my parents and grandparents. If I did not go to school I would get in trouble with my parents. I have had experiences where I felt that I hate school but not any that I felt I did not want to go back. It’s never because of bullying or anything like that, but more because of just not enjoying the lessons. At my college, I could decide what I wanted to do because I got quite high results. I imagine if you did not get good results maybe you would be put in a course you did not want to do. The alternative is not going to college and starting to work [Frederick/Hyde/2010].

Frederick’s experiences, noted here, must be seen in relation to those of his grandparent and parent. His mother’s experience of being a misfit influenced her attitude and socialisation of her children. Her decision about settlement was guided by employment opportunities and her desire for a stable community with “good opportunities” for her children. This attitude must be seen within the context of a tradition of migration and settlement that underlie better educational and socioeconomic opportunities. However, as illustrated here among the second and third generations, this is not limited to employment and educational opportunities, but extends to security, safety, and an environment where children fit in, i.e., are comfortable and integrated.

**4.4 Case Study 3 - The William Family**

**Family Case 3: Generation 1**

Mr William came to England in 1959 from Jamaica, where he had attended basic school, which he completed at the age fifteen without qualifications of any kind. From the age of fifteen until he emigrated, at the age of twenty-one, he had worked as an odd-jobber with his father and numerous older brothers. He explained that, “there wasn’t much to do in Jamaica”, so he came to England, and had hoped to join the Royal Air Force [RAF] but he had a “bad leg” and failed the induction in 1961. During his early days here, he lived with his older brother in Chorlton-on-Medlock where, according to him, “there was a lot of racism in the streets” but he “liked the peace in the community and felt comfortable”. Also, he said, he “wanted to explore unfamiliar territories” in hope of leading a better life that he believed “God wanted” for him. Reasonably soon after he arrived in Chorlton-on-Medlock, he met the woman who has since been his wife:

> When I came, I had a few girlfriends and after a year, I settled down and married with this lady. I met my wife in Charlton-on-Medlock and we had one child in 1962. I have two children; one boy, one girl. She had one child before. I married her because everybody got married. You had to get married. You couldn’t go on living over the brush. The system was like - you get married after you court [Mr William/OT/2010].

Mrs William is white British and had attended primary school, which she completed at age fourteen. Before she met and married Mr William, she had one female child from a previous
relationship and had been ostracised by her family for having a child out of wedlock. Mr William adopted her daughter. The family had two other children - Wilton who was born in Chorlton-on-Medlock in 1962 and Wilma who was born in Old Trafford in 1964. According to Mr William, “life was hard and the children was not accepted by their mother’s family, so they grow up as blacks” and, during their younger years, were cared for by different neighbours. Mrs William, however, was not always happy with the quality of care that the neighbours provided and sometimes she stayed home to care for them, during which time, with the help of the children, she assembled hand purses for a salesman who collected them twice a week.

Mr William noted that they were familiar with the local Caribbean communities in Ardwick, Longsight, and Moss Side. These communities share a border with Chorlton-on-Medlock where he first lived. Many of his friends still live in these communities and he visits them frequently for socials. According to him, during the early days “there was nowhere else for black people to go”, but he had no desire to settle in any of the local Caribbean communities. In 1963, the family moved to Old Trafford, where, he said, there were hardly any non-white people:

When I moved to this place, it was very quiet. The peace and quiet was like in Jamaica. I live here and I find it easy. There was a few Caribbeans in Ardwick and Longsight, but I just felt like spreading myself out. I use to move around with people in Moss Side but I didn’t have the feelings to settle there [Mr William/OT/2010].

He felt comfortable in Old Trafford and the family was eventually able to purchase a home, which, he claimed, “was an important t'ing” because the prevalence of racism meant “blacks couldn’t get” access to the limited number of rental properties in the community. He intimated:

When I came to Old Trafford, I stayed with my cousin for one year. This house was for sale so I inquired and buy it. It was £1,300.00. The management people from the Water Board was living here so they was moving out and the house was up for sale. I paid down some money and buy it. I got a mortgage in 1966 from the Corporation that use to cover here, the Stretford Corporation. It was from the Council. It was not too hard because we just applied and we had a child so that was a big t'ing and it made it easier. It was easier to get help if you had children than if you single. When we got this place, it was hard but we cope until we could manage. Sometimes you had a job and other times you don’t. T’ings was hard during the 70s coming up to the 80s. Although I was working, t’ings was tight and there was no black counsellors [Mr William/OT/2010].

Mr and Mrs William worked in local factories as production line operatives. Mr William’s first job in England was a “general dog’s body” at an ice cream factory in Hyde. He said that there were “a lot of factory jobs” and they worked overtime to supplement their income. However, their work life and ability to find work were interrupted from the 1970s and throughout the 1980s when the introduction of mechanical processes resulted in a decline in the manual industries.
He explained, “they brought machines and one machine could do ten man’s work and there was a lot of redundancies”. During that time, both he and his wife lost their jobs and received state assistance in the form of social benefits, i.e., financial assistance, to help them to satisfy their basic needs. He believed, however, that the hardship had caused some people to become dependent on social benefits and qualified this by saying that “it was easier to get social money than work”. But, he claimed, he “hated to get money like that” so he kept on looking for work, even though “the money was very small”. Moreover, he was aware of opportunities by which he could improve his skills and, when he was unemployed, he tried courses at the local college:

I tried some courses at the college. I wanted to get into politics. I use to move around with some people from the polytechnic and we would have meetings about the t’ings that was going on in Zimbabwe and South Africa - that use to bug me. The students [from the Polytechnic] use to tell me about socialism and we use to discuss the socialist paper. They was all white. I was the only black. They would say that there was no black counsellors, so I tried the course to become one, but I didn’t do the whole course because I knew I wouldn’t get the job, but I tried it because it was a way to get on. They was not interested in me. Maybe they tink I was not clever enough. The policy is, you really have to know what you getting yourself in. It was not like now. They would turn you down and say well “you only a black man why would I give him that job”. Those days it was hard to get into t’ings like that. I wanted to but they didn’t allow me. I did other courses in woodwork and computer to get on, but that was it. I didn’t have to pay for the course. There was only a few blacks who did courses, a lot of them wasn’t interested in that, but one or two would come. Most people was just interested in what they could get, they took life as it come, they just wanted to work and get on, but there was no jobs. Your colour was part of it because a lot of people would see you come there and they wouldn’t give you job because you black. They would grab the white man but they wouldn’t grab the black man. This was part of the system that you couldn’t get a job. No matter what skill you have, if you go for a job they would tell you you too experience for what they looking for. It was like that [Mr William/OT/2010].

Mr William explained that the course in computing was arranged by the local Council to help him to get a job at the local Post Office, but he “failed the first part and didn’t go back”. He is a devout Christian but, as a youngster in Jamaica, he had attended Rastafari meetings and learned about black empowerment and passive resistance. However, he remained loyal to his Christian faith and believes that his destiny and life’s achievement are designated by God:

Religion is everything to me. I believe in God. God decide my course in life. He brought me here from Jamaica so it is what God want for me. Maybe I could have more, but it’s what God wanted for me. I use to send the children to church and Sunday school when they was likkle [young] but they don’t go anymore [Mr William/OT/2010].
Mr William’s limited education meant that he was also limited in his ability to participate in his children’s educational development. Moreover, he believes that “woman can understand children better than man” and his children’s “education was the responsibility of their mother”, although his sentiment, expressed in the following extract, is that Caribbean youngsters are generally unlikely to rely on their elders for educational and socioeconomic guidance:

Parents can’t decide what their children will do because children are hard headed. I don’t like to see the young people not taking the opportunities and making progress. They are not making progress because they want to get on - but they want someone to do t’ings for them. We have a community but we are weak. We are not like Asians who plan ahead. When I come here the number of Asians living here, you could count on one hand. But now, a lot of us will be working for them and a lot of them come here from nowhere like refugees and on back-a-boat like the Polish. They come here without experience and they build themself up and employ a lot of people, but our people are not like that. Sometimes I think about our people and I feel down-hearted because now they have so much opportunity and they not taking it. Some of the parents don’t have knowledge, but the kids grow up with more knowledge than us and they use it for drugs and steal. The parents won’t encourage them to go to university because they don’t know any. A lot of the parents can read just a likkle [little] letter and a likkle [little], but they don’t know to go further. That is the same t’ing with our children; just follow what most of us did. Sometimes I try to tell them somet’ing. The boys, they sit in the barbershop doing not’ing. They t’ink I’m an old man and I don’t know anyt’ing, but they not going nowhere because they don’t know how to propel their self forward. They don’t have the guts like the Asians. If I live a million years I will try to pull them out of the muck and tell them don’t do it like that, but they won’t listen [Mr William/OT/2010].

Mr William thinks, “most of us expect t’ings to drop in our lap”, and, although some youngsters are encouraged to do better, “they want to find their own way and won’t take telling from their parents”. By this statement, he implies a cultural imperative for them to take responsibility for their outcomes, which he qualifies by saying that “they want to make their own mistake”.

**Family Case 3: Generation 2**

The William’s children, Wilton and Wilma, were brought up in Old Trafford during the 1960s and 1970s - a time when bi-racial children were uncommon. According to Wilma, they were “rejected” by their extended families but their “mother insisted” on them knowing who they were because “white women with brown children” when they were growing up “just did not happen”. Because of their mixed-race and dual Caribbean-English heritage, they were treated differently by their neighbours and extended families who frequently “insulted” them and scoffed at their complexion with comments such as “it is a shame they should have to grow up
with this colour”. Wilma intimated that they were not allowed to “go out or answer the door because the neighbours were all white”. Discipline was strictly enforced, she explained:

Mother has been the stable influence in our life. Dad was there, but it was mainly my Mum. If we’d done something wrong she would say – “wait till your Dad gets home!” Because he would be the one to dish out the punishment. But she would never tell him because she knew what would happen [Wilma/OT/2010].

Wilma and Wilton were brought up with their parents’ religious principles. They attended Sunday school that, she claimed, “was good” and that she “enjoyed” but stopped when she was “about 14” because she was not “interested”. They attended primary school in Old Trafford and progressed to single sex secondary schools where they were placed in low ability streams in which neither of them did well. Wilma acknowledged, though, that their parents encouraged them to go to school:

We were encouraged but I could have done with a bit of a prod to achieve better. Dad never bothered, he would be on the sofa sleeping or watching TV and Mum helped, when she could, with basic homework and stuff but she did not know much. She used to make me chant the times-tables but I never picked them up [Wilma/OT/2010].

Because both parents went out to work, Wilma said that she and Wilton were “latch key children”, and learned to do most things for themselves from an early age. She elaborated:

Most kids had to do that kind of thing because parents had to go out to work. The family could not survive on one income. I did not have any aspiration or anything. I always knew that I wanted to be either a lorry driver or a spy. These were my ideas of being anything. But being a spy wasn’t going to happen because I don’t have the intelligence. A lorry driver - I could get away with. I remember in secondary school the teacher asked me what I wanted to be and I said a lorry driver. She said it was unusual but I thought, she’s not going to tell me how to attain my goal [Wilma/OT/2010].

Wilma finished compulsory schooling at the age of fifteen without having sat any final exams and, therefore, does not have educational qualifications. Wilton’s experiences were similar, like Wilma, he finished compulsory schooling without educational qualifications. She explained:

I think my brother had more of a raw deal than I had. He use to sleep in his classes and the teachers would never tell my Mum. Teachers did not communicate with parents back then. I think they saw him as a black male who was lazy. They think well, black children are lazy anyway so that’s why he was falling asleep. It turned out that he had tuberculosis that was undiagnosed for years. Mum managed to get rid of it. I never noticed he was lazy. But again, he was a lad and lads are treated differently at school than girls. Girls can get away with a lot more than lads [Wilma/OT/2010].
Wilton had his first child, daughter Wynant, at age twenty-three and has three other children, all by different white mothers. Wilma intimated that he once had a job as a bus driver that he quit due to a foot illness, and has been unemployed for most of his working life. She explained:

[Wilton] always had a dream. He loves his music and would play really good music for free. I use to tell him to charge for it but he wouldn't. I use to ask him to do some tapes and I would go about in London and promote them for him, but he never did. I feel sorry for him really. It's really sad because he has been good from being a kid but he has never had the drive or whatever [Wilma/OT/2010].

Wilton may have had non-academic related interests because, according to Wilma, “he is good with other things; very good driver, very technically minded”, but she did not think “he knew where to go to get what he needed”. She compared this with the women in her family:

The females in our family are more eager to achieve the things we want. If we need something or need to go somewhere or do something, we will find out how to do it, which is what I think I have done. In my family, it's the way it has been. The males wait for others to do it but Dad must have had something to bring himself from Jamaica and put himself through what he did just because he wanted a better life. He would walk for miles to go and find work. But when I look at the lads that have come through in our family, who are my brother's age, I think they have attained only what they wanted to, which is nothing. I have a cousin who said, "I will only work when I need something. If I don't need anything then I won't work, I will go on the dole". He says he is Rasta and once he made his way to Jamaica and Africa to live the life with the tribe where he said our family came from but he didn't last [Wilma/OT/2010].

When Wilma left school, she “applied for a few jobs but did not get any” so, according to her, she went on the “dole” because “that's what most people did”. At the age of sixteen she started a “YTS in computers”, which she did not complete because she had “a Christmas job at Boots the chemist”. Since then, she has worked as an odd jobber in various cities - Birmingham Edinburgh, London - but has recently moved back to the local community in Old Trafford where she was brought up. She currently works as an administrative assistant for a charity in the local Caribbean community in Moss Side. Her responsibility is to “assist unaccompanied minors who do not have a status, who come to the UK from abroad to find a home and [social] benefits”.

Wilton lives in a house that a neighbour bequeathed to her mother. To her, “having a house is about being independent”, but also “there is a level of respect when you have your own house”. She does not identify with a social class but, in her own words, does “have snobberies”. She thinks that the house in which she lives is a white-collar worker's house and where her parents live is a working-class area. She explained that the people who live on her side of the road read The Guardian newspaper which she herself reads, but, according to her, she does not think of
herself as middle class because she has “always done stuff” with her “hands”. Although she now works using a computer, she intimated that, “if tomorrow I lose my job I would go and sweep toilets and would do anything for work”. She believes she needs “to work to feed her family and get on with life”. She has not been married and reasoned:

I don’t intend to. I don’t think I am the marrying kind. I don’t trust men basically. And it is from childhood. I don’t think my Mum should be with my Dad. I think he is horrible to her. I love my Dad but I think my Mum comes from an era where the man rules and if he said something then you just do it. But it should not be like that. It should be a partnership and he was not very fair to her. Sometimes she had to go to the loan shark because she was too scared to tell him there was no money while he had money and I knew he could help, but he would prefer her to struggle. I love my brother too but I am not happy with the way he treats women. That’s why a woman needs to work because she cannot rely on a man [Wilma/OT/2010].

Wilma has one child, son Wayne, who was born in 2002. Wayne’s father is white British but she insists Wayne is black and wants to raise him as “a black child”. She is not happy with his performance at school and thinks, “if he was a girl there are things that would not be said or done to him at school”. She believes the headmistress is biased against him because, according to her, “she knows I am not married and they want it to be perfect like a Catholic school”.

**Family Case 3: Generation 3**

There are five grandchildren in the Williams’ family. The eldest, Wilton’s first daughter Wynant, was born in 1985. She lives with Mr and Mrs William who adopted her after her biological [white British] mother, who was addicted to class A drugs to which she eventually lost her life, neglected her when she was a child. Wilton’s other three children are estranged from the family, and very little is known of their whereabouts. Wilma said that she is “disappointed in them but it’s their own doing because they don’t listen to adults, they want to find their own way”. Her son, Wayne, attends the local primary school about which she said:

Parents don’t push their children as hard. I know he is a bit lazy so he needs a good push. I’ve gotten him some Maths and English course. I spent over two grand but I’ve been lazy and not done it with him...he would do it if I sit with him. I know I need to get him into a routine to do the work that is put in front of him. I don’t think that his school does that much. His reading at his age [of 9] is better than mine was. I am not totally happy with his reading though. I think the school don’t place a lot of emphasis on things like reading because they think the parents will do it. They want him to read at home, but the teachers don’t read with him. That annoys me about the school. I think they should read with him as well. I don’t go to the parent’s-‘teachers’ because I don’t like the teachers, I think I will lose my head if I go [Wilma/OT/2010].
Wilma feels that her son is “being picked” on at school because he is a black male who lives with an unmarried mother, and that “the teachers think he is not doing well because he is black and well black children are lazy anyway”. She wishes that she “had a better paying job” and could afford to send him to a fee paying Catholic school, which she thinks is better equipped to meet the educational needs of children like her son. However, she cannot afford this so he will continue at his current school even though, she claims, “the teachers don’t like him and don’t care about him”.

4.5 Case Study 4 – The Andrew Family

Family Case 1: Generation 1

Mr and Mrs Andrew came to England from Jamaica during the 1950s. Their son Andy explained that they were both functionally illiterate, having come from “what we call the bush” where it was unusual to have attended school. According to him, they had come to work. He elaborated:

They were told that they were called to Britain by their queen, their second mother, to work and help develop the motherland. There was a lot of excitement about Britain because there was a lot of wealth here and they hoped to build their life and go back home. Once they got here, life was different. No preparation was made by the Crown to receive them. They were thrown into a sceptical society. They hoped to work for their country but were viewed as aliens. Mind you, this was in the era of the skinheads and the flip blades. They quickly found out that they had come to this country to help people who did not like you and did not want you [Andy/Mcr/2011].

Mr and Mrs Andrew settled in the local Caribbean community in Longsight, where they first met and would eventually marry. They both worked at local factories, but Mrs Andrew later set up and operated a Sheeben from which, Andy explained, she earned a relatively high income:

Mum could not read neither write but she made a lot of money in the Sheeben. It was one of the first ones where West Indians could come and socialise - have a drink, shop, gamble, and eat. The men would come straight from work; spend all their money and what little they had left would be taken by white women. She made a lot of money and bought a house. We were one of the first black families to own a house in Longsight. White people would say nasty things but she would still be nice to them. Life in Longsight was a real hustle. We were poor but it was good that we had a house and we did not have to sleep rough. It’s black people, even if they poor they still have pride, they won’t just sleep anywhere, they must have a house [Andy/Mcr/2011].

Mr and Mrs Andrew are now deceased, but Andy said that they lived their final years in a geriatric nursing home in the local Caribbean community in Manchester.
**Family Case 4: Generation 2**

Mrs Andrew had nine children. Some of them, who were born in Jamaica, also came to England to work during the 1950s and 1960s. They are settled in Hackney and Clapham in London and Moss Side in Manchester. Andy, the youngest of the nine children, was born in Longsight in 1967. The following extract offers an insight into his early-years experiences:

In the 1970s, there were some difficulties and Mum went back to Jamaica and took me with her. Life [in Jamaica] was based on how, where, and when to find food. As a child, I would go all around the bush doing odd jobs for food and I could bring home some. Life was difficult so we came back here in 1977. Dad was supposed to meet us at the airport but he didn’t, so we were held in a jail at Heathrow. The immigration phoned my sisters in Clapham and Hackney to see if they would take responsibility for us, but they refused. We were let into the country anyway because the immigration told me I was born here. When we got to Manchester, where my mom had a house, we found out my father had sold it while we were in Jamaica, gambled the money, and remarried an Irish woman. He was an alcoholic and had never been in our life. We tried to stay in Hackney with my sisters but it didn’t work out. It was rough there - it’s like a dump with nothing. The people there are doing nothing. There is a lot of jealousy. Even if you know, as a young man, you are physically able and mentally and intellectually capable of moving forward - you cannot move forward in the community because everyone tells you you can’t. They are self-defeatist. They belong nowhere like the half-caste children. They are like total terror because they don’t belong anywhere. They are no longer West Indians and they can never be British. Then we came to Manchester and Moss Side was the same. By then I was about 10 [years old], and we stayed with my brother in Moss Side. I also have an older sister there [Andy/Mcr/2011].

Andy’s education started in Jamaica, when he was five years old. He explained, “school in Jamaica was like a torture chamber and teachers would make you regret you alive”. Therefore, his early-years experiences of schooling in Jamaica were mostly unpleasant. He explained:

Once Mum had to came to the school to threaten a teacher who had beaten me and bruised my skin. When we came back to England I was 9 [years old] and couldn’t even read, didn’t even know my date of birth or anything. Once we got to Manchester, Mum made every effort to get me into school. There was some difficulty but she eventually got my uniform and I went to a Backyard school [supplementary school] for a while. It was a black lady teaching about five of us children [Andy/Mcr/2011].

At the time, Andy lived in Moss Side and the supplementary school was about three miles away in Fallowfield. His mother travelled the distance every day with him. He eventually started at a
state primary school in Withington about which he said, “that’s when my nightmare started”. He explained that he “felt alone”, because the same year that he started primary school, his older sister had moved on to secondary school so, according to him, he did not have any “support or anything”. He progressed from primary school to secondary school in Gorton:

Once I got to Gorton my older sister left so I was alone again. Gorton was the white version of Moss Side and very racist. There were other Jamaicans, but I had a Jamaican accent so I stood out. I struggled in everything except PE [physical education]. I didn't get anything out of school. I failed everything. You were just a number and my mother couldn't read or write so she couldn't help me. My mother never came to the school. My family are like retards. West Indian parents don't speak English, they don't even know their date of birth, and they feel intimidated by the school system so they just don't come. But it was not Mum's fault because she didn't know better. But my [older] sisters and brother could read and write and they would never come to parents-'teachers', so to the teacher you are just a number without representative. They bothered with those who had representative. I failed in everything and when I was 16 [years old] I did a scheme [YTS] in painting but they sacked me before I could finish it [Andy/Mcr/2011].

Andy was brought up with Christianity but he stopped going to church at the age of thirteen:

When I was 13, I questioned what Christ had done for me or my parents. Christianity came from the white man’s perspective and it is the slave masters religion. The Christian god is a lazy god who does not do anything for the black man. Christianity neutralises you. It took away our freedom and fighting spirit. We also have a fatherless community so for most people who don’t have a father to whip their butt, Christ became their daddy. Other than Tupac them, we didn't have role models, but then the Abukakers had a convincing story. They were telling the black man he could achieve things. The only other option we had was Rastafari that came from blacks but Rastafari didn't have information. Islam’s story was about Africa and liberation from slavery. I converted to Islam when I was 16 and married a Pakistani Muslim when I was 19. She knew Arabic and I wanted to learn the Quran, but it didn’t work out. I found out they are oppressive and racist and only stole from the black man [Andy/Mcr/2011].

Andy explained that their role model when they were growing up was Tupac [Shakur 1971-1996], the slain rap artist whose song themes were based on poverty and hardship in inner cities, conflicts with peers, *ghetto culture*, racism, and societal conflicts [see App.X for transcripts of some of his hit lyrics]. [Rolling Stone Magazine (2011) named Shakur the 86th greatest artist of all time]. Andy’s experiences in the following extract revealed that these themes resonated with his social reality when he was a youngster, and new world religions helped him to make sense of his less than favourable educational and socioeconomic outcomes:
In the 1980s, the Abubakers and Rastafari tried to tell the black man that he could do something. Then we had drugs, so that was the first time the black man could achieve something in this country, because Cocaine meant that within weeks you could drive a 4x4, own an Uzi, and make lots of money. For our parents to prove their worth as black people they had to die in the factories. But in the 80s the black man could scramble from the dirt, we say in our language: lick the Crack between the white man's toes and make lots of money. But the Crack messed up the black man. It took me away from my family and my babies. Once you in it you can't get out. It makes you feel invincible that you could jump a cliff or sell your mother's bicycle to get money for it. It caused a lot of problems too. There was a lot of warfare in the ghetto - people were fighting for [drug] turf and there was a lot of killing. A lot of aggression - people were instigating trouble. But now, it's different, people are keeping on their side of the fence and waiting for trouble rather than instigating it. Two of my youngsters [ghetto brothers] were gunned down in Cheetham Hill a couple years ago; one was 17 and the other 19 - just from jail. They were checking out the scene there and they were sacrificed”. They say it's black on black but it's the white man that's behind it. Cheetham Hill is part of Salford, a white version of Moss Side with gangsters, skinheads, and roughnecks [Andy/Mcr/2011].

Andy's experiences in the two previous extracts suggest that Islamic rhetoric of liberation and achievement during the 1980s coincided with the popularisation of drug dealing as a way of life in the local Caribbean community in which he lived. He started using class A drugs from the age of fourteen, and has been using Crack-cocaine for a number of years. He said that he has had help from the local clinic to quit, but he believes that "once you in it you cannot get out of it":

The difference between Cocaine and Crack is like an empty gun and a fully loaded gun. Crack is fully loaded and life threatening, once you hook you can't get off. It's the government that putting Crack in the black community to destroy the black man. They control the ports and the import of it. A brother introduced me to it. I had gotten him some Crack and he asked me to shoot with him. The way it works is, the Crack is on the table and we both take a share. The shares that you take you have to give to your brother [other] so it's equal and there won't be trouble [Andy/Mcr/2011].

Andy noted that, over the past decade, there have been notable changes in the local Caribbean community in Manchester. He said, “people's attitudes are different, they are waiting for trouble rather than instigating it”. These changes are linked to investments in the community. He said:

They build an ASDA for us but now they call the area Hulme, but it's Moss Side. They think it's a good thing and good things cannot be in Moss Side. Now they give us an ASDA with cheap food so the black man can go beg for job, but the black man says he is not doing that, he prefers to sell some Crack to feed his family [Andy/Mcr/2011].
He intimated that “the ASDA”, as opposed to a “Sainsbury”, is an acknowledgement of the poor quality of life in the community because it is “cheap food”, but it provides jobs in the community. In addition to job offers, he has had other opportunities to help him lead a different life and has participated in various programmes - but he is intent on his current way of life:

Once, I worked as a cleaner for over 600 days without being sick or anything and they still sacked me. Racist Jews, don’t like black people. Now they trying to get me back into work but I am a real gangster. I work as a middle man between the people who want to buy drugs and the people who sell it. Because of all the trouble and risk of getting ripped off, buyers prefer to deal with me, because I am a good guy who won't rip them off. So I get him his drug without him coming to the ghetto for it, and the seller gets his money without leaving the ghetto. I get my cut and there’s no trouble. I am everybody’s friend. Buyers and sellers are happy with me because I eliminate the risks of getting ripped off. I have been using drugs since I was 14, and have used every kind of drug you can think of, so I know where to get any and every thing. If the police catch me they will call me a dealer but I am only the middle man and I have to pay for my habit [Andy/Mcr/2011].

Andy had his first child, daughter Andrea, in 1980. He was fourteen years old at the time, the same age at which he started using class A drugs. Andrea’s mother was then a seventeen-year-old second-generation Caribbean of bi-racial parentage - a Barbadian mother and a white British father. He explained that he was “shielded” from being a father because his mother was concerned about the legal implication of his teenage fatherhood. Andrea was brought up by his older sister who, he said, is “nasty, wicked and lives like dogs”.

**Family Case 4: Generation 3**

Andrea lived with her paternal aunt until she was twelve years old, when she moved back to live with her biological mother. The families live on a social housing estate in the local Caribbean community in Moss Side. Andy explained, Andrea “had always been a problem child and dropped out of school”, and she “tries to be a gangster” like him “but it does not look good on a girl”. Like her mother, Andrea had her first child at the age of seventeen, and subsequently had four other children by different fathers, according to Andy, “in the same order as her mother; first a black, then a mixed-race, then three blacks, all without fathers, all different fathers. She has never had a proper job. She gets [social] benefits”.

Andy has two other young children about whom he said, “I don’t know what they will do when they grow up, it will be up to them”. The children are living with their white-British mother in the local Caribbean community in Moss Side, Manchester.
4.6 Reflection

The educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes of four families, as relayed by their member who participated in the inquiry, have been analysed and presented as case studies in this chapter. The families, which were all different, espoused diversity in structures but, nonetheless, offered intimate insights into the participants’ social world and their cultures. Moreover, in keeping with the purpose of the inquiry, the case studies revealed the participants’ notions of a better life and some patterns of educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes across three generations in their families. However, discernible trajectories were pronounced. For instance, the participants who had attained educationally as a means by which they realised a better life in British society achieved varied successes in socioeconomic domains that corresponded to their levels of educational attainment. Their outcomes differed from those of the participants who had not attained educationally and who sought low-skilled jobs, social benefits, or underhand means from which they received an income to satisfy their basic needs.

The differences in educational and socioeconomic outcomes among the participants, across the generations, corresponded to patterns of quality of life that can be understood as a continuum with a better life at one end and a basic life at the other end. The participants who had attained well educationally and progressed in socioeconomic terms, such as the Phillips, can be said to occupy a position closer to a ‘better life’ and the participants who had not attained educationally and remained disadvantaged in socioeconomic terms, such as the Andrews, can be said to occupy a position closer to a ‘basic life’.

These patterns in quality of life were somewhat consistent across three generations in the families, irrespective of the race, gender, or social class to which the participants subscribed. In this regard, influences of race, gender, or social class, although evident in the participants’ lived experiences, seemed of limited significance in shaping their educational and socioeconomic outcomes independently. This leads to speculation that there is something more potent involved in shaping these outcomes. This something is herein postulated as cultural resources, which, as suggested in Chapter 2, the participants would acquire by way of their socialisation in various settings in which they learned their culture and, in effect, what they could achieve or become in educational and socioeconomic terms. These resources, however, remain to be ascertained.

The cases revealed that the family, even with its diversity of structures, was a key setting in which the participants learned what was desirable, achievable, and worth working for – whether directly through guidance from senior members or indirectly through providing templates upon which they modelled their own lives. This it demonstrated in its function as a setting in which life chances were articulated, social identities acquired, and aspirations - particularly educational and socioeconomic ones - were nurtured among the participants, who, in addition to their family, were seen to have been socialised in four other key settings – community, religion, education, and occupation - that form the bases for sociocultural analyses in the next chapter.
5.0 Sociocultural Analyses: Five Key Settings

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents detailed analyses of the participants’ accounts of their lived experiences, which were interrogated in order to 1) identify patterns in their educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes and 2) ascertain the cultural resources that they acquired and used to mediate their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains and that impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression in Britain. The analyses are based on the experiences from across the whole sample, i.e., the ten families and ten individuals who participated in the inquiry. As noted in Chapter 3, pseudonyms are used to protect the identities of the participants - whose family trees and background vignettes are provided in App.IV.

The families are depicted by the Symbol F, which is followed by a family code between 1 and 10 and a generation code between 1 and 3. For instance, F1 depicts family one and F1.1 is the first-generation participants in family one. Similarly, the individuals are depicted by the symbol PP, followed by a participant code between 1 and 10, and a generation code between 1 and 3. As in Chapter 4, the analyses are multi-generational but do not follow a particular chronology. They are developed around the five key settings - family, community, religion, education, and occupation - in which the participants were socialised, acquired, and used cultural resources.

5.2 Family

We saw in Chapter 4 that the family is a key setting in which the participants were socialised and in which they acquired an understanding of themselves, their social world, and the wider British society in which they live. The structures of the families in which they were socialised and acquired these understandings, however, were diverse and, for this reason, the analysis is developed around three main family structures - nuclear family, one-parent household, and extended family – that were discernible in their accounts of their experiences and outcomes.

The analysis, in its purpose to ascertain the cultural resource that the participants acquired by way of their socialisation in their family, and that impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression, also examines some implications of social identities. As will be seen, social identities encompass a range of characteristics by which the participants identified themselves and which informed socialisation processes in their families. The focus, nonetheless, is on analysing their experiences in their family as a setting in which they acquired an understanding of who they are and what they could become in educational and socioeconomic terms. From this analysis, which will be developed around three family structures, will emerge the conclusion that familial influence is a cultural resource that impacts upon the different generations of participants’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression in Britain.
5.2.1 Nuclear Family

The nuclear family structure, which consists of a cohabiting, often married, couple and children, was common among the first-generation participants who were all married within two years of being in Britain. Most of them met their marital partners here, but some had common-law partners in the Caribbean who joined them in married life within a nuclear family here. Their swift adoption of the nuclear family suggests a change in their notion of family, in term of what it looks like, once they settled here. Evidence of this is in the fact that none of them, including some who had children before they came to Britain [F1, F3, F8, F10], had been married before they immigrated, but were all married within two years of being here. This change, evidently, corresponded to the change of society in which they live. Their accounts of their experiences revealed that their being in Britain nudged them towards living within a nuclear family structure because, as Mr William [F5.1] put it, they “could not go on living over the brush”. During the inquiry, the majority of them still lived within this structure, whose continued commonness among them could be attributed to a range of values - that were both personal and societal.

A notable personal value was upon their desire for a better life than the one they had led in the Caribbean. For instance, in Chapter 4 family case 1, Mr Tito [F1.1] explained that they “came with a mind-set to live a different life” - a better life. Moreover, the social climate at the time encouraged marriage and living within a nuclear family, both of which were valued in the wider society and perceived in a positive sense among the first-generation participants whose idea of a better life corresponded to having a family. Married life and nuclear family were, therefore, desirable - for, as Mr William [F5.1] stated, “married people had more respect”. In addition, there were economic advantages to be had from living within a nuclear family. This was shown in the family cases in Chapter 4. During the early days, the families were mobile, even with young children, frequently moving to different addresses with limited financial resources.

The presence of two parents in the households, and fathers in particular, was crucial because, in addition to fathers’ assumed role as disciplinarians in the family, they shared responsibility for the family’s basic needs of food, clothing, and housing. This was articulated by Mr Tito [F1.1] who, speaking on behalf of his generation, intimated that the family was the basis for pooling financial resources because, when they “settled down into working life, the earning was small”. He earned just over £7.00 a week when he started work in 1958 and his wife, who worked as an auxiliary nurse, earned slightly less. Therefore, families with two working adults were better able to support their members economically because, as Wilma [F5.2] said, “families could not survive on one income”. In this regard, it made economic sense to live within a nuclear family in which both parents were in employment. This translated into financial security in the family - in which members’ basic needs could be satisfied or procurement of a better life supported.

It was shown in Chapter 4 that financial security within nuclear families offered a particular advantage to the first-generation participants. This enabled some of them to facilitate better
educational outcomes for themselves and among their children. This they achieved through attaining educational qualifications - irrespective of gender, encouraging their children to attain educationally, attending parents’-teachers’ meetings to understand how they could facilitate educational attainment among their children, providing educational stimulus in the home, and sending their children to supplementary school - where possible. Familial participation in children's educational development of this sort was cogently articulated by Ms Ensley [F7.1]:

When my children started school, I use to help them with their homework. I wanted them to do well. Me and my husband use to go to all [parents'-teachers'] meetings to find out how they was doing. When they came back from school, they had to sit down and do their homework. And their father was good so they was doing really well. When my husband died, I use to ask a brother from our church to come with me [to the school]. I wanted to go and see for myself [that] they was behaving, how they was getting on - their conduct, and I could help them with their homework. We come up here and we did not have any career and I had to train to do something. I didn't come here as a trained nurse. I come here to look for it and it was there for me to get it, and I plunged into it. I wanted them to do the same thing. I wanted that when my children see my life they will think, “I want to imitate my Mum” [Mrs Ensley/OT/2010].

Where first-generation participants were successful in facilitating educational attainment among their children, the account of their experiences revealed that educational attainment as an outcome was encouraged during the early years of their children's socialisation in the family. This was illustrated in Chapter 4 family case 2 in which the Phillips helped their children to understand educational attainment as a precursor to obtaining a high-status occupation in their adult life. Mr Phillip [2.1] confided that his children were fortunate that he and his wife, both professional nurses, were able to educate all three of them - that they attained well educationally and obtained professional employment. Here, as with the Enslies [F7], the second-generation’s socialisation, which their first-generation parents facilitated in a nuclear family, is credited with shaping their educational and socioeconomic outcomes.

This connection between socialisation and educational and socioeconomic outcomes was also apparent among participants who were socialised in nuclear families in which there was a lack of guidance to attain educationally, mainly because of family members' limited familiarity with processes of educational attainment. As Mr William [F5.1] noted, the second generation in such families were likely to copy their parents who “can read a little but don’t know to go further”, and, in effect, have similar educational and socioeconomic outcomes as those of their parents. This was illustrated in Chapter 4 family case 3 in which Wilma [F5.2] revealed in her account that her family life was difficult and, from a young age, she and her siblings were responsible for themselves. They attended school, but education as a means of procuring a better life in adulthood was hardly talked about among family members. Rather, the guidance for a [better] life that they had from their parents was consistent with survival within a context in which
educational attainment was not required. For example, before they were of an age to attend school, they helped their mother to assemble purses for an income. Their contribution, as children, towards the survival of their family was required and valued. In that sense, their family provided them with a template for survival, in adult life, without educational attainment. This pattern in experiences across the generations was also noted in family case 4. There it was shown, in a similar way as Wilma [F5.2] and her siblings in family case 3, Andy’s [F10.2] parents, Mr and Mrs Andrew [F10.1] who were both functionally illiterate, were hardly able to participate in his educational development. Andy [F10.2] learned to read once he had started at a “backyard school” after he was ten years old. From age eleven, he attended a state secondary school from which he would eventually be excluded, and, like Wilma [F5.2] and her siblings, he finished compulsory schooling without having attained educationally.

These second-generation participants, like their parents, maintained themselves through low-skilled work, social benefits, or underhand activities - the most common means of survival in the families in which they were socialised, primarily by their first-generation parents. Both mothers and fathers participated in this process. The fathers’ participation, however, was generally less pronounced. This gave rise to an apparent matrifocality in family life, by which is meant that, unlike mothers, fathers were less visibly involved in the day-to-day care of children. Mr Tito [F1.1] and Mr William [F5.1] exemplified this in Chapter 4 family cases 1 and 3.

These fathers worked long days and, although their presence in the family represented an assurance that their children attended school, they had not been able to participate actively in their children’s day-to-day care and, more specifically, educational development. This, however, is not to say that they had not had any influence in shaping their children’s educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes. For, as was alluded earlier, there was the likelihood that some second-generation participants had copied their parents’ way of life and were likely to have similar educational and socioeconomic outcomes as those of their parents. The influence of their parents in their lives, therefore, seemed to have functioned as a means by which their experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains were mediated.

The less visible participation of first-generation fathers in family life, nonetheless, implies that their second-generation children were socialised to view matrifocality and little visibility of males in family life as normative and to continue these patterns as adults. The accounts of their experiences, however, revealed this was not always the case. While some second-generation fathers, like their first-generation fathers, did not participate actively in the socialisation of their children, others participated in their children’s life - sometimes very actively. As was shown in Chapter 4 family case 1, their participation involved spending time with their children, providing for them financially, helping with their education, and representing role models. Therefore, in these families, fathers as well as mothers influenced their third-generation children’s self-concept, behaviour in schools, and attitude towards educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. This suggests that familial influence - parents being socialisation agents - in
children’s socialisation and educational development more specifically, is a cultural resource that impacts upon the different generations’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

To summarise, a number of participants of different generations were socialised and still lived within a nuclear family structure. Their diverse educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes, as have been shown, corresponded to diverse orientations. One such orientation was the nuclear family as a structure within which their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression could be facilitated, and another was the nuclear family as a convenience that was highly valued in the socioeconomic milieu in which they lived. Variations of these orientations were evident across the generations, but their consistency is debatable because the prevalence of nuclear family waned across the generations. During the inquiry, only two second-generation and one third-generation participants were living within a nuclear family structure. The other participants were living within either a one-parent household or an extended family structure.

5.2.2 One-Parent household

One-parent households were prevalent among the second-generation and third-generation participants. However, among the second-generation participants, there were two men and two women who were divorced, two men who were cohabiting, and one man who was married, and, among the third-generation participants, one woman who was legally separated from her husband, and one woman who was cohabiting. In the extract below, Mr Tito [F1.1] infers that marriage and the nuclear family were less appealing among the younger generations:

In this country, all the young boys that came here from the 1950s got married young. But now things have changed. I think this has to do with the women, because the women are more independent now. Women and men are going out to work in the morning; so women are saying, “I am working and you are working, so we are equal”. That is why women put forward [that] they want equal rights [Mr Tito/OT/2009].

Women’s rights is not a focus in this thesis, but patterns in the participants’ accounts of their experiences suggest that the second and the third-generation Caribbeans, both men and women, were generally more financially independent than their elders were, and less impressed with the norms that kept their elders in nuclear families. This was articulated by Wilma [F5.2] in Chapter 4 family case 3, and is affirmed in Lloyd’s [F3.2.2] sentiment in the following extract:

Marriage is the final frontier. It's one thing I won't do until I am absolutely certain. A lot of people make that mistake. I believe that you have to be with somebody a minimum of five years before you even contemplate getting engaged. That's my belief. A lot of Caribs don't get married straight away. My aunt and uncle in Jamaica were together for forty-four years before they got married and they never cheated. But then marriage is just a piece of paper, a legally binding paper, and for me it's just the same. My other
aunt, the one who brought me up, has been married for fifty years. They got married within three months of knowing each other. It does last but they are from a different age than we are. Women think differently now, women are more, “I had enough of you - see you later” [Lloyd/Hyde/2009].

Implied in this extract is that the second generation’s attitude towards marriage is reflective of relatively liberal attitudes towards family life in contemporary Britain. These attitudes manifest in increasing tolerance for one-parent household that, Triston [F1.2] and Lloyd [F3.2.2] observed, is preferred among current generations in general. Their observation is substantiated by the prevalence of one-parent households and serial parenting among the numerous participants who were unmarried, divorced, single-parent, or co-parent – tendencies that can be explained, in part, by changes in attitudes towards family - in terms of what it looks like, and also by family members’ increasing ability to satisfy their basic needs independent of the family.

Also, unlike the first generation whose socioeconomic experiences - foreignness, homelessness, loneliness, isolation, poverty etc., - may have encouraged them to live within a nuclear family structure, the second and third generations’ socioeconomic experiences are being shaped by contemporary pressures that influence their attitude towards family in different ways. This was apparent in the case studies in Chapter 4, which highlighted the financial independence of single parents - mothers in particular - as a force of change in attitude towards family life among the second and third generations. This was most evident in family cases 2 and 3, which offered insights into how the financial independence of unmarried mothers influenced their family life. Financial independence, however, has varied connotations, but can be understood broadly as sustained ability to survive, not necessarily from financial security derived from economic activity as Kerry-Ann’s [PP2.3] experience, as an unemployed single parent, affirms:

I got a job but I can’t take it because I can’t afford childcare and it’s too much hassle. It is better to be a single parent. There are benefits. The Government want you to look after your children so they will pay [Kerry-Ann/LDN/2011].

Kerry-Ann’s [PP2.3] experience above supports the notion that social benefits represent a legitimate income for single parents, mothers most commonly, who care for their children fulltime, and eliminate pressures for them to be in employment. Triston [F1.2] affirms this:

I was a working father. She [ex-girlfriend] did not work but was on welfare. Once I moved in, the welfare stopped. She demanded I pay all the bills and expenses, because I was responsible for causing her welfare to stop. This was difficult because I had three children from my previous relationship. Being around caused tension and the family broke down because she wanted to be normal, which is being on welfare with her child. She has a niece [Grenadian] who is about 34 and she has never worked because the welfare makes it possible and easy to do that. She has three children. The attitude is,
why work when you can get it free. It is common among second and third generations in Manchester. They learn the loopholes and use it. The society and welfare is responsible for the breakdown of the Caribbean family. The men ain’t in families, but not by choice, they are chased away because the women want to be independent and the welfare makes it possible [Triston/Old Trafford/2009].

The indication here that some second-generation men, such as Triston [F1.2], are willing to participate in the upbringing of their children is of particular interest. It is situated alongside evidence of limited participation of fathers in the socialisation and educational development of their children. Triston [F1.2] noted that his father’s generation of men, although mostly working away, were in families, and this was helpful in terms of providing stability, discipline, and sharing financial responsibilities. This, he contrasted with the current generations about which he said “fathers are not there and don’t contribute”, sometimes because “they are chased away by women” who seek out state assistance to satisfy their family’s basic needs. There is some evidence that this pattern of men’s limited contribution in family life originated among the first-generation. Mr John’s [PP6.1] experience gives an insight into how this may have come about:

In the [19]80s Margie [Margaret Thatcher] Government made a law that if you had lost your job and your wife was working your wife had to support you, and you could not get dole money. In 1972, when I get redundant from the Mill, my wife divorce me and throw me out the house. She wanted money and take me go court for child support, but I was happy to be divorce because I didn’t want that to happen. Things was hard in those days. If you lose your job, you can’t get help, and even if your wife don’t want you, you know? I didn’t want that so I stay by myself [Mr John/Huddersfield/2010].

This extract suggests that tendencies to rely on state assistance to satisfy basic needs emerged during the 1970s when the British economy underwent a major restructure. Mr William [F5.1] affirmed this. He observed, “a lot of West Indians lost their job and find it easier to get their money from the social than [to] find another job”. This observation was also made by Mr Tito [F1.1] who said, ”that is when they [Caribbeans] learn how to not like work”. This suggests that state assistance, provided in the form of social benefits, did not only influence families’ ideas about satisfying their member’s basic needs, but also undermined work ethics and aspiration to lead a better life among the first generation. The family cases in Chapter 4 revealed that this outcome was similar, and in some cases worse, among their children and grandchildren. It was shown that reliance on state assistance among the second and third generations is a way of life that facilitates their economic inactivity, undermines their aspiration to attain educationally, and limits their ability to accumulate resources that could benefit themselves and their children.

Furthermore, one may assume that since the third generation are likely to be socialised in one-parent households, their educational development will likely be compromised. Mr Leroy [F3.1] said that some “children from these families get up to no good and underachieve because their
parents are not around to guide them”. He noted that this is not particular to the second and third generations. According to him, “the first generation did not hand anything down”. In this regard, many third generation youngsters remain unlikely to do well educationally, not because of socialisation in one-parent households, but, because first-generation grandparents or second-generation parents are unable to, or are not around to guide them towards this end. Felicia [F2.2] explained this in terms of under-supported families and related her experience as a co-parent with what she believed was a growing trend of single parenting among her generation:

[Caribbean] single mothers are just under-supported families. It makes me think of it in terms of aspiration as well as relationships. Sometime I think the women don’t aspire to have one man as a partner to be married to be settled and stuff like that. The way that some black women are depicted on tele is that they are stroppy and demanding and almost like too much for a man to handle - and that’s why they are on their own. Not just independent, but don’t need a man. And I wonder how that influences young women, especially when they are raising a family [Felicia/Hyde/2009].

Felicia [F2.2] heads a one-parent household, but shares parenting responsibilities with her ex-husband, who is also the father of her children. She claimed that her attitude towards parenting responsibility is grounded in her upbringing in a family in which both her mother and father helped direct her educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. In a similar way, as she noted in family case 2, she sees it as her obligation to help direct her children’s educational development, in order to facilitate their attainment and progression in adult life. She explained:

Going to university was so that I could get married, have children, have a good job and a home, and provide for my children. I would say that I am very intelligent and when it comes to academic tasks, I don’t find them difficult. My children are the same. Of the three of them, [older girl] is slightly more artistic and creative, [second girl], I see as being off the scale in her intelligence and [Fredrick] is like me. In his lifetime, he will have seen me doing work because he was 18 months when I graduated from Uni and, from a little boy, he had a way to conceptualise numbers and manipulate them to do maths easily. He just did his GCSEs and I would always ask him - do you have any homework?, “no I have done it at school”, have you got any revision?, “oh I will do it in a bit”. I didn’t see him stressing over his exams and he did well [Felicia/Hyde/2009].

From this extract, one gains an insight into Felicia’s ability, as head of a one-parent household, to achieve a level of success, similar to that of her parents, in facilitating educational attainment among her children. This reflects in her participation in her children’s educational development, the value she ascribes to their attainment, and the successes that she articulates in the extract. Her active participation in her children’s educational development, therefore, constitutes familial influence that is conducive to their educational attainment. This level of participation in her children’s educational development can be contrasted with that of her contemporaries, such as
Wilma [F5.2] and Andy [F10.2] who were shown earlier, who had not attained educationally. For example, in Chapter 4 family case 3, Wilma [F5.2] claimed that her son is not doing well at school but she does not have the time to help him neither does she visit his teachers or school. Similarly, it was shown in family case 4, Andy [F10.2] had never participated in the educational development of his children. He was fourteen years old when his daughter Andrea [F10.3] was born and was unable to participant in her educational development. As for his younger children, their educational outcomes, he said, will be “up to them”. These experiences in the William [F5] and Andrew [F10] families demonstrate limited parental participation in children’s educational development. Familial influence, nonetheless, is affirmed as a cultural resource that impact upon educational and socioeconomic outcomes across the generations. This influence, however, was not conducive to educational attainment. As a result, they did not attain educationally - an outcome that reflected in limited socioeconomic progression, evinced by inter-generational experiences of joblessness, poverty, and dependency on state assistance to satisfy basic needs. This adds to the diversity of educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes among the participants, which are explored further in the following analysis of extended families.

### 5.2.3 Extended Family

Some second and third-generation participants were brought up in extended families. The most pronounced case from the sample is the Leroy family [F.3]. Mr Leroy [F3.1] shifted the rearing of his four children among his different partners, their mother, and his sister in Jamaica. The two older children, Levvi [F3.2.3] and Leann [F3.2.4], lived their early years with him and his first wife in Liverpool. Mrs Leroy was also from Jamaica. She worked as a nurse and had two children prior to her being married to Mr Leroy. Levvi [F3.2.3] and Leann [F3.2.4], and their stepsiblings, attended primary and secondary schools in Liverpool during the 1970s and 1980s.

Levvi [F3.2.3] intimated that “there were no educational stimulus in the home and no one really cared”. Mr Leroy [F3.1], however, explained that he was unable to participate actively in his children’s educational development because he had a “big family” to care for, “worked long in the factory”, and was “hardly able to afford more than their basic needs”. He said that “Levvi [F3.2.3] and Leann [F3.2.4] dropped out from school”, but he “knew they were frustrated; they are bright kids and were not working to their potential”. Levvi [F3.2.3], after a few years during which he worked in low-skilled jobs - according to himself, was encouraged by a friend to attend university - from where he attained qualifications in business administration. He then went on to work as a manager at a multinational company in Liverpool, and, after a few years, he migrated to Thailand to work as a teacher. Leann [F3.2.4] sought [low-skilled] work at the Ford factory where her father also worked, and has since worked in various [low-skilled] jobs.

Levvi’s [F3.2.3] and Leann’s [F3.2.4] experiences share some commonalities with those of their younger siblings, Lee [F3.2] and Lloyd [F3.2.2], who spent the early years of their life with their biological mother and, later, their paternal aunt in Kingston, Jamaica. Lee [F3.2] intimated:
We lived with our mother in a shack in downtown Kingston, but we hardly saw her. We knew she worked but never knew what she did. There was no opportunity to learn to read, no one to read to you or anyone who even had a book. It was not what you would spend your money on. When I moved uptown, where my aunt used to live, that is when my education started. I started in the first grade, although I was older than the other kids, and I was kept back. It was the old fashion way of - you don't move on to the next grade until you demonstrate [that] you have progressed. I suppose it made sense as I could not read neither write, and did not learn how to do that until I was nearly 10 [years old] [Lee/Warrington/2010].

Lee's [F3.2] and Lloyd's educational development, which this extract indicates was neglected by their mother in downtown Kingston, changed course once they went to live with their aunt in uptown Kingston. From there, they attended school and their aunt encouraged and supported them to attain educationally. Lloyd [F3.2.2] intimated, “my Dad was not there, but my aunt was there, she made sure we went to school every single day”. Lee [F3.2] affirmed that education became part of his life after his brother and himself were “rescued” by their aunt. He explained:

My aunt lived in a big house in uptown Kingston but the ghetto was not too far down the road where she owned a shop that was burgled often. We went to church on Sundays, school on weekdays, and on Saturdays she sent me to private lessons [supplementary school] with a retired teacher. I had speech classes, English, and Maths with her. If ever I came home from school and there were mistakes in my book or got anything wrong, it was drilled into you. Sometimes I would get all A’s, and if ever I got a C I would be in trouble. She encouraged us to be articulate, wanted us to have that good voice and not [to] speak with an accent, as there is this stigma that the way you speak is the way you present yourself. That is why I don’t have a strong Jamaican accent. I remember the first time I read Treasure Island was just a scrappy copy that I got from somewhere. I fell in love with reading once I was able to do it. It was like learning to see for the first time. I remember being in the car with my aunt and reading the street signs. It was thrilling because it was new to me [Lee/Warrington/F2010].

Lee [F3.2] and Lloyd [F3.2.2] were advantaged by guidance and support from their aunt to attain educationally. However, Lloyd [F3.2.2] had been a sickly child and had not had the same level of support for his educational development as Lee [F3.2.] did. Both boys came to England when they were fourteen and fifteen years old respectively. They lived with their father and his [second] wife in a predominantly white community in Warrington and, later, in the Caribbean community in Preston. Lee [F3.2] completed secondary school and college in Warrington and went on to attain a degree in journalism, which he said he was inspired to do by a college “friend who had been accepted to study journalism” at university. According to him, “university was easy” because he had “good grades and qualified for a grant that paid the full cost”.

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During the inquiry, Lee [F3.2] worked as an English teacher at a secondary school. He had recently purchased his own home in Warrington, in which his two teenage sons and father lived with him. Lloyd [F3.2.2], his brother, had different experiences and outcomes. He intimated:

I was always interested in electronics. I wanted to go to an electronics engineering college but Dad sent me to a mechanical engineering one. The electronics engineering college was too far away. It was in St Helens and I lived in Warrington. It was financial reason he did that. Obviously, I was not privy to that decision at my age, but I only guess the other college was too far and cost too much money to go there, so he opted for the one that was two miles from my house. I wasn’t interested in mechanical engineering at all. I didn’t do mechanics, I wasn’t interested in bashing sheet metals or that sort of stuff, I wanted to use my brain more, so I quit to join the Amy. Friendships from college did not last once I joined the Forces - they grew up and did their own thing. I did not really want to get dragged down, because hanging around them was like drugs and guns. That was one of the reasons I joined the Army, so I could get off the streets and not be involved - that was in Preston. I was 16 and had to go back to Warrington to join because my Dad wouldn’t sign me in. He believes it is the oppression of Babylon, and he knew of the institutional racism in the Forces. But my stepbrother was in the Army already so I got my stepmother to sign me up [Lloyd/Hyde/2009].

Lloyd [F3.2.2] received training in electronics and attained a Higher National Diploma [HND] while he was serving in the Army, which he left after five years and had since not been able to find stable employment. At the time of the inquiry, he had four children - two infant daughters who lived with him and two pre-teenagers - by three white mothers. His educational and socioeconomic outcomes compare in similar ways to those of his sister Leann [F3.2.4] who dropped out of school prematurely and has since worked in low-skilled jobs, with frequent stints of unemployment. Their accounts revealed that their first-generation parents, who had little education, were limited in their ability to guide them to attain educationally. This limitation was often masked by preoccupation with satisfying the family’s, children’s particularly, basic needs for food, shelter [housing], and clothing. This was illustrated cogently through Andy’s [F10.2] experience in Chapter 4 family case 4 - life was based on how, where, and when to find food. Their first-generation parents’ background in the Caribbean was one in which education was hardly, if ever, talked about. In Andy’s [F10.2] words, “it was just not something that anyone bothered about because it was something for other people; the brainy and high-class people”.

Life in the family revolved around satisfying absolute basic needs and, while children’s school attendance was encouraged by parents, aspiration for educational attainment was not typically factored in the socialisation of children. This resulted in limited aspiration to attain educationally among the younger generations, which lack of role models who had attained educationally or a template for mainstream success compounded. Common in the experiences of the participants in these families were - an indifference towards educational attainment, lack of aspiration for
professional employment, lack of stimulus in the home to develop educational abilities, limited parental interest in education, and parents’ inability to guide children to attain educationally. These limitations, and the related disadvantages, in the home made it difficult for these participants to develop their educational abilities during their early life and to avail themselves of opportunities in further or higher education that were formally open to them in their adult life. Some of these participants discussed their disadvantages in terms of their attitudes and behaviours that inhere in their social identities – some examples of which were downtown, working-class, and poor - which they inherited by virtue of their socialisation in their family.

For instance, Lee [F3.2.1] defined downtown communities by reference to the quality of life and people’s attitudes and behaviours therein. It was seen that his downtown mother, with whom he first lived but hardly saw, neglected his educational development and, as Lloyd [F3.2.2] said, encouraged them to live the downtown life. These attitudes and behaviours contrasted with those of his uptown aunt who owned a grocery shop, lived in a big house, sent them to school, sent him to supplementary school, encouraged their learning and good citizenship, sent them to church, insisted on his standard language, and demanded he attain A grades at school.

What this affirms, firstly, is that the support for educational attainment the younger generations received in extended families was more salient in their realisation of this outcome than the family structure itself. Secondly, by virtue of their socialisation in extended families, the younger generation acquired familial influence in the form of social identities - uptown v downtown - that informed their attitude towards educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. This, though, was not unique to extended families. For, as was shown in Chapter 4 family case 1, Mr Tito, whose children were brought up in a nuclear family, identified himself as working-class, which was understood as being poor and preoccupied with satisfying basic needs. Like Mr Tito [F1.1], the other participants in both nuclear and one-parent families who identified themselves as working-class were most concerned with satisfying their basic needs. As a result, they tended to discount educational attainment and socioeconomic progression, which they sometimes believed were beyond their reach, and often influenced their children in this regard.

This influence, however, differed from that of the participants who identified themselves as middle-class, educated, professional, or even uptown. For instance, participants who identified themselves as middle-class, such as the Phillips in Chapter 4 family case 2, tended to view socioeconomic progression as an objective of educational attainment. Thus, they obtained educational qualifications and encouraged their children, in the form of guidance, to attain the same as a prerequisite for obtaining better employment and, ultimately, a better life. By this, they influenced their children, who, in turn, were likely to attend university, obtain professional employment, and purchase homes in better-off communities. Their successes in education and socioeconomic domains affirm the saliency of familial influence in children’s educational development, which functioned as a cultural resource that impact upon educational attainment and socioeconomic progression across the generations. The analyses now turn to community.
5.3 Community

Community encompasses the local areas in which the participants were socialised and in which they came to develop their identity as members of a [social] ethnic group with a common history and backgrounds in the Caribbean. The analysis focuses on the experiences of the different generations and their outcomes within the context of their community as a local area. The narratives of aspiration for a better life, social relations, home ownership, and facilities for progression, or lack thereof, are analysed to reveal community orientation as a cultural resource that impacts upon the participants’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

5.3.1 Local Communities

The participants’ accounts of their experiences revealed that the majority of the first-generation came to less prosperous metropolitan areas in Manchester, Birmingham, London, and Yorkshire - near the factories and hospitals in which they worked. Some of these areas developed into local Caribbean communities in which some families and individuals decided against settling as, according to Mr Leroy [F3.1], “there were no facilities there”. Accordingly, the participants who settled in the local Caribbean communities were to experience exclusion from the mainstream – cultures and social and economic developments. Mr Dmitri [F8.1] explained that their exclusion was precipitated by the exodus of the white population that had historically inhabited the areas:

I came with a friend in 1955 because she had a brother who lived here. We were in the same church so he got us lodging. Life was strange, but eventually you got use to things that were going on. It was a white community. There was about half a dozen blacks in this area, mostly Jamaicans. Eventually more blacks came, mostly from Jamaica and Barbados. But the Jamaicans and Bajans never got along, they use to fight a lot. The Eastern Europeans who came after the War, like the Polish and Ukrainians, had big houses and they would take lodgers. The Eastern Europeans had associations that used to help them get mortgages. They used to live on this side of the road and the English was on the other side. We got use to life there, I had a room and we shared the bath and kitchen. I stayed there for six years and then this house was up for sale. A white family was living here. Most of the whites moved out and the blacks and Asians moved in. There are no whites around here now [Mr Dmitri/Oldham/2010].

Implied in the extract is that Caribbean and Asian families supplanted the white working-class population in the communities, which, Mr Leroy [F3.1] observed, were then “neglected and left to become excluded”. However, as his experience in the following extract reveals, the first-generation participants who did not live in the Caribbean areas visited customarily to socialise:

I came to Halewood in Liverpool. It was in a white community, because that’s where she use to live. We didn’t live in the Caribbean community - there were no facilities
there, but we used to go for parties and to see friends. When we got married, we were living in a three bedroom semi-detached house that we later bought from the council. She was working as a nurse so we got a mortgage and we paid for it. It was not very simple, we could not afford to go on holidays with our big family but we went to a lot of parties. She had the experience and she knew everything [Mr Leroy/Warrington/2009].

The experiences in the previous two extracts suggest that the first-generation Caribbeans’ options for settlement were - either in local Caribbean communities that were socioeconomically disadvantaged or in mainstream communities that were predominantly white and upwardly mobile - referred to also as progressive, aspirant, better-off, or middle-class. Chester’s [F9.2] experience in the following extract affirms that his parents’ decision to settle in an upwardly mobile community was based on the progressive orientation in the community and the prospects for educational attainment and socioeconomic progression such orientation fostered:

My parents provided me with a stable home, in that we had a home and there was enough space, although I did share a room with my brother. We had a nice house on par with my white peers, in a relatively decent area. My parents did move to this house for the benefit of my two older brothers and myself, so that we might have that stability, and give us that mobility in the future. That by being brought up in a safe and aspiring community, that we would stand a better chance to get that interview in the future and pass that interview in regard to university or a job [Chester/Sheffield/2009].

Implied in the extract is a notion that educational attainment and better employment prospects are correlated with being brought up in a safe and aspiring community, in which the residents were seen to be successful in educational and socioeconomic terms. This community orientation was common among first-generation who wanted to improve their educational and economic prospects, and saw settling in a community that was upwardly mobile as an advantage in that respect. These communities, however, were predominantly white and Caribbean families’ ability to settle in them was often problematised by discriminatory housing practices. Most participants discussed this experience in terms of the housing situation during the time of their settlement.

Their accounts revealed that social housing was in short supply after the Wars, and living space in decent areas, i.e., upwardly mobile communities, was highly sought after. Caribbean families’ access to housing in these communities was particularly difficult because, as noted in Chapter 4, white property owners loathed to rent rooms to black people, and black property owners, who were already settled in these communities, were reluctant to rent rooms to families with children. This meant that settlement in these communities was mostly restricted to acquisition of homeownership, which some participants achieved. In addition to the unpalatable prospect of homelessness, some were motivated by a desire for socioeconomic advantage for themselves and their children. In these regards, they were also unwilling to settle in communities in which there were no facilities to enable them to realise this advantage or to lead a comfortable life.
The high value that they ascribed to homeownership underpinned the Partnership schemes in which participants such as Mr Tito [F1.1], Ms Ensley [F7.1], and Mr John [PP6.1] were involved. As shown in Chapter 4, members of Partnership schemes had a fairly good chance of affording homeownership and lifting themselves from material poverty, the latter emphasised by Triston [F1.2] who said, "our parents could afford shoes and clothes for us whereas [peers] on the estates in Hulme and Moss Side could hardly afford heating". Mr John's [PP6] experience, however, suggests that they were not always advantaged by participating in these schemes:

I use to work on the railway in Huddersfield and [also] in textile [factories] until I retired. I had other jobs in the factory as a labourer. There was a lot of work but the pay was small. We use to do the Sou-sou and I use to do it until 1986. When I get my Hand I use to take it to the bank. That was the only way you could save a little money because the wage was small, and you could only afford your rent, food, and your Hand. But I had to pay the child support. I got redundant in 1997 and I have nothing. Even I work so hard like a dog in this country and still I have nothing. We use to do the Sou-sou and we still poor, so it was no sense really [Mr John/Huddersfield/2009].

Like Mr John [PP6.1], poverty had blighted the lived experiences of first-generation participants who had little or no education, worked in low-skilled jobs in the manual sector, and settled in disadvantaged communities. The low wages that they earned during their working life was sufficient to satisfy their absolute basic needs. However, some participants’ ability to afford a home symbolised progression from their material poverty. Homeownership connoted security and stability. It also presented an opportunity for additional income through the possibility to let out spare rooms. Those who owned homes in communities that were upwardly mobile tended to view this achievement as a significant marker of socioeconomic progression in British society.

The second-generation participants who were brought up in communities that were upwardly mobile where, according to Felicia [F2.1], “every one owned their home”, also purchased homes in these communities. This marked their continued socioeconomic progression, which compared inversely with the experiences of their peers who had not attained educationally. The latter tended to depend on local authorities to provide them with social housing, typically in the local communities in which their first-generation parents had settled. Their accounts of their experiences revealed that these communities, with many and continuing disadvantages, have cultural connotations that are sentimental, unifying, and valued. Such connotations underpin their community orientations, which are explored further in the light of community facilities.

5.3.2 Community Facilities and Orientations

As alluded to earlier in the analysis, during the early days, the local Caribbean communities were not known to have facilities that could readily enable social interaction among Caribbeans. Mr William [F5.1] said that, during those days, they held socials in residential homes that were
“small and crowded”. This was the backdrop for local churches, pray-meetings, social networks, social clubs, and parlours that they set up to facilitate their socialisation and survival as a group, in spite of the problems that Mr Dmitri [F8.1] relays in the following extract:

There was a lot of problems and fighting here but I stayed because I could find work. I had a job, I had a few friends and my church was here. So I stick with the church. That kept us out of trouble. We do not drink or party so we don’t get in with the crowd. I think that’s the main thing. Maybe if I had moved I would be better off but I didn’t. As long as I was working, that was the main thing that kept me [Mr Dmitri/Oldham/2010].

Evident in the extract is that friendships and social networks were key factors that influenced some participants’ decision to settle in local Caribbean communities, although low-waged Caribbeans, it was noted earlier, populated these communities, which were also neglected by governments. Accordingly, investment in facilities such as professional agencies, community centres, employment bureaus, social clubs, colleges, and schools, all of which could enable their socioeconomic progression, was limited. However, Mr Dmitri’s [F8.1] account reveals a notion of a better life that does not correspond to availability of these facilities in his local community. This orientation differs from that of the participants who did not settle in these communities.

For instance, some first-generation participants - such as the Titoes [F1], Enslies [F4], and Christophes [F9] - who worked in factories that were near the local Caribbean communities, achieved homeownership in communities that were upwardly mobile. They believed settlement in these communities offered them security, opportunity to supplement their income by letting out rooms, and better educational prospects for their children. This orientation, which is evident in Mrs Ensley’s [F7.1] account below, corresponded to their notion of a better life, which they did not believe was realisable in the local Caribbean communities:

I met my husband in church in Moss Side. We married in 1964 and we was staying in a room in Longsight. I was working as a night nurse but we had [Emily] in 1965, so I had to stop my nursing because we didn’t have nursery, and my husband was working nights. [Then] we moved to Old Trafford to stay with our church minister. We rented a room in their house, and in 1967 we had [Emma] so we had to find our own place. When we bought this house, I use my [Partnership] Hand to buy nice furniture and make the front room into a nursery. We didn’t want to stay in Moss Side. People there was poor and every one stick together. They started having children and the children was spoilit. The black boys started taking drugs and everything went bad. The drugs ruined our children - both black and white. My children wouldn’t do that because they was not brought up like that. I think the parenting is bad. Some parents was involved in that kind of thing so they didn’t guide them properly. They was not firm or strong enough and didn’t take a strong stance to help their children. The children now want fast life. They don’t want to go to college, they don’t want to come to church. Even the
college was free, nowadays you have to get a loan, but they was not brought up like that. Some now get the loan and they still don't go [to college [Mrs Ensley/OT/2010].

It can be inferred from Mrs Ensley’s [F7.1] account that “being strong” and “being firm” include being able to make difficult decisions about the kind of community in which to bring up their children. Among the families who realised success, the second-generation participants, who were brought up in strong families in communities that were upwardly mobile, were seemingly advantaged by the facilities in their local communities. A common perception among them was that their being brought up in these communities defined them as progressive, even though they were hardly able to socialise with their [white] neighbours. Their affiliation with the local Caribbean communities was also limited and they often treated practices that were considered typically Caribbean with reservation. For example, it was shown earlier that Levvi [F3.2] was socialised to not think well of Patois, which he believed to be associated with poor self-concept, and Triston [F1.2] associated some Rastafari inspired tenets with God-lessness. Moreover, the experiences of those who had not attained educationally during their compulsory schooling revealed that they were inclined to seek out widely available opportunities in their upwardly mobile communities to improve their socioeconomic prospects in their adult life. Triston [F1.2] who attended the secretarial course and obtained non-manual employment and Lloyd [F3.2.2] who attained vocational qualifications while in the Army demonstrated this. Their outcomes contrasted with those of their peers who were brought up in the local Caribbean communities.

The accounts of the participants who were brought up in local Caribbean communities revealed that the social institutions and cultural tendencies in the communities were not inclined towards socioeconomic progression. In addition to the educational and economic disadvantages that characterise these communities, social exclusion, racism, discrimination, jealousy, self-doubt, lack of ambition, and underhand activities were cited as pervasive factors that militate against collective progression. However, as was shown earlier, some families’ decision to settle in these communities was based on the availability of low-skilled work and access to social networks and friendships. The manual sector that employed them yielded to economic recession that started during the 1970s. The communities became severely impacted and they had limited scope for out migration. The following extract from Mr Leroy [F3.1] gives an insight into their experience:

Liverpool 8 where there is a black community joining on to the city centre, but there were no blacks working in the town centre. They were never given the opportunity to work there. It wasn't that they couldn't do it, but they were not given the opportunity. It's the way the whites operate, they assume you cannot do things and it's across the population. You can see it when they approach you. You were looked on in a different way, and not only that you had to fight for a job, but you had to fight to say to someone that I have got an understanding. A lot of the jobs in that area were in manufacturing. There was Ford. I worked on the production line at Ford, which is what most blacks did. It was the only job that was offered to blacks. Then the recession
started and people were being laid off. I don’t think the people wanted to move out of the area, it wasn’t so much the area, because if you move out of the area you still can’t change your colour so there was a lot of racial tension [Mr Leroy/Warrington/2009].

In light of these experiences, the local Caribbean communities, although disadvantaged, offered a sense of belonging to some participants. For they were not mere settings in which Caribbeans lived and worked, but functioned as contexts for cultural continuity, which was fostered through Caribbean themed businesses, churches, [supplementary] schools, etc. However, the following account indicates that the communities espoused diverse and competing value systems:

I have two older brothers. We were raised in Preston [local Caribbean community] but I did not stay there long. There is also a community here in Sheffield. They are mostly second and third generations. Success in the community is not dependent on education, as we know it. There is a culture of urgency and success in this culture may be achieved quickly through criminal activities such as pirating and drugs. There are cases where guys from very deprived backgrounds have done well and their achievement is not reflected outside the community because the means are illegitimate. The means are often very negative, if not illegal, and socially damaging - but easily accessible. The larger ones, like Peckham, Hackney, and Moss Side, are overwhelmed with antisocial behaviour, high rates of teenage pregnancy, and emotional bankruptcy. When I go to the club and the DJ asks to put your hand up for your someone in jail, sometimes it seems I am the only one with my hand down [Chester/Sheffield/2009].

The implication of a “culture of urgency” is that individuals’ life chances are constrained by material poverty and provisions are needed for immediate consumption. It appears to develop where individuals lack legitimate means to satisfy their basic needs, they evolve tendencies towards underhand, if not illicit, activities to satisfy them. Over time, these tendencies manifest into a way of life, i.e., a culture of urgency, with distinct norms and values. Chester [F10.2] asserted that, in this culture, “success and status can be achieved quickly” through underhand means. This assertion is supported by Mr Leroy’s [F3.1] observation in the following extract that people whose ways of life are defined by urgency can at times easily afford material comfort:

I have seen people with money stacked high up their walls but they can’t do anything with it. They have nowhere to invest it. We see ourselves as British and as individuals and this does not really work. It splits away from being united to being divided. If you look at any programs with drugs, it is always the black boys on the street corners selling it, but they are not controlling it. They can’t progress because what they doing is illegal and they can’t get out [Mr Leroy/Warrington/2009].

One may discern that the prevalence of material resources acquired through underhand, if not illicit, means in local Caribbean communities encourages the reproduction and sustenance of
norms that depress people’s interest in education and progression in the mainstream. Lloyd [F3.2.2] infers in the following extracts that crime, for instance, had become a way of life for many people who live in the local Caribbean communities of Moss Side and Preston. He noted:

About 20 years ago, there were lots of guns and killings in Moss Side. It was the same thing in Preston. The community was controlled by criminal gangs. You walk down the street and sixty per cent of the houses boarded up. You’re not gonna expect solicitors or anyone with some moral standing to come from that block. Because they are not use to that, they don’t see any of that. I think that we are falling behind, because I find there are more Asian doctors, more Chinese technician - than blacks. That’s because, as a culture, we have not pushed their kids into doing certain things. As a culture, we have been dumb down for so long that we have remained dumb [Lloyd/AUL/2008].

Mr Leroy [F3.1] agreed that peoples’ ways of life in local Caribbean communities are sometimes aversive towards educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. He explains in the following extract that youngsters are not typically brought up, i.e., socialised, to attain educationally or to obtain high-status occupation and succeed in the mainstream:

There are difficulties with the Caribbean population; they have just been led down the wrong path. I work in the evenings for a company in Preston. It is in a Caribbean area but mainly Indians that work there. There may be the odd one or two West Indians. All the Indians that work there are in higher education or have degrees but there are no blacks and it is a black area. I have asked, where are the blacks that should be there showing they are working and in education? It’s poor parenting. Their parents don’t raise them up to work in places like that. Ignorance plays a great part. They tend not to have the basic education and, because of that, the guidance they should be giving to their children is just not there. You can see it all the time among the second generation. But again, even if it is the second generation, the first generation was the same, they did not hand anything down - no aspiration [Mr Leroy/Warrington/2010].

The assumption in the previous two extracts is that, lack of educational attainment and limited progression among Caribbeans are consequences of persistent disadvantages - that are results of poverty, poor parenting, lack of aspiration, lack of knowledge, and under supported families. These disadvantages are sustained in a rather ghetto environment in which emphasis is placed on immediate gratification, present experiences, and concrete problems – all of which underpin life in local Caribbean communities that were characterised by social exclusion and economic deprivation, and in which socioeconomic progression seemed difficult to realise because better life chances that are linked with high income and high-status occupations are hard to come by.

The less than favourable outcomes that were realised among participants in such communities reflected a pervasive norm. According to Lloyd [F3.2.2], this is “hustling” - a term loosely used
to mean a competitive struggle to earn a living through schemes to make money. He intimated, “our culture where we come from life has always been a hustle. We are hustlers. When you are a hustler, there are only certain things you know about and that’s hustling”. The participants’ accounts of their experiences revealed that hustling schemes in local Caribbean communities are typically unregulated, unethical, underhand, or illicit - such as illicit drugs dealing, money laundering, gambling, prostitution, and piracy. The participants, especially the second and third-generation men and boys, who were active in any variant of these schemes, were introduced to it by socialisation agents - relatives, peers, etc., - in their local community. Andy (F10.2), who was introduced to Crack-cocaine by his peer, whom he referred to as a brother, affirmed this in Chapter 4 family case 4. Also, before he was fourteen years old his mother operated a Shebeen from which the family earned an income. Shebeens, however, are unregulated establishments [known also as Blues Houses] where, he said, in those days, Caribbeans held parties, shopped, met women, and gambled. It follows on from the evidence that there was “nowhere else” for them to go. Therefore, the social space in their communities was shaped, in part, by their social exclusion, but their activities and hustles were drawn from their backgrounds in the Caribbean.

These activities and hustles are integral to the community orientation, identified earlier, in which notions of a better life do not correspond to success in education. Therefore, participants who had acquired this orientation were unlikely to aspire to attain educationally and, by this, it functioned as a resource through which they mediated their experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains. This was most evident among the second-generation participants who came of age during a time of considerable socioeconomic changes that saw education replace muscle power as the leading means by which a better life could be realised in British society. Being born and having been educated in Britain, they were to experience these changes, and British society in general, in ways that were unlike that which their parents had experienced. However, in a similar way as their parents and their local communities, they were economically marginalised and materially poor - experiences that resonated with those of their ancestors in Africa and the Caribbean. Their accounts suggest that these experiences may have given rise to fictive kinships in local communities. Fictive in that, as noted earlier, they were not inclined to work as a collective for socioeconomic progression. Nonetheless, these communities represented settings in which they learned about themselves and what they could become.

Within the context of social exclusion and material poverty, some of those who lived in the local Caribbean communities concerned themselves with whatever jobs they could find to get on. The onset of economic recession from the 1970s, discussed earlier, affected their employment prospects and exacerbated their volatile community relations. According to Mr William [F5.1], during that time the label Afro-Caribbean was “given” to them by the British people. It connoted cultural heritage which was believed to have originated in Africa and the Caribbean, but the participants’ accounts suggested that it was better received among the second generation who were born in Britain, and one generation removed from their Caribbean roots. This could be explained in term of their greater awareness, relative to that of their parents, of their history of
socioeconomic disadvantages which Lloyd [F3.2.2] and Triston [F1.2] intimated were articulated by Jamaican Marcus Garvey and Trinidadian George Padmore through their activism across the Atlantic until their deaths in 1940 and 1959 respectively. During their lifetime, these two men propagated ideologies of Africanism and black liberation that were popularised through Reggae music and the Rastafari movement, which, Triston [F1.2] said, “was big” during the 1970s and 1980s. His experience in the following extract suggests that receptivity of the Afro-Caribbean label among the second generation was encouraged by the airing of ‘Roots’, which highlighted the economic exploitation, dehumanisation, and racial discrimination that have historically characterised the experiences of non-white people who originate in Africa and the Caribbean:

My first experience of discrimination was at school. There was a mix of pupils but the whites believed they were superior. But my first awareness of discrimination was when the movie Roots came out. I was about 12 when the film was aired for the first time. I had heard about my parents being discriminated against. They could not go to certain places and were not allowed to do certain things, but this did not have an effect on us as children because we did not really understand discrimination. In my own mind, I knew that no race is superior but Roots showed the world at the time what the black nation had been through; where they came from, where they were taken, and what was done to them. People could actually see. It was a time when a black person and a white person could sit together and watch a movie and have different emotions. The whites would say it’s only history. It is not fair they should think it’s just history. Roots help to educate me about who I am. My parents never talked about history [Triston/OT/2009].

In this extract, one gets an insight into the media as an agent of socialisation. Various second-generation participants’ accounts revealed awareness of their marginalisation in British society during the 1970s and 1980s - which they acquired through the media. This was compounded by the black liberation ideology that inspired a certain consciousness that was both cultural and political among them. Mr William [F5.1] said, they “wanted to celebrate their culture and fight racism”. However, this consciousness seemingly galvanized a desire for better socioeconomic prospects, which may have contributed to moral panic and tensions that were played out in violent riots in some local Caribbean communities during the 1980s. Mr Leroy [F3.1] explained:

The riots in 1981 were long coming. The blacks in the area were not getting anywhere, they were not given the opportunity to do things or achieve things and the area was completely run down. There were no facilities in the area. It’s like a pressure cooker. If the pressure builds up too much and it is not released it will blow itself up. I had lots of friends in the area and I was also working near the centre [of Liverpool] so I use to pass there all the time [Mr Leroy/Warrington/2009].

Triston [F1.2] described the riots as mainly about the “general feelings across the country among black people - they saw their parents’ hardship and their own hardship and wanted to
be different”. This was affirmed in some participants’ account of their lives, which implicated notions of black liberation in riotous responses to their disadvantages during the 1980s. Lloyd [F3.2.2] seemed to think that, since then, governments “have paid attention” to the “culture of urgency” in local Caribbean communities and provided support for socioeconomic development. Andy [F10.2] acknowledged these efforts have reflected in an “ASDA” superstore “they give us so the black man can go beg for job”. This kind of acknowledgment evinces some participants’ awareness of how they could benefit from economic opportunities that are being created in their local communities, and their increasing chances to satisfy their basic needs legitimately and lead a life of an improved quality. Lloyd’s [F3.2.2] observations in this extract support this:

I think with all the changes in society, if you look at Moss Side in Manchester, it is a massive Caribs area. There was nothing to do, everything was being destroyed, but the British stopped and paid attention to that and thought well, there is no point in having something like this here, which is going to cause us grief, so they put a lot of money into these so called poorer communities and it’s helped. Now a lot of focus is on ethnic minorities. We have more say in developing the communities, so the communities are getting a lot stronger. But when the Caribs first came here they got neglected, their areas were not really a priority so now we seeing all this effort in developing the areas. Because the areas are being developed, eventually you gonna see less crimes, people finally a part of social mobility, you know?...Changes. They are getting better jobs - jobs for low-income people. We stayed here for 50 years building communities but when we first came here we had to deal with a lot of aggro, and we could not get jobs. But now, in terms of sports, it is mainly blacks, but even 15 years ago you’d be hard push to find a team with many blacks. This is how the community has developed over the years. Now the government put more effort into it, what’s coming out of it is masses of talents, and a lot of the talents that Britain has got are ethnics [Lloyd/AuL/2008].

The observations in this extract summarise how the local Caribbean communities have evolved over the past six decades from a second-generation participant’s point of view. These observations affirm that social and economic investments, state and private, in local Caribbean communities in recent decades have improved second and third-generation Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic prospects. Investments have resulted in job opportunities and an overall improvement in local facilities that may be used among Caribbeans to improve their educational and socioeconomic prospects and outcomes. This is in light of the experiences charted throughout this analysis, which highlighted the increasing awareness among Caribbeans of how they can avail themselves of opportunities in their local communities and use community facilities to improve their quality of life through educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. This awareness, however, corresponds to their community orientation, which, as has been revealed herein, is a cultural resource that impacts upon the different generations’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. The analyses now turn to Religion.
5.4 Religion

Religion is used to refer to the churches, pray-meetings, Sunday/Sabbath schools, and other religious settings in which participants were socialised, developed religious faith, and expressed their piety and religious zeal. The analysis focuses on the religious norms that differentiated the participants - emphasising how these norms relate to their educational and socioeconomic outcomes, and concludes with the assertion that religiosity is a cultural resource that impacts upon educational attainment and socioeconomic progression across the generations.

5.4.1 Religiosity

The first generation’s accounts of their lived experiences revealed that they adhered to Judaeo-Christian doctrines that legitimated what they believed to be right and wrong. During the early days, they congregated in churches, temples, and pray-meetings, and compelled their children to attend Sunday or Sabbath Schools - all of which functioned as socialisation settings in which loyalty to primarily orthodox religious doctrines - such as are Adventism, Pentecostalism, and Catholicism - that governed their lifestyle were encouraged. Mrs Edward [F6.1] explained:

The church promotes a certain lifestyle. It is middle-class and has a profound effect on lifestyle. I met my husband in church. We were both Guyanese and Adventist so we got married. It is church rule. And we can’t divorce our husbands because it is church rule. We have to stay in the mess. I do a bit of ministering and I counsel some of the ladies in [the] church. Most of them are middle-class and even the Jamaicans when they come to the church they change and become middle-class too [Mrs Edward/OT/2010].

The experiences in this extract allude to religiosity, which, in a broad sense, refers to piety and religious zeal. It incorporates beliefs that originate in religious doctrines and that which guide interpretations of life experiences, shape norms of family life, and influence ideas about self-worth. For instance, the Judaeo-Christianity that was widely practiced among first-generation participants projected on matters of socioeconomic entitlement. In Chapter 4, the belief that “God decides” their life course was seen to be common among them. This belief was reinforced by popular religious hymns such as C. Alexander’s (1848) ‘All things bright and beautiful’ which articulates a social order in which “God made them high and lowly and ordered their estate” – an hymn all the first-generation participants were familiar from their childhood in the Caribbean.

Although only one among many examples, there were various interpretations of this articulation but its literal reading and acceptance among some first-generation participants seemed to have influenced their notion of a better life and their aspiration to realise such a life. Those who were especially poor tended to view their life circumstances as designated by God, and generally believed educational attainment and socioeconomic progression were beyond their reach and not what God wanted for them. Mr John’s [PP6.1] experience in the following extract is typical:
I work so long hours in this country for nothing. God decided my fate since before I was born in Carriacou, an in Trinidad, an in England. There was nothing I could do. But I don't worry because He will reward me, all my hardship, He will reward me with long life and happiness. I only want happiness [Mr John/Huddersfield/2010].

Like Mr John [PP6.1], there were various beliefs among the participants that were legitimated by religiosity, which helped them to mediate their experiences - opportunities, disadvantages, discrimination, and exclusion in British society. The following extract from Ms Ensley [F7.1] gives an insight of how religiosity functioned to help them mediate experiences in employment:

The Queen demanded for us to come [to] work because we was British. When I came, I stayed in Birmingham and I got pocket money to look after myself. It was not a lot of money because the money was small. We was British so we had right to get help, but it was hard for black people. When you go for a job, they wouldn't give it to you, and if you get a job, they would only give you the riff-raff. The blacks help build this country. We work harder than the whites. The whites would be making brews all the time while the black men got on with it. But I didn't have a problem. I was a Christian and I made myself humble to get the job as a nurse, but I got pregnant and couldn't continue my nursing so I did a course in cake making. If I didn't give my life to Christ, I wouldn't have all that I have now. It has been the foundation of my life [Mrs Ensley/OT/2010].

Ms Ensley's [F7.1] experience illustrates how some first-generation participants used religiosity to mediate their experiences in settings in which they were disadvantaged. The religious norms that underpinned their mediated experiences were reinforced in the Judaeo-Christian churches in which they congregated, but the implications of these norms transcended the boundaries of the churches, as these norms helped them to make sense of their disadvantages, some of which were exacerbated by cultural tensions among subgroups. Mr William [F5.1] explained:

The black people was different. There wasen a lot of us and the Jamaicans did t'ings differently. They was all different, like the Kittitians and the Bajans, but then we came together. We had to because it was few of us against all the whites. There was a few in Moss Side where we did church and the place was small, so during winter time everybody had to crawl around the fire [Mr William/OT/2010].

Evidently, the common religiosity that united families and individuals had implications for their social relations. This encompassed learning to get along and working out responses to their socioeconomic disadvantages. In this regard, their belief in fate as designated by God is especially relevant, as it helps to explain educational and socioeconomic outcomes across the generations. For instance, first-generation participants who had accepted a fate that was characterised by long hours of labourious menial work in exchange for meagre wages were not expressively aggrieved by their unfavourable socioeconomic outcomes. They tended to see their
resilience and survival as a test of their faith for which God would reward them. This orientation was also common among second-generation participants, some of whom were disadvantaged in socioeconomic terms. Indira [PP3.2], a cancer sufferer and president at a Pocomania church in London, demonstrated this. Her belief was that “God lets things happen to you to see how strong you are, and He is letting me go through this [bad experiences] to see how strong I am”.

The inter-generational accounts revealed that Caribbean religious sects, such as Pocomania and Orisha, reinforced loyalty to Judaeo-Christian doctrines. In Caribbean tradition, leaders in these sects function to interpret and project life trajectories - that include educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. Mr John [PP6.1] explained that they are usually without organised structure but common among followers of Christianity. He elaborates in the following extract:

I grow up in Christian Baptist. Most people from Grenada and Trinidad are Christian Baptist but they have other things like Voodoo and Orisha. They call it other things, but is the same like Black Magic and people can tell the future. I can tell things. But it is like money making thing because people pay the Black Scientists to tell the future. Plenty people do it but they hide it [Mr John/Huddersfield/2009].

Religious leaders, in roles as agents of socialisation, offered the members of their congregation counsel and recommendations, which influenced attitudes towards educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. Their interventions were revered among some participants but their net influence is questionably because, as Mr John [PP6.1] countered, “they tell things for better fortune but no one can change the future because God decide everybody future even before they born”. In this sense, religiosity helps to explain why some participants’ were not inclined to pursue educational attainment or vocational training by which their socioeconomic prospects could have been improved. The first-generation participants who had not attained educationally and who perceived academic success as “not what God wanted“ were likely to pass on this orientation to their second-generation children who had not attained educationally. However, the second-generation who attended religious school were advantaged in terms of the quality of their school experience. Chester’s [F9.2] experience in the following extract illustrates this:

I went to a Catholic school. My experience there was quite good compared to a lot of my peers. I was the only black boy, and there was one Indian girl. I was accepted just as one of the children. They were very strict. My older brothers had attended the school before me so my parents knew what to expect. I had a good experience - enjoyable. But at that stage I did not have an appreciation of what being at school really meant in terms of the grand scheme of things [Chester/Sheffield/2009]

The extract offers insight into how some participants viewed the relationship between education and religiosity. In this relationship, discipline commands a value that influenced some parents’ decision about their children’s schooling. This orientation was common among participants who
had attained educationally. However, in a similar way as family structures, patterns of religiosity had been subjected to changes across the generations.

The second-generation participants were not inclined to congregate in religious settings as much as their parents did. As Mr Tito [F1.1] put it, they grew up in a “permissive” society that encouraged deviation from orthodox religiosity, and are therefore “worldly”. By this experience, the second-generation, who were brought up in Britain, developed a religiosity that was liberal, compared to that of their parents. The historical context is here significant because, as Mr Tito [F1.1] observed, they grew up in a permissive society during a time when Britain experienced major shifts in its social, economic, and political landscapes. The change in attitude towards the practice and influence of religiosity is captured in the following extract from Lloyd [F3.2.2]:

Religion is strong in the community because black cultures thank God for everything we have. From the first to the second to the third generation, you can see my Dad being first-generation - they are all God fearing. Everything they do in life is all about what God wants for them to do and they thank God every day. As for the second and third generations - there is something, but I don’t believe that there is this man standing above me saying go on lad go on. I don’t believe in that any more. My generation is scientific minded. We have come out of the 70s, we have seen TV and everything else, we have come out of that, we don’t really believe that if we don’t go to church every week God is gonna strike us dead. People are more believing in themselves than the will of God. People believe in their own ability to make a success for themselves. It’s like the lottery; people don’t believe God is gonna make them win it, but they believe if they keep playing it, one day they’ll hit it [Lloyd/AuL/2009].

The change in religious orientation between the first and the second generations parallels the changes in the socioeconomic situations in their families, their local communities, and the wider society. As implied by the permissive society, the second generation experienced a higher level of tolerance towards faiths such as Islam and Rastafari, which, according to Mr Tito [F1.1], were popular during the 1970s. Family cases 1, 3, and 4 in Chapter 4 revealed that these faiths propagated ideologies that appealed to Caribbean youngsters’ experience of social exclusion and material poverty. They offered alternative points of view, often radical ones, from which Caribbean youngsters could interpret the disadvantages that they and their parents routinely experienced in British society. This inspired their interest in new world religious tenets that reflected in a decline in congregation in churches and an increase in a liberal religiosity that favoured educational and socioeconomic success among Caribbeans. Lloyd [F3.2.2] affirmed that they started believing in themselves and their ability to make a success for themselves:

I came from a background where everyone is religious and goes to church. Being in England has made me more self-conscious and believing in my own abilities as against accepting a fate from God [Lloyd/AuL/2009].
Such alternative religious tenets supplanted some of the orthodox religious norms by which the second-generation participants were brought up. According to Triston (F1.2) “they saw their parent’s misery and wanted to be different”. The desire to be different reflected in appropriation of contemporary religious tenets that appealed to their experiences of poverty, racism, and social exclusion, for instance. This was acknowledged in Chapter 4 in which Islam and Rastafari were shown to have addressed questions about identity and the connection between Judaeo-Christianity and the injustices Caribbeans routinely experienced in British society. Rastafari, in particular, was thought to have raised awareness of inequalities that disadvantaged Caribbeans. Mr William [F5.1] informed that the movement had progressive principles for economic and religious reforms, which they hoped would bring about socioeconomic justice through positive change. Mrs Dmitri [F8.1] observed, however, “the Rasta, no one wanted to go near them. It’s like the Hoodies, just the same they treat them. Police were not nice. It was their appearance”.

Evidently, the varied sense of religiosity, especially among second-generation participants, had implications for their educational and socioeconomic outcomes. From the 1970s, these implications reflected in distinct response patterns that differentiated those who had attained educationally or who were bought up in upwardly mobile communities from those who were brought up in disadvantaged communities. The former tended to be sympathetic towards the ideology of resistance that was propagated by Rastafari. They saw this as consistent with their Judaeo-Christianity, which they tended to believe sufficiently exhorted them to resist injustices through attending higher education, and succeeding in education and socioeconomic domains - rather than outward rejection of orthodox religious norms and Eurocentric cultures. This action, it appeared, would have been inconsistent with their desire to progress in the mainstream.

Conversely, some second-generation participants’ accounts of their experiences revealed that followers of Rastafari, and its radical Ragamuffin sect, were likely to be youngsters who had led a life of poverty and social exclusion in disadvantaged communities. They responded to threats to their new sense of religiosity, observed earlier by Mrs Dmitri [F8.1], with heightened and visible resistance towards authority and orthodox Judaeo-Christianity. Lloyd [F3.2.2] explained:

What Rasta represents is radical but the Ragas are people who don’t believe in authority, they don’t like authority, they don’t believe the police should stop them from doing things. They grew their hair as a form of protest and don’t follow laws. I think it has changed over the years because I know some educated Rastas who are into fashion. My brother [Levi] was a Rasta and he is not anymore. But this affected the younger generation in terms of their lack of discipline to follow rules. They grew up with a theory of Babylon - that the white man is Babylon and everything to do with Babylon was bad. It goes beyond the law, because the law is created by whites and upheld by the white community, so they associate everything politically correct with Babylon and the police. It’s the same thing that permeated over here where youngsters, even to this day, shout “Babylon! Police coming!” It’s almost like it has
been programmed into us now. It was not cultural, but it has become cultural because a lot of these things are really cultural, the further you look into it, when you take off the layers. See how contradictory that is, it is cultural but it was not created by our culture, the whole religion thing was not created by us [Lloyd/AUL/2009].

This extract, in a similar way as the others before it, offers insights into how religious ideology helped the second generation to understand their social world and mediate their experiences therein. Some of their responses, which were seen in Chapter 4 family case 1, were also influenced by their cultural consciousness at the time. For instance, Triston [F1.2] mentioned that the screening of Roots during the 1970, when they were youngsters, showed the world “what had happened to black people”. This was combined with the popularisation of Rastafari that encouraged Caribbeans to resist racial injustices that had historically disadvantaged them.

To summarise, the participants’ accounts of their experiences revealed a consensus that religiosity impacts upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression in British society. This consensus was somewhat influenced by a contemporary religious consciousness, which had retained some aspects of orthodox religiosity that were reproduced across the generations. The younger generation, however, were unlikely to congregate in the religious settings in which they had been socialised traditionally. Nonetheless, during my visits to some churches and pray-meetings with some participants, I did observe young children, though very few, interacting and learning to read in Sunday and Sabbath schools. This led me to ascertain that religiosity is not simply a socialising force in Caribbeans’ churches, families, communities, and social clubs but, crucially, it is a cultural resource by which they mediate their experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains, and that which impacts upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. The analyses turn now to Education.

5.5 Education

Education as a setting refers to schools - including nursery and supplementary ones, colleges, and universities in which the participants were socialised and were likely to acquire educational sensibilities. The analysis explores patterns of educational experiences and outcomes among the different generations, and emphasises the salience of their familiarity with formal education processes that they acquired through their socialisation in education, and which functioned as a cultural resource that impacts upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

5.5.1 Educational Background - First Generation

The pre-emigration educational experiences and levels of attainment among the first-generation participants were diverse. Some of them, especially those who came from rural areas in the Caribbean, had no experience of formal education, while there were others who had completed secondary school and had attained qualifications that enabled them to progress in educational
terms in Britain. Mr Edward’s [F6.1] experience in the following extract gives an insight into the system of education in the Caribbean from which most of the first-generation participants came:

I grew up in the village. Most of the population were black, very religious peasants. The women of the family cared for me. I was very talkative and energetic from since I was a tot so they bought an alphabet sheet and taught me the alphabet and words. I started learning words and calling them out everywhere, so they decided I should be sent to school. It was mainly my aunt. She tried to get me to prep school. Then they decided I should go to primary school, and I was already able to read sentences. I got to primary school; it was a Catholic school, and one day I was sent to the head mistress, [an Irish nun]. While I was waiting, I started calling out the words on the posters on the wall and she heard me. She was surprised I could do that so she decided I should be kept on and sent to second standard [grade 2]. That's where it started for me. The school was mixed, but predominantly blacks with some whites, Indians, and Chinese. In Guyana, at the time, there was one school that was the equivalent of Eton in England. It was a requirement in all the colonies and the top boys would be sent there. Rich people would send their children there. In the whole of Guyana, the government would award ten scholarships for the top boys to go to that school. The head teacher had her eyes on me. Then there was this new teacher who took over my class and he decided to do something about this. My life changed then. I did not have a typical upbringing. While my friends were out playing cricket and kicking ball I was being given extra lessons and coaching [supplementary schooling]. There is a very high prestige to getting a scholarship, both for the school and for the person. Even wealthy people who could afford to send their children preferred a scholarship because of the prestige. I was prepped, and when I took the exam, I got the scholarship. I attended the school and I finished with ten O-levels [Mr Edward/OT/2010].

Participants such as Mr Edward who had an above primary-school level of education before they emigrated from the Caribbean were most certain about the vocational usefulness of education and how attainment translated into socioeconomic progression. As a result, they were inclined to pursue further education and attain qualifications in order to improve their socioeconomic prospects in Britain. Mr Edwards’ [F6.1] experiences, continued here, is typical:

I came to England in 1960. In those days if one wanted an education, one had to go to England or America. I came for education so my experience was not typical, because I came with a different mind-set. I was part of a learning community but during summers I worked at the factories and even as a dustman. But, I knew that once summer is over I would be going back to school. My family [members] were saying that I needed to take advantage because they did not have that opportunity. I wanted to study medicine so I did A-levels in chemistry, physics, and zoology. After college, I applied to the UCCA [University Central Council on Admission] to study medicine but I did not get a place at
any university. Once I had my results, I approached a few with my grades. I got a place at Edinburgh [University of] to study life sciences but not medicine. They would only accept me if I would do chemistry and life sciences. I accepted and stayed in a hostel on campus and worked as well, as I did not have a grant. I later learned that the place they would have offered me to study medicine was given to someone else whom I had better grades than. I did not really let it bother me because we knew that it would not be easy even before we came to England. In Guyana, we used to say - if you black you stay back, if you brown you stick around, and if you white you will be alright. But I never believed that because I was brought up in a religious environment and I know that we are all equal in God's eyes. Anyway, I did the degree in life sciences and then started applying for jobs - but did not get any. I applied to be a student guide at a university in Manchester and then I had a call that someone was interested in my CV. I was nervous but I went anyway. He offered me to do a PhD in bacteriology. I thought it was a mistake but I agreed and did it anyway [Mr Edward/OT/2010].

Mr Edward’s [F7.1] experiences in the extract demonstrate the extent to which first-generation participants, who had attained some level of educational qualification, such as O’levels in the Caribbean before they emigrated, were inclined to attain higher educational qualifications and improve their socioeconomic prospects in Britain. This inclination contrasted with that of first-generation who were functionally illiterate, those who had only basic schooling, and those who had not attended any form of vocational training. The following extract offers an insight into sceptical views about the vocational usefulness of education, which were typical among them:

Well education is good, but for what? It won’t help you find a job. I know this girl. She have education and she went for a job and they give her a test. Then they tell her she too qualified so she didn’t get the job. They [employers] want you but not if you know more than the boss. They [the boss] afraid you will do things he don’t understand. Education won’t really help you find a job. If you educated, you won’t want certain jobs because you will feel you too educated for that [certain jobs] or the money too small. But everyone needs money whether a job pays a lot or not. You have to make up your mind to earn less if you have education or have education and without money [Mr John/Huddersfield/2009]

Lack of educational attainment, illiteracy, and limited conviction of the vocational usefulness of education among some first-generation participants, evident in the previous extract, translated to limited interest in education and the educational development of their children. Nonetheless, they ensured that their children attended school - which characterised the extent of their involvement in their children’s educational development. For instance, in Chapter 4, it was shown that Mr Tito [F1.1] in family case 1 and Mr William [F5.1] in family case 3 ensured that their children attended school but their limited understanding of the education system meant that they were limited in their ability to participate in their children’s educational development.
Furthermore, this responsibility was assumed by matriarchs who, because of illiteracy or work commitment, were not always able to facilitate the educational development of children in their care. However, because this was part of their responsibility, they were generally more inclined towards educational attainment than the men were, perhaps from having stayed on longer in school or from experience in their employment as auxiliary nurses. Mrs Edward [F6.1] affirmed that the women who worked as auxiliary nurses required basic reading skills. They were also advantaged by any level of education that they had in terms of accessing vocational training or employment mobility opportunities. Ms Marjorie’s [F4.1] experience below illustrates this:

When I was in Trinidad, I did two O’levels but I got low grades. When I left Trinidad, I had a place at Macclesfield Hospital to study nursing. I didn’t finish the course because I got married and had the children. But, later, I went back and got qualified as a mental health nurse. I did the course at Salford University in the 1980s. My job paid for it. I got a Certificate in Social Service [CSS] and the Certificate of Qualification in Social Work [CQSW]. It’s like a social work qualification. I also got a counselling qualification. I was there from an early age when I stopped doing my mental health nursing. After the children, I got to work as a care assistant [Ms Marjorie/Denton/2009].

The opportunities to attain educational qualifications and employment mobility that were available in the healthcare industry enabled participants such as Ms Marjorie [F4.1] to progress socioeconomically and lead an improved quality of life. Their socioeconomic outcome contrasted with that of participants such as Mr John [PP6.1] who had no experience in formal education, or Mr Dmitri [F8.1] and Mr Tito [F1.1] who had not attained educationally. The latter worked in the manual sector and had little opportunity to improve their employment prospects. Moreover, their notion of a better life in Britain was based on finding un-skilled work so that they could earn money easier than it was in the Caribbean. Education was not factored in their motivation for immigrating to England and, as Mr William’s [F5.1] experience in Chapter 4 family case 3 illustrated, there were opportunities to attain educational or vocational qualifications but they were more concerned with finding work. Mr Dmitri’s [F8.1] experience below corroborates this:

When I got redundant, I tried a few courses but I did not stick to it long enough to get anything out of it. The mistake I made was spend too much time working than studying. So I was more about working. Some stick to education and they got on all right [Mr Dmitri/Oldham/2010].

The first-generation participants’ accounts of their experiences revealed, unequivocally, that the nature of their interest in education originated in their Caribbean background. Those who did not pursue educational qualifications in Britain had either not attended school or had attended only basic school in their home country. Manual low-skilled work, not education, was the means by which their families in the Caribbean had gotten on, and they hoped to continue this life in Britain. This summation is supported by Mr John’s [PP6] experiences in the following extract:
I left Carriacou [Grenada] and go [to] Trinidad when I was 12 [years old] to work. My mother was in Trinidad, she had nine children. I did not go [to] school, they send me go bush [farm] every day. In Trinidad, I work as a labourer at the oil refinery just doing any job. I couldn’t get good job because I didn’t have the right documents. I had a hard time in Trinidad. I was staying with my mother there but I did not stay long. In 1957 was a big year. I went Connecticut [USA] to work on the tobacco field but I stay only nine months. The government in Trinidad had get money for us to go there. The crop that year was bad so I come England on the boat [Mr John/Huddersfield/2009].

Mr John [PP6.1] explained that it was normal for boys like himself in Grenada and Trinidad to be primed for manual work - especially in farming. As a result, attending school and attaining educationally had not been factored in his life course, and his expectation on coming to Britain was a continuation of that life, except with more opportunities to find work that did not require him to have attained educationally. Similarly, the other participants who were functionally illiterate, or who had attended only basic school in their home country before they come to Britain, were not inclined to pursue further education. They worked in the manual industries and, as shown earlier, some of them who were aware that educational attainment could improve their employment prospects attempted vocational courses that they failed or failed to complete. Their educational experience corresponded to their pre-immigration aspiration for a better life and their notions of how they would realise it. This was typically through obtaining [low-skilled] work in the manual sector and affording to satisfy their family’s basic needs.

The educational experience of participants who had attained educationally also corresponded to their pre-immigration aspiration for a better life, and their notion of how they would realise it. For instance, it was shown in Chapter 4 family case 2 that Mr Phillip’s [F2.1] childhood aspiration was to become a doctor, but he pursued nursing after he was unable to attain the grades to study medicine. Similarly, Mr Edward [F7.1] aspired to become a doctor and Mr Leroy [F3.1] aspired to work in an office. Mr Edward [F7.1] became a university lecturer and Mr Leroy [F3.1] bought a virtual business course that, at the time of the inquiry, he had not yet pursued.

Their educational experience did not only correspond to their occupational aspiration but also, crucially, to their understanding of the vocational usefulness of educational attainment and their familiarity with formal education processes that they acquired by virtue of their socialisation in education. This led me to ascertain that familiarity with formal education processes functioned to impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression, and participation in their children’s educational development and schooling - more specifically. This is explored next.

### 5.5.2 School Experience - Second Generation

The second-generation participants attended schools in their local communities. It was noted in the analysis of Community that some families settled in or moved to local communities in order
that their children could have a better chance to attain educationally in what they believed were “good schools”. The second-generation participants’ experiences in schools were, nonetheless, generally unfavourable - being, as shown in Chapter 4, accented with feelings of isolation, not belonging, being trapped, being different, and an otherwise general lack of interest in school. Their generally unfavourable experiences in school, however, were mediated by interactions with socialisation agents - mainly parents, peers, and teachers - who offered encouragement, guidance, or distractions that influenced their educational experiences and outcomes. Felicia’s [F2.2] experience of encouragement and guidance in the following extract exemplifies this:

My Dad use to always come to school meetings and if I would do a show or exhibition. My parents have always been supportive of my education. You know, taking an interest in what homework I was doing, asking me what I wanted to do when I left school, with just an expectation that I would go on to A-level and carry on to university. That was just an expectation that I know, whereas other friends of mine, their families might have been more like – “what you want to go to college for”. Just friends from school whose parents maybe had not been to university, would not have had a positive attitude about going to university. My parents were always well, “you are clever so you have to go to university to further your education” [Felicia/Hide/2009].

In contrast to experiences such as Felicia’s, where encouragement and guidance for educational attainment were marginal or absent, particularly in schools, the second-generation were unlikely to attain educationally or, as Andy’s [F10.2] experience revealed, “did not get anything out of school”. This outcome corresponded to the nature of their familiarity with formal education processes, much of which was acquired in schools where they were not sufficiently supported to attain educationally. This observation is significant in that it helps to explain some second-generation participants’ attitude and response towards schooling. For instance, Triston’s [F1.2] not wanting anything out of school, Andy’s [F10.2] failing everything and being excluded, and Wilma’s [F5.2] not liking school. It was evident that their lack of aspiration to attain educationally was reflective of their limited encouragement from socialisation agents to attain educationally, most crucially, during their compulsory schooling. Triston [F1.2] elaborated:

Caribbean parents don’t take an active role in their children’s education. They leave this up to the school. They think it is the school’s responsibility to educate their children properly. My parents’ lives were difficult. Dad never showed interest in my education. We hardly saw my Dad - he worked nights when we were asleep and stayed home during the day when we were in school. After secondary school, I did a few apprenticeships. I wanted to go to work. Most boys just wanted to go to work. It was not like we wanted anything at school. There was fun; we would sit at the back of the class and play games all the time. The teachers never bothered. It was like, it is ok to sit at the back and play while I teach those who are interested. Looking back now, I think they were happy to see us fail [Triston/OT/2009].
Triston’s [F1.2] experience offers an insight into how, in addition to his parents and peers, his teachers offered him little to no support to attain educationally. However, once he had finished compulsory schooling without having attained educationally, a female peer of his invited him to attend a secretarial course from which he attained a vocational qualification. This achievement inspired a change in attitude towards school and educational attainment across the generations in his family. Unlike his first-generation parents, he did not believe that school was wholly responsible for his children’s educational development and, as was shown in Chapter 4 family case 1, he has supported them to attain educationally. His own attainment enabled him to acquire familiarity with the processes of educational attainment and understand the vocational usefulness of education in enabling socioeconomic progression; an understanding which he has passed to his children who, through their educational attainment and professional employment, have achieved better socioeconomic outcomes than he has achieved. Similarly, Lloyd’s [F3.2.2] vocational training in the Army enabled him to acquire familiarity with processes of attainment and inspired him to play an active role in his children’s educational development. He said:

I want them to be so smart that people will know they are my children. I will encourage my son into IT [information technology] to develop his skills because I have seen that he has a talent already for IT. He is 10. His teacher told me he is not doing great on his reading. The minute I found out, I was on his case. I sat him down and gave him the talk - told him he needs to fix that because I am not having anybody tell me my kids are dumb. I think as parents we should focus on our children’s education. I won’t have my children speaking improperly. I won’t have them pronouncing words incorrectly because when they go out there I want them to be able to iterate at any level. To speak to a thousand different people and communicate at any level [Lloyd/Hyde/2009].

This extract captures the patterns of attitudes towards education across the generations. It highlights a notion of education that extends beyond mere attainment, i.e., quality of exam grades passed or degrees attained. Lloyd [F3.2.2] wants his children to interact with people at different levels and he wants to participate in bringing about this outcome. Formal speech and manner of self-expression are attributes that he hopes to impress upon his children in order to help them to develop the ability and confidence to interact with others at different levels in their society, including in their schools. This orientation is similar to that of the participants who had attained high levels of education, obtained high-status occupation, and progressed in the mainstream. This trajectory often started in their schools, in which many acquired familiarity with the processes of formal education through their interactions with peers, teachers, and other highly achieved professionals. These socialisation agents helped them to understand the vocational usefulness of education and, in some cases, guided them through the process of attaining educational qualifications. In this regard, familiarity with formal education processes, acquired by virtue of socialisation in formal education settings, which include supplementary schools, is affirmed herein as a cultural resource that impacts upon the different generations’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. The analyses now turn to occupation.
5.6 Occupation

In the previous analysis, the participants’ experience in education was shown to be a key factor that influenced the kind of employment they were likely to obtain. The analysis here, however, focuses on the actual work by which they earned their living. This is viewed within the context of occupation, which refers to the setting in which opportunities for employment and mobility exist. The analysis starts with a general insight into the first-generation’s experiences in occupation in Britain, and explores in detail the patterns of inter-generational experiences and outcomes in occupation to reveal occupational aspiration as a cultural resource that impacts upon educational attainment and socioeconomic progression across the different generations.

5.6.1 Experiences and Aspirations in Occupation

The first-generation participants earned their living in the manual sector during their early days in England. The men worked as factory production line operatives, janitors, and train tracks and railways cleaners. The women worked mainly in the healthcare sector as auxiliary nurses - the lowest level of nursing, which was manually intensive and did not require them to have neither educational qualification nor prior work experience. It was noted earlier in the chapter that some of them also worked as factory production line operatives and one, Mrs Andrew [F10.1], operated a Shebeen. Other than the Shebeen, these occupations were classed as low status and commanded low wages, required long hours, and offered little to no prospect for mobility.

As shown in previous analyses, some first-generation participants went on to attain educational or vocational qualifications and worked in occupations that commanded relatively high status and incomes, which permitted them to realise a relatively better life. Mr Phillip [F2.1], Mrs Majorie [F5.1], and Mr Edward [F7.1] who worked as a counsellor, deputy manager, and university lecturer, respectively, exemplified this. Their accounts of their experiences, however, revealed a common interest in healthcare related occupations, which was often encouraged by their relatives and friends in the Caribbean. Ms Marjorie [F4.1] whose father encouraged her to immigrate to Britain to study nursing typified this. On first arriving in England, she worked as an auxiliary nurse but went on to attain qualifications and improved her employment prospects:

There was a lot of opportunities for work. Some of my friends went to London to work as nurses but I applied for a job at the nursing home in Dukinfield and I got it so I moved there [to live]. There were no Caribbeans in the area at the time. Work was the reason I moved there. After I’d been there for a while I went to college and got qualifications and I was made the Deputy. I was earning about £18,000. That was 20 years ago. I was there until I retired [Ms Majorie/Denton/2009].

Ms Marjorie’s [F4.1] educational attainment translated to better employment and financial security. This outcome was similar among other first-generation participants who had attained
educational or vocational qualifications and improved their employment prospects. For instance, Mr Phillip [F2.1] said that he aspired to become a doctor, which was “not only about having a job, but having a profession”. His poor performance throughout his compulsory schooling career, however, compromised his prospect of becoming a doctor so, according to himself, he pursued the “next best thing”, which was nursing. Here, his experience is such that, after not having attained the exam grades for admission to medical school, he did not abandon his aspiration to have “a profession”. Instead, he went on to further education to attain qualifications in order to improve his chances to work in a healthcare related occupation. Similarly, Mr Edward [F6.1] had aspired to become a doctor and hoped to study medicine. Like Mr Phillip [F2.1] and Ms Marjorie [F4.1], his aspiration to work in a high-status occupation, healthcare related primarily, was factored in his motivation for immigrating to Britain.

Aspiration to work in healthcare related occupations was also common among their second-generation children. However, in a similar way as their first-generation parents, the majority of the second-generation participants were unable to attain qualifications to pursue high-status healthcare related occupations. Megan’s [F3.2] experience below illustrates this:

My father was traditional in that I was his only daughter. I always felt the boys [Marcus and Melvin] were pushed more and I was just...the little side thing. Even though he did have aspirations for me, he didn’t push me as much as my brothers. He would joke around and say I could be a doctor. Even when I visit Trinidad or if I am overhearing a conversation - it’s like this should be a doctor or people would say, “what do you do are you a doctor?” I think probably at some point I was looked down upon by my Dad. I suppose it got to a stage with my Dad - ok I was not going to be this doctor, so just do the best you can. That’s what he would say, but I always knew he would have liked for me to do better than what I have done. Even like my post-grad that I have just done, it wasn’t like - “well done! Congratulations [Megan]“. It was like “thank God“ - you know? And I am thinking, but Dad, I still had to work hard to get it. After my graduation, he said, “oh I had a tear in mi eye, yes you have done really well” [Megan/AUL/2008].

Megan’s [F3.2] experience supports the assertion that healthcare related occupations are highly valued among the different generations of Caribbeans. This was affirmed by Indira [PP3.2]:

Healthcare is like a trademark for Caribbeans. All who come here now go straight to the hospitals. Most Caribbeans, not just in England, but also in Canada and America, are in healthcare positions. Most people want to be a nurse or doctor. In the Caribbean, nurses and doctors are looked up to and they are respected - a higher level of respect as a career. People ask, "what do you do?”, and you can say you are a nurse. Most of the old generation women who came to work as nurses were in the old system that did not require study or experience. It was straightforward like midwifery, where you have a baby and they had that experience from back home. Also that it is a safe environment.
Job stability is one as well, at the end of the day you know if anything happens then you know you can support yourself [Indira/London/2010].

Beyond the financial security and privileged social status that are associated with healthcare related occupation, one notes the commonness and consistency of aspiration to work in high-status occupations in the accounts of participants who had attained educationally, regardless of their gender or generation. In this regard, occupational aspiration is seen as a cultural resource that impacts upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression in Britain.

The accounts of participants - such as Mr Tito [F1.1], Mr William [F5.1], and Mr Dmitri [F8.1] - who had not attained educationally revealed a variant of this resource that corresponded to their notion of leading a better life. This revolved around finding low-skilled jobs to earn money, which they lacked in Caribbean. The majority were unemployed or lived in material poverty before they emigrated, and were particularly motivated by the ease at which they could obtain work and earn their living in Britain. This was articulated by Mr Dmitri [F8.1] who said, “we were supposed to come to England to get jobs, get money a bit easier than it was at home”.

Like Mr Dmitri [F8.1], most of the other first-generation participants who aspired to work in the [low-skilled] manual sector had not had any paid-work experience before they immigrated to Britain. Some other participants, such as Mr Tito [F1.1] and Mr William [F5.1], confirmed that once here they were most concerned with working to get on and pay their bills, i.e., to satisfy their basic needs. This manifested in their preoccupation with survival, which is inconsistent with pursuit of qualifications that could facilitate their socioeconomic progression through [better] employment in the long term. This translated to less favourable occupational outcomes than those of their counterparts who aspired to work in non-manual occupations.

For instance, Mr Leroy [F3.1] who had worked as a bookkeeper and Ms Ensley [F7.1] who had worked as a child minder for a “wealthy Jewish family” (Diary 2 note, 2010) in Jamaica aspired to work in non-manual occupations. During their early years in England, they worked in the manual sector - Ms Ensley [F7.1] as an auxiliary nurse and Mr Leroy [F3.1] as a production line operative. During the latter years of their working life, however, Ms Ensley [F7.1] worked as a clerical assistant and Mr Leroy [F3.1] worked as a call centre operative. These non-manual jobs afforded them a better standard of living, relative to that of their counterparts who remained in the [low-skilled] manual sector. These diverse patterns in their employment and socioeconomic outcomes, which are understood in terms of occupational aspiration, are explored separately.

5.6.2 Patterns of Employment and Socioeconomic Outcomes

The analysis in this subsection is inter-generational. It aims to highlight patterns of employment and socioeconomic outcomes among the participants, especially those that differentiated the participants who had attained educationally and obtained professional employment from the
participants who had not attained educationally and worked in the [low-skilled] manual sector throughout their working life.

It has been shown that the participants who had obtained professional employment had little disruption in their working life and relatively favourable socioeconomic outcomes. It was also shown that the participants who had worked in the manual sector without any significant disruption in their working life had better socioeconomic outcomes than the participants who had experienced long stints of unemployment as a result of either redundancies or family commitments. For instance, the accounts of Mr Tito [F1.1], Mr William [F5.1], and Mr John [PP6.1] who were made redundant as a result of economic restructuring and recession during the 1970s and 1980s revealed that their employment prospects in the manual sector were severely interrupted from that time. The restructured economy emerged with increasing demands for educational and vocational qualifications, which they had opportunities to attain and could in turn improve their employment prospects. However, they were mainly interested in finding [low-skilled] work that were rapidly decreasing in availability. Mr John [PP6.1] said that some Caribbeans, who had lost their jobs, sold or lost their homes and social housing and other social benefits were provided for those who were unable to satisfy their basic needs. Mr Tito [F1.1] also said that, "during that time Partnerships were not so popular" because there were issues of trust. These pressures were compounded by limited prospect for self-employment, which, according to Mr William [F5.1], had little appeal among them. He intimated:

Our people prefer to work for other people rather than working for ourself. This is our weakness and it is always with us, and if we don’t change we will always be cleaning the streets when other people sh*t on it. It should not be like that. In school, some want to get on but some don’t. They t’ink the world owe them somet’ing and instead to fight for it they don’t. Some of the white guys around here [are] adopting the same principle of not wanting to do anyt’ing, and they [be]come no-good as well. I look at Obama - he is a guy with passion who want to achieve t’ings. The Americans speak with so much passion about business, but our people are not like that. We have to break out of the mould and do somet’ing different, but they need to know where to start. I know some young people [who are] high up in society and very good at what they do, but it’s not many. We use to have shops selling coloured people food but the Asians push them out and undercut them because they too expensive. This is some t’ings that happened. Our people was not privileged and when they get a little privilege, they use it too much. Even Africans are doing better these days [Mr William/OT/2010].

While it is true that not many of the participants were admittedly inclined towards self-employment, as this extract affirms, they had evolve various strategies to continue to make a living after the economic restructure. The participants who had attained educationally obtained employment in the emerging knowledge economy without any notable difficulty. They had an increased awareness of the vocational usefulness of education in the restructured economy and
correspondingly high occupational aspirations which they passed on to their children. Megan’s [F4.2] experience illustrates this:

I wanted to go into nursing. After school, I still wanted to pursue nursing so I went to South Trafford College. There was a course called pre-nursing where you got your five O-levels and you learn a bit about what a nurse does and that was a two-year course. Mum used to work in an old people’s home as a deputy manager and one time, when I was 16, I got a job working there. I didn't like it so that put me off nursing. I now coordinate training at an NHS [National Health Service] Trust [Megan/Denton/2009].

Like Megan [F4.2], there were other second-generation female participants who, like their first-generation parents, aspired towards and successfully pursued careers in healthcare related occupations. Their brothers, on the other hand, tended to pursue careers in artistic and technical fields such as cinematography, engineering, and information technology. For instance, Frampton [F2.2.2] studied theatre and costume design and works as a fitness studio manager; Freddie [F2.2.3] studied Philosophy and works as a real estate broker; Marcus [F4.2.2] studied information technology and works as an engineer; Melvin [F4.2.3] studied human resources and works as a consultant. These patterns in occupational outcomes compare inversely with those of the participants who had not attained educationally or who worked in low-skilled jobs and were susceptible to redundancy and unemployment. These latter participants were likely to be dependent on state assistance or were inclined to develop their own hustle to satisfy their basic needs. Consequently, they were marginalised in the labour market and isolated from campaigns to improve their skills through education or vocational training. Among them, however, there appeared to be a gendered pattern in their relatively poor outcomes.

Even though the participants who worked in low-skilled-low-status occupations in the manual sector were widely affected by the changes in Britain’s economic landscape that started during the 1970s, the men appeared more so than the women. It has been shown that some first-generation men held a preference for work in the manual sector, despite its volatility. This may have been compounded by their limited understanding of the economic changes that were underway. For, as Mrs Edwards [F6.1] said, “there was no network of support” and “Caribbean men are laid back and not easy to change”. The women, however, who worked as auxiliary nurses were seemingly advantaged by opportunities to improve their employment prospects in the healthcare sector. But, they were not always able to avail themselves of such opportunities as some of them had remained affected by a legacy of disadvantages that had negative implications for their own and their children’s life chances. Mrs Edwards [F6.1] explained:

The women are up and about, going to school and doing things. But before, they worked long hours, multiple jobs and did a lot of overtime so they were hardly home. A lot of their children got abused because there were no parents in the home. There is this family from our church - the sisters have just taken their brother to court for
abusing them over 30 years ago. Of course the parents were not aware so it was a shock. There is a lot of that going on now [Mrs Edward/OT/2010].

It can be inferred from this extract that the first-generation women, many of whom had not attained educationally, were advantaged by their gender in the labour market. However, as Mrs Edward [F6.1] noted, the women, who typically earned less than the men, often worked several jobs at the same time to make ends meet, to save towards homeownership, or their return to the Caribbean. These commitments affected their ability to improve their employment prospects and occupational outcomes and to encourage their children towards the same. Their second-generation children, both sons and daughters, had different economic pressures, such as not having to save towards a return to the Caribbean, but they had similar patterns of occupational outcomes as those of their parents. In a similar way as their parents, they tended to pursue their own hustle or whatever low-skilled or unskilled job that they could find in order to get on.

Andy [F10.2] and Andrea [F10.3] exemplified this in Chapter 4 family case 4. In a similar way as their parents, they had not attained educationally, which corresponded to their relatively unfavourably occupational outcomes. This summarises the overall pattern in occupational experiences and outcomes among the different generations in families that had not attained educationally. This inter-generational pattern, however, was not intractable. We have seen that some second-generation participants who had not attained educationally and who had parents who were out of employment for long periods were inclined to improve their skills-set and seek non-manual employment in the mainstream. Triston [F1.2] illustrated this in Chapter 4 family case 1. His vocational qualification enabled his progress from “shifting boxes” at the factory where his father also worked to obtaining non-manual, albeit low-skilled, employment in the service sector. This occupational outcome must be seen in light of his occupational aspiration and interaction with acquaintances who functioned as socialisation agents in his occupational settings. For instance, his father whom he worked with encouraged him to seek better employment and his peer invited him to attend a vocational course and attain qualifications.

Like his father, who was also his workmate, his peer functioned as a socialisation agent who helped him to realise what he could become occupationally and identify means by which he could obtain better employment. This is the backdrop against which he acquired occupational aspiration, a cultural resource, that impact upon his educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. For, although the course “was to help black people”, his occupational aspiration led him to seek its information and to commit himself to attend it. Lloyd [F3.2.2], who had heard about the opportunity to join the Army from his stepbrother, affirmed the viability of this cultural resource. Like Triston [F1.2], he had not attained well in education and sought to join the Army as a way of acquiring occupational skills in order to improve his employment prospects and overall occupational outcome. By these actions, these second-generation acquired a repertoire of advantages that they passed on to their third-generation children who, in turn, were advantaged and likely to do well in education and socioeconomic domains.
5.7 Reflection

Through the case studies in Chapter 4 and the sociocultural analyses in Chapter 5, answers to the sub-questions, noted in Chapter 3, were provided. To reiterate, these were • What are the cultural resources that Caribbeans acquire and use to mediate their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains?, • How do Caribbeans in Britain acquire the cultural resources that impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression?, and • How do the cultural resources that impact upon Caribbeans’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression vary among individuals, across families, and across generations. In the light of this knowledge, this section reflects on the overall analyses by way of a review of some patterns of educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes across the three generations of participants whose accounts of their lived experiences have been analysed in this chapter.

To recap, the first-generation participants generally framed their background in the Caribbean in terms of poverty and limited opportunities for them to improve their quality of life there. In coming from this background, the majority of them had little experience in formal education, or paid-work, before they came to Britain - where their kinsfolks facilitated their settlement in local areas, some of which have come to have a high concentration of Caribbeans. These local areas have evolved since the 1950s, being shaped by fluidity in social identities, social relations, and material circumstances among the inhabitants. Those in which a high number of Caribbeans are settled, though, can easily be perceived as homogeneous, but the participants’ accounts of their experiences revealed that these communities are internally diverse with varied value systems. Nonetheless, there was a consensus that these communities, although important cultural hubs, lack resources that are conducive to educational attainment and collective socioeconomic progression and, thus, have remained disadvantaged in educational and socioeconomic terms.

Although the Caribbean local communities were generally seen as important cultural hubs, not all the first-generation participants were keen to settle therein. Notably, some of them made a concerted effort to settle in communities that were upwardly mobile – an action which they tended to see as fitting with their desire for a better life - a key purpose of their immigration to Britain. They were also likely to engage in education, which was perceived as a viable means of eschewing poverty. For this reason, they were also keen to support their children’s, both sons and daughters, educational development with the distinct objective of enabling them to obtain a “good job” in their adult life. Within the context of a good job, a healthcare-related occupation that is associated with employment security and privileged social status was often articulated. Indeed, most of the first-generation participants worked as auxiliary nurses in the healthcare industry - in which some of them improved their socioeconomic prospects, irrespective of their gender. Educational qualifications and occupational skills enabled them to achieve occupational mobility and other socioeconomic advantages that they passed on to their second-generation children and third-generation grandchildren who had a range of occupational outcomes.
Another significant observation was that the second-generation women and men in families that were progressive were equally likely to have attained well educationally. However, while both the men and women from these progressive and educationally attained backgrounds realised relatively high levels of success in socioeconomic domains, the men appeared to be doing better than their sisters because they were in higher income occupations and were less likely to be married or have children [App.IV for detail]. Nonetheless, they all aspired to succeed in the mainstream and believed themselves to possess attitudes, behaviours, and work ethics that were conducive to educational attainment and socioeconomic progression, and which reflected in high achievement in education and socioeconomic domains. Typically, their high achievement was seen as a reward, often designated by God, for their hard work and aspiration to succeed. But, evidently, their educational attainment was a first stage and a key factor in their realisation of socioeconomic progression - enabling them to achieve material comfort, occupational prestige, and privileged social status, which continued across three generations. This pattern of educational and socioeconomic outcomes contrasted with that of the participants who had not attained educationally and remained disadvantaged in educational and socioeconomic terms.

The second-generation participants who had not attained educationally were typically brought up in families in which their first-generation parents had themselves not attained educationally and, because of work commitment or limited familiarity with formal education processes, were limited in their ability to guide their children to attain educationally. Also, they had not had the opportunity to attend formal nursery school during their early years. Their early socialisation and educational development that was often facilitated by women who were sometimes barely literate were, thus, contained in their homes, Sunday/Sabbath schools, and local communities, which were typically disadvantaged in educational and socioeconomic terms. As a result, many of these second-generation participants were disadvantaged in terms of pre-school readiness.

Their compulsory schooling experience was characterised by low achievement, exclusion, and alienation - all of which manifested in disillusion with education. Their accounts revealed that some of them had not always understood why they were at school, and often had no desire to be there. Their occupational aspirations were typically confined to the industries in the manual sector in which their family members and peers worked, or the informal economy in their typically disadvantaged local communities. Their employment prospects in the manual sector, however, were affected by changes in Britain’s social and economic landscapes that intensified from the start of the 1970s. This affected their ability to satisfy their basic needs legitimately. Like their first-generation parents, their experiences were characterised by poverty but, unlike their parents, they tended to believe that governments and the wider society more generally were responsible for their personal difficulties and the problems of their local communities - many of which were linked to poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes. This belief was best illustrated in Andy’s [F10.2] claim that “the government [was] putting Crack in the community to destroy the black man” and in Kerry-Ann’s [PP2.3] remark that “the government want you to look after your children so they will pay”.
Responsibility deflection, evident in these claims, reflected in procurement of and dependency on state assistance in the form of social benefits to satisfy their basic needs. This outcome was inter-generational, but especially prevalent among second and third-generation single-parent participants who were unemployed with dependent children. The state assistance, which they received in the form of social benefits, included housing and financial [income] support that enabled them to satisfy their basic needs and sustain their one-parent household. In this regard, the State appeared to have supplanted the traditional Caribbean family’s responsibility for meeting its members’ basic needs of food, clothing, and housing - but the State was not known to provide its dependents with goods, services, and luxuries that underpin a better life or high standard of living. Consequently, in similar ways as their first-generation parents, the second generation in such families had limited capabilities to procure a decent quality of life.

Moreover, having accumulated very little material or financial resources, the first generation had not been able to pass on financial or material advantages to their children. Hence, the second-generation’s quality of life was likely to parallel that of their parents although, in some respects, they seemed worse off within the context of a contemporary knowledge economy. This was evident in their poverty, susceptibility to unemployment, and dependency on state assistance, which corresponded to limited ability to facilitate their third-generation children’s educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. Their narrative of hustling, which translates as a means to “get on”, was sustained across the generations by limited educational attainment, poor employment prospects, social exclusion, and preoccupation with satisfying basic needs. Furthermore, religiosity that appeared, typically, to help them to make sense of their disadvantages, tended to encourage their acceptance of socioeconomic marginalisation, although it was used sometimes as a means of protest against what they saw as injustices being perpetuated against them and the social groups with which they identify in British society.

Their accounts revealed that the latter response has evolved in tandem with evidence of their increasing identification with new world religious worldviews, Islamic and Rastafari notably, that encourage resistance to classism, cultural prejudice, racism, and stereotyping - all of which have historically disadvantaged Caribbeans. Their identification with these worldviews, however, has not been without consequence. For instance, during the early days, tenets of resistance that were encouraged by Rastafari were perceived negatively in the mainstream, observed Mrs Dmitri [F8.1]. These tenets, it is supposed in this thesis, compounded their social exclusion, exacerbated their economic deprivation, and encouraged hustling in the informal economy to satisfy their basic needs. It is a reasonable postulation that these tenets have persisted to this day and constitute a backdrop against which one may assume that a culture of urgency, which characterised the social reality of some participants, has continued across three generations. The analysis and discussion of this pattern of social reality and other patterns of educational and socioeconomic outcomes among the different generations of participants is continued in Chapter 6 – which also offers an answer to the research question and concludes this thesis.
6.0 The Research Question: A Discussion: Some Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

Analyses of the participants’ experiences in five settings in which they were socialised, acquired, and used cultural resources that impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression were presented the preceding chapter. In light of these analyses, this chapter provides an answer to the research question and offers a discussion around the participants’ experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains, which will highlight the inquiry’s key finding that cultural resources impact upon Caribbeans’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression in ways that correspond to socioeconomic trajectories that persist across generations. This, in effect, answers the research question and represents a backdrop for a reflection on the literature review in Chapter 2. The chapter then concludes with thoughts on the thesis’ contribution to knowledge and its implications for policy, practice, and research.

6.2 Answering the Research Question

The inquiry that formed the empirical part of the study was undertaken to elicit the participants’ accounts of their experiences, from which I undertook to 1) identify patterns in their educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes, 2) ascertain the cultural resources that they acquired and used to mediate their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains, and 3) determine how these cultural resources impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression in Britain. This section sets out how such resources, which were acquired and used in five key settings in which the participants were socialised, impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. First is - the family.

- Cultural Resource in the Family

The case studies in Chapter 4 and analysis of Family in Chapter 5 affirmed that the family was a key setting in which the participants acquired an understanding of themselves and what they could become in educational and socioeconomic terms. Family members - parents in particular - acting as socialisation agents, provided children with guidance, mainly through participatory appropriation - the process through which individuals acquire understanding of their actions through participation in social activities (Wertsch, 1995). Through this process, the participants acquired familial influence that functioned as a cultural resource by which they mediated their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains. Trevicia’s [F1.3] experience illustrated this in Chapter 4 family case 1. As a child, she learned times-tables with her Dad at bath times, and applies this way of learning to situations in her adult life about which she is less confident.

This example illustrates how some youngsters were prepared in their families for experiences in education. By drawing upon their own experiences, parents, especially those who had attained
educationally, helped their children to understand their experiences at school and facilitated their attainment by imparting attitudes, setting standards for behaviour, instilling discipline, and representing role models. They also provided encouragement and educational support such as literature, supplementary school, and representation in meetings with teachers. This kind of support was believed to help build their children’s confidence at school and impart faith in their ability to attain educationally in spite of adversities - such as prejudice against them in their school, for instance. This was evinced in Chapter 4 family case 2 where Felicia [F2.2] remarked, “in my family one of the defences against prejudice is an attitude of better than”. “Better than”, in its cultural context, does not imply family or individual superiority but, rather, being able to succeed - especially in education. Observably, the experiences across the generations in such families revealed that success in education - particularly high levels of educational attainment - among the second and the third generations corresponded to better employment and earning prospects than those of their first-generation forebears. This characterise their advancement in educational and socioeconomic terms and the improved quality of life that they came to lead.

The role of familial influence in the realisation of such outcomes was a significant one that also resonated in the outcomes of other participants across the sample - including those who had not attained educationally and whose family members’ attitudes, behaviours, and work ethics were not conducive to educational attainment. The accounts of the latter’s experiences revealed that family members - parents most often - were influential in preparing them for a future life in which educational attainment, and socioeconomic progression, did not matter. This was evinced in Chapter 4 family case 3 in which Wilma [5.2] and Wilton [5.2.2], as children, helped their mother to assemble purses for an income. Through their guided participation, their mother who herself had not attained educationally and was unable to guide them in this regard, appeared to have transmitted to them a template for survival that was not based on educational attainment. Through such experiences, the familial influence that they acquired, which was not conducive to educational attainment and socioeconomic progression, differed from that of their peers whose family members helped to prepare them for success in education and socioeconomic domains.

- Cultural Resource in the Community

The local community in which the participants were socialised was a key setting in which they acquired orientations that reflected their belief of what they could achieve in educational and socioeconomic terms, and, in effect, functioned as a cultural resource that impacts upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. For instance, it was shown throughout the analysis of Community in Chapter 5 that some first-generation participants who had settled in upwardly mobile communities believed that, by this action, they would have viable prospects to improve their educational and socioeconomic outcomes. This was because of the facilities and opportunities for progression that existed in the communities. Moreover, those who settled and brought up their children in such communities viewed this achievement as a transition point in their lives, because it signified success in overcoming certain hardships and facilitated better
educational and socioeconomic outcomes among their children. This was evinced cogently in Chapter 4 family case 1 in which Triston [F1.2] credited his achievement, in part, to vocational training facility in his local community. Like his father’s, his community orientation was such that survival in the community was dependent on success in education and socioeconomic domains, and one should avail oneself of opportunities in the community and use community facilities to improve one’s quality of life through educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

Community orientation, which Triston’s [F1.2] account of his experiences illustrates is acquired through socialisation in local community, varied across the sample. For instance, Triston’s [F1.2] orientation differed from that of the participants who were brought up in local communities that were disadvantaged in educational and socioeconomic terms, and in which hustling, for instance, was normative. As Andy [10.2] put it, such communities can be “like a dump with nothing” and one “cannot move forward because everyone tells you you can’t”. Survival in such communities, thus, was not seen to be dependent on success in education and socioeconomic domains. In actuality, educational attainment and socioeconomic progression were perceived as neither achievable nor desirable in such communities. This orientation was evident among some first-generation participants whose accounts revealed their decision to settle in disadvantaged local Caribbean communities was based on their ability to find low-skilled work and affordable housing easily, attend church, and socialise with Caribbeans. This orientation was also common among some second and third-generation participants who had not attained educationally and who were seemingly disadvantaged, in disadvantaged local Caribbean communities, in a socioeconomic sense. Their accounts of their experiences revealed that this outcome was, in part, mediated by their community orientation, which they had acquired by virtue of their socialisation in their local community in which they were prepared for a life in which educational attainment and socioeconomic progression did not matter much. This orientation, naturally, differed from that which encouraged educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

- **Cultural Resource in Religion**

The participants all subscribed to a certain religiosity that informed their understanding of their social world and that which they used to mediate their experiences and outcomes therein. Their religiosity, which was diverse in forms, reflected in beliefs such as “no race is superior” and “we are all equal in God’s eyes” that featured in interpretations of their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains, and mitigated the likelihood for them to see themselves as inferior or hopeless. Their religiosity, thus, provided standards by which they judged their self-worth and abilities and, in effect, protected them from psychological morbidity. These standards guided some of their attitudes and behaviours in education and socioeconomic domains where their experiences and outcomes were often mediated by what they believed God wanted for them.

For instance, in Chapter 4 family case 2 it was shown that Mr Phillip’s [F2.1] belief was that his Children’s success in education and socioeconomic domains was down to God, because “God
only helps those who help themselves”. Similarly, throughout the analysis of Religion in Chapter 5, some participants were shown to believe that God had designated much of their hardship, which was often linked to lack of educational attainment and poor socioeconomic prospects. Such experiences were, thus, mediated by religiosity, which was used among the participants in different ways that seemed to cohere around discernible patterns - two examples of which are - where it supported their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression and where it functioned to justify their lack of educational attainment and limited socioeconomic progression.

- **Cultural Resource in Education**

Education was a key setting in which the participants acquired familiarity with formal education processes and, through interactions with peers and teachers for instance, an understanding of the vocational usefulness of educational attainment. This was illustrated in the analysis of Education in Chapter 5 where Mr Edward [F6.1] referred to his primary school teachers who recognised his academic abilities and prepared him for formal exams and higher education. Similarly, Lee [F4.2] referred to his college friend as his source of inspiration to study journalism in university. Based on these experiences, Mr Edward’s [F6.1] and Lee’s [F4.2] educational and socioeconomic outcomes can be linked to their familiarity with formal education processes that they acquired by way of their socialisation in education, which also includes supplementary school. In this respect, familiarity with formal education processes functioned as a cultural resource that impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

However, the nature of familiarity with formal education processes varied among participants and was not always conducive to educational attainment. This was evinced in Chapter 4 family case 4 in which Andy [F10.2] said that his experiences in schools were akin to being in a torture chamber where “teachers would make you regret you alive” or that, and as was common across the sample, teachers were less helpful to children whose family members did not visit their school. These experiences, it appears, gave rise to a familiarity with formal education processes that was neither conducive to educational attainment nor to socioeconomic progression.

- **Cultural Resource in Occupation**

It was shown in Chapter 5 that participants’ occupational aspiration was a cultural resource by which their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains were mediated. They tended to acquire this resource through their own experience in occupation or affiliation with others - a family member or peer - who helped them to frame what they could become occupationally and how they could realise their occupational aspiration. For instance, in the analysis of Occupation in Chapter 5, it was shown that Megan’s [F4.2] mother, a nurse, inspired her early interest in nursing, which she acted upon by undertaking a pre-nursing course at college once she had completed compulsory schooling. Similarly, it was shown that Triston [F1.2] and his friends had aspired to work in the manual sector in which their parents worked and in which they were not
required to have attained educationally. Thus, they were not diligent in school or motivated to attain educationally – which reflected in their relatively poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes. These experiences and outcomes illustrate distinct usages of occupational aspiration among the participants in education and socioeconomic domains - the one in which it guided participants to attain educationally and the other in which it warped participants’ motivation and prospect for educational attainment. These patterns of experiences and outcomes are explored.

6.2.1 Patterns in Experiences and Outcomes Among the Participants

This section examines the diverse patterns in educational and socioeconomic outcomes among the different generations of participants and articulates two distinct trajectories around which such outcomes, much of which persisted across the three generations, can be understood. This is in light of the analyses of their experiences in various settings, which revealed the cultural resources that impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

In the family case studies in Chapter 4 and the sociocultural settings analyses in Chapter 5, the participants were shown to be interacting and being socialised in diverse settings throughout their lives. For instance, in family structures, local communities, religions, schools, occupations, etc. Their experiences in these settings were diverse, and so were their acquisition and usage of cultural resources that, as shown in Chapter 5, corresponded to their educational and socioeconomic outcomes. These outcomes, too, were diverse, but they can be understood as the output of complex interactions between societal and cultural experiences that played out in education and socioeconomic domains. To understand this more concretely, a good place to start is with the experiences of the first-generation participants who had above basic [primary] education in the Caribbean. Naturally, through their experience in education in the Caribbean, they had acquired familiarity with formal education processes through which they could attain educational or vocational qualifications. This familiarity was instrumental in their pursuance of educational attainment in Britain, and their participation in the educational development of their children - most of whom went on to attain higher levels of education, obtained professional employment, and advanced in educational and socioeconomic terms - relative to their parents.

This pattern in educational and socioeconomic outcomes was also evident among some families in which the first-generation had little experience in formal education but settled in communities in which educational attainment was a prevalent means by which socioeconomic progression was realised. As shown in Chapter 4 family case 1, such first-generation participants were not typically able to guide their children to attain educationally, but they believed that, by settling in communities that were upwardly mobile, their second-generation children would benefit from facilities in the communities and would be advantaged in educational and socioeconomic terms.

The accounts of their experiences revealed that, indeed, as a result of their socialisation in communities that were upwardly mobile, the second generation was likely to have relatively
better educational and socioeconomic experiences. More significantly, some of the participants of this generation who had not attained educationally during their compulsory schooling either pursued or were inclined to pursue vocational training in local community colleges and other professional institutions, such as the Army, in order to obtain [better] employment and acquire socioeconomic advantages from which their third-generation children were likely to benefit. This reflected in progressively higher levels of educational attainment and better socioeconomic prospects across the generations - a pattern in educational and socioeconomic outcomes which, for the purpose of standard conceptualisation, is herein defined as a trajectory of advancement.

The trajectory of advancement appeared to be governed by a value system that stresses hard work, discipline, and aspiration to succeed in education and socioeconomic domains, especially in school and work. It seemed to be driven by what Murray (2007), an American psychologist, describes as a desire “to overcome obstacles, to exercise power, to strive to do something difficult” (p.80) in order to satisfy an objective that is intrinsically personal. This desire to satisfy a personal objective was illustrated in Chapter 4 family cases 1 and 2 in which the accounts of the participants who had attained well educationally revealed an orientation to achieve better educational and socioeconomic outcomes - relative to those of their forebears. Their success in doing so, by any extent, is significant within the context of a contemporary knowledge economy - because it is weighted against their materially poor background in the Caribbean which they believed offered little to no prospect for advancement in educational and socioeconomic terms.

Their trajectory of advancement was discernible across the generations. Moreover, it appeared to contrasts, discernibly, with that of some participants who worked in the manual sector throughout their working life and who settled in local communities in which were concentrated the industries in which they worked. These communities, which were generally acknowledged among the participants as being socioeconomically disadvantaged, were characteristically lacking in resources of a kind that facilitated collective socioeconomic progression. Moreover, the second and third-generation participants who were brought up in such communities often lacked goods, services, and luxuries for comfort. This was compounded by limited opportunities for their families to escape material poverty and, as a result of what seemed to be unrelenting material poverty, hustling and social benefits had come to be seen among some of them as critical means of survival. This appeared to give rise to an orientation in which educational attainment was not typically considered essential for their day-to-day survival - with which they were preoccupied. This reflected in low achievement at school and overall poor socioeconomic outcomes in their adult life. As shown in the analysis of Community in Chapter 5, their way of life, which Chester [F10.2] referred to as a culture of urgency, is characterised by a sustained preoccupation with satisfying basic needs that persisted across the generations and - again for the purpose of standard conceptualisation - is herein defined as a trajectory of urgency.

The trajectory of urgency, which is characterised by a preoccupation with daily survival, meant that the participants whose lives it can be said to characterise were hardly motivated to develop
their human capital through educational attainment or vocational training, which, the accounts of their experiences suggest, could enable an improvement in their overall life circumstances in the long term. As may be inferred from Mr William’s [F5.1] account in Chapter 4 family case 3, they wanted to “get on” with satisfying their basic needs - through means identified as typically subsistent. These were low-paid-low-skilled work in the manual sector among first-generation participants, and low-skilled work, social benefits, and hustle[s] among the second and third-generation participants. These means of survival among the different generations contributed to disadvantages that were compounded by patterns of limited familial participation in children’s educational development, deflection of responsibility for socioeconomic progression, preference for low-skilled work, and dependency on state assistance - all of which were common across the generations and contributed to a trajectory of urgency. It appeared that the culture of urgency, which characterised their way of life and sustained these patterns, evolved in response to their experiences of exclusion and deprivation in Britain. However, their accounts of their experiences pointed to their materially poor background in the Caribbean as a plausible source of its origin.

Evidence of this was prevalent. Throughout the family case study analyses in Chapter 4 and the sociocultural settings analyses in Chapter 5, it was shown that first-generation participants who had not attained educationally tended to have had little to no experience in formal education and paid-work in the Caribbean before they came to Britain. Once in Britain, this contributed to socioeconomic disadvantages that they were not always able to alleviate, and which were often passed on, directly or indirectly, to their children and grandchildren. Such disadvantages appear to underpin patterns of poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes across the generations - which, it seemed, corresponded to patterns in their quality of life, some of which are explored.

6.2.2 Patterns in Quality of Life Among the Participants

Quality of life varied among the participants, but corresponded discernibly with their perception of socioeconomic progression, which, as inferred in Chapter 1, is evinced by improvement in the overall quality of life of an individual or a group. For instance, the participants who had attained educationally tended to perceive socioeconomic progression as obtaining [better] employment in the labour market and leading a quality of life that was better than that of their ancestors, or parents within the context of this thesis. Their background in the Caribbean was characterised by poverty and limited opportunities for their advancement there. Thus, to them socioeconomic progression meant an absolute escape from these limitations and corresponding ways of life.

In comparison, the participants who had not attained educationally and worked in the manual [low-skilled] sector throughout their working life tended to perceive socioeconomic progression in terms of their survival in Britain, which was typically weighted against the poverty that characterised their background in the Caribbean. They tended to view education as a viable means to escape from their poverty but, as shown throughout the analyses in Chapters 4 and 5, their limited familiarity with formal education processes meant that they were disadvantaged
in any pursuit of educational qualifications. Mr William’s [F5.1] experience illustrated this in Chapter 4 family case 3. During his stints of joblessness he attempted vocational courses at the local community college, some of which he failed and others he failed to complete. Moreover, he was concerned with finding [low-skilled] work to “get on”, i.e., to survive – an orientation that was common among the different generations in his family and which may help to explain the sustained basic life that they led. This outcome, however, did not appear to be intractable.

It was shown throughout the case study analyses in Chapter 4 and the sociocultural analyses in Chapter 5 that participants’ quality of life correlated with their educational and socioeconomic outcomes, which corresponded to their usage of cultural resources that they acquired in various settings in which they were socialised in diverse ways. Their accounts revealed that diversity in socialisation processes in the various settings functioned to mitigate tendencies for patterns in quality of life across the generations to be identical in a strict sense. More crucially, however, diversity in socialisation processes, which reflected in a diversity of experiences, appears to be the plausible explanation for the diversity in usage of cultural resources among the different generations in education and socioeconomic domains, and the differences in their quality of life.

This implies that where the members of a generation acquire and use cultural resources in a way that is conducive to educational attainment and socioeconomic progression, they are likely to have favourable educational and socioeconomic outcomes and lead a better life. The other of this postulation is held to be true also. Where the members of a generation acquire and use cultural resources in a way that is not conducive to educational attainment and socioeconomic progression, they are unlikely to have favourable educational and socioeconomic outcomes and are susceptible to lead a basic life. The relationship between better life and basic life, however, is not to be understood as absolute, but as laden with complexities. For, as was discussed in the Reflection in Chapter 4, quality of life among the participants can be understood in terms of a continuum along which variations exist and can be explained. Nonetheless, these postulations, in sum, help to explain the diversity in patterns of attainment and progression among the participants, as well as the patterns of attainment and progression among Caribbeans that have been revealed in the literature and which will be reflected upon in the following discussion.

6.3 Discussion - A Reflection on the Literature

This section offers a reflection on the findings from the inquiry in the light of some parallels in the literature. In doing so, it takes into account the complexities that characterise Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes in Britain and attempts to situate this thesis within an established body of literature. To reiterate, the Caribbeans who participated in the inquiry are members of the Caribbean derived population that emerged in Britain after the World Wars. The first generation were British citizens who had come to help with the post-war reconstruction efforts, but were more likely to be treated as economic migrants who were to do jobs that were considered undesirable among Britain’s white working class population (Peach, 1967). It was
shown that many of them settled in areas near the industries in which they worked these jobs. Some of these areas developed into Caribbean communities that, according to Harrison (1992), spiralled into social and economic decay from the 1970s. To date, many of these communities have remained disadvantaged in educational and socioeconomic terms (Byron & Condon, 2008).

Yet, in these communities, their accounts revealed, they nurtured desires for a better life - indicated by aspiration for an education, a home, a job, security, a well-cared-for family, etc. The discussion herein reflects on some pronounced patterns in their experiences and outcomes that were paralleled in the literature, and offers some insight into why they may have persisted.

- **Reflection on the Literature**

The literature that explores Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes in Britain, some of which are reviewed in Chapter 2, affirmed that a better life which the first-generation immigrants had hoped for has remained largely unrealised among the majority of them. This reflects in their generally poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes, relative to those of other comparable groups, that have also been evident among their second-generation children and third-generation grandchildren. Various studies have implicated societal, cultural, and psychological factors in explanations for such persistently poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes - giving rise to three traditions that were noted in Chapter 2 Part 2. Like this thesis, these studies have explored Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains. But, many of them, it is here reasoned, have tended to underemphasise the diverse cultures and educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes that have been evident among Caribbeans in Britain. This may be explained in terms of what Spencer (2006) notes is a tendency among writers to politicise Caribbeans’ experiences, and essentialise them as black or Afro-Caribbeans who, by virtue of their immutable characteristics, are doomed to underachieve in education and socioeconomic domains. This has been a problem because, as has been shown throughout this thesis, Caribbeans are not only characterised by a diversity of characteristics and identities, but also a diversity of educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes.

- **Reflection on Patterns in the Inquiry’s Findings and Parallels in the Literature**

In spite of the limitations in the literature, however, the review offers insights into patterns of experiences and outcomes among Caribbeans that have been corroborated by findings in this thesis. For instance, socioeconomic prospects among the first-generation participants who worked in the manual sector were jeopardised by their limited human capital, low wages, and limited opportunities for social mobility. This reflected in low achievement in education and related socioeconomic disadvantages that persisted among their children - a finding which is consistent with that of much of the literature reviewed in Chapter 2 Part 1 and for which three sets of explanations were examined in Part 2. The explanations, however, focus on poor outcomes and, in effect, do not offer much insight into diversities that characterise Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes, and general cultural diversity.
Diversity in educational outcomes is of particular interest. My finding of high attainment among some second and third-generation participants is consistent with patterns in the literature which indicate better educational outcomes among current generations, relative to the first generation (Robinson, 1992; Demie, 2007). However, the suspicion of better outcomes, particularly among women, in general, is undermined by a questionable trend. For instance, as is evident in this small-scale qualitative study, Caribbean women occupy a distinctive category in a contemporary family context. This was apparent among the participants, some of whom had attained highly in educational terms, whose accounts corroborated observations in the literature that Caribbean women are more likely than any other ethnic group to head one-parent households (Berthoud, 2005), although this did not seem to affect their children’s educational outcomes independently. Nonetheless, the implication of single parenting for their socioeconomic progression and quality of life begs to be questioned, particularly in regards to financial, physical, and psychological demands. Moreover, these women do not exist one dimensionally as single-mothers, but bear multiple social identities that were similar to those of their brothers who, contrary to inferences in the literature, appeared to be doing better than their sisters were in socioeconomic terms.

Similarly, patterns of experiences and outcomes among the participants who had not attained educationally varied widely. However, some of them resonated with findings from the 1970s, such as Dhondy’s (1974) and Willis’ (1977), which revealed that second-generation Caribbeans were not only doing poorly in education, but were also refusing the menial occupations that their parents did - preferring to remain unemployed. In common with these findings, this thesis affirms poor educational outcome among second-generation Caribbeans, but emphasises that they were disadvantaged, workwise, in the manual sector in which their parents had readily found work. This emphasis is based on evidence in some second-generation’s accounts which affirmed that they had aspired to work in the [declining] manual sector even while their first-generation parents had discouraged them from doing so. As a result, they, in a similarly way as their peers who had not attained educationally and aspired to achieve non-mainstream success - sometimes through underhand means - remained identified with their low achieving ancestry.

However, there were those who had aspired to achieve some kind of success in the mainstream but did not have the means or ways to find out how to achieve it. This finding is by no means unique. Mirza’s (1992) study with young women of Caribbean descent in English schools during the 1980s yielded insights into the extent to which they were disadvantaged by lack of guidance and support for educational and socioeconomic success. Sewell (2009) affirmed this in his more recent study in which he observed that young Caribbeans, boys in particular, were “hungry” (p.14) for guidance on how to achieve success in the mainstream. However, their parents could not offer them such guidance, neither could the ill-equipped schools that they attended. This finding is worrying, especially in light of the evidence in Chapters 4 and 5 which affirmed a tendency among the different generations to view schooling as the rightful process through which competencies that underpin mainstream success are to be acquired. Competence, which Ogbu (1981) defines as “the ability to perform a culturally specified task” (p.414), is associated
with skills, functional or instrumental, that underpin mainstream success. The accounts of some participants who had achieved a vestige of success in the mainstream revealed the centrality of supplementary schooling in equipping them with the competence to achieve this outcome.

Supplementary schooling, therefore, is salient in the cultures of Caribbeans – in both Britain and the Caribbean. As noted in Chapter 2 Part 1, they have existed in local Caribbean communities in Britain since the early days (Coad, 1971; Reay & Mirza, 2001). Their origin, however, can be traced to the 1800s when they were set up by free blacks who were not allowed to attend mainstream schools (Sowell, 1979). In a Caribbean cultural context, they function as settings in which youngsters are socialised to harness educational aspiration, develop social skills, and do better, i.e., attain in mainstream schools where success is typically associated with the ideals of socioeconomically privileged groups (Andrews, 2013). The participants’ accounts suggested that they have also functioned to mitigate deviant tendencies in sub-cultures, such as the culture of urgency that characterised the reality of some participants who had not attained educationally.

In spite of supplementary schools salience in Caribbeans’ cultures, however, the literature offers little evidence that they have featured in mainstream campaigns to reverse or even arrest patterns of poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes among Caribbeans, which appear to have changed little over the past six decades. In 2012, for instance, an article in The Guardian newspaper (The-Guardian, 2012) revealed that black people were less likely to enter higher education than other ethnic groups, and their unemployment rate at the end of 2011 was forty-seven per cent - females: thirty-nine per cent and males: fifty-six per cent. This was the highest among discernible groups and more than twice the national average of twenty per cent. Such inequality is an aspect of social injustice that the Social Exclusion Unit was intended to address (Mandelson, 1997). It has now become clear, however, that after justice is asserted it does little to help those whom social injustice keeps down. For instance, it does not impart occupational skills, and explains neither the etiquettes of effective social networking nor the intricacies of entrepreneurship. The participants’ accounts revealed that, owing to their history of educational and socioeconomic disadvantages, they had limited opportunity to develop these competencies.

The literature suggests that this history is anchored in the legacy of slavery and colonialism in the Caribbean (Watson, 1982). It is one in which most Caribbeans of non-white ancestry were not only racialised and excluded from opportunities to progress in the mainstream, but were also harmfully stereotyped (Verma & Bagley, 1975). In a more contemporary context, examined in Chapter 2 Part 2, racism that upsets Caribbeans life chances are believed to have mutated and continues to persist in institutional forms (Gillborn, 2008; Strand, 2011b). By this is meant that the beliefs and behaviours that have been historically associated with the exploitation and unequal treatment of Caribbeans, and other discernible ethnic groups, are preserved in family, community, religion, education, occupation, and other institutional settings that constitute British society. However, the participants’ accounts of their experience did not reveal the belief that racism is a factor by which they have been disadvantaged in education and socioeconomic
domains in a contemporary Britain - although they conceded a general awareness of racial and cultural prejudices therein - within a broad societal context. What this suggests, and has been inferred in the literature, is that outlawing racism and introducing legislation to promote racial equality (Race Relations Acts, 1976; 2000; Equality Act; 2011) may reduce the discriminatory behaviours by which Caribbeans, and some other groups, have been historically disadvantaged, but it is difficult to legislate against prejudices that are obtained in cultures (Brown R., 2010).

It has been shown in this thesis that cultures, however, are porous and dynamic, and Caribbeans have evolved ways of achieving success at various levels in British society, in spite of socioeconomic disadvantages or cultural distinctiveness by which they can be identified. Mirza’s (1995) empirical observation affirms this. Some of her research participants who had done well educationally subscribed to the belief that “no matter what you are, if you work hard and do well at school you will be rewarded in the world of work” (p.84). In similar ways to the participants in Mirza’s (ibid) study, the families and individuals who participated in the inquiry herein did not claim the overall better outcomes of other groups, especially socioeconomically advantaged ones, as benchmarks for their achievement. While they conceded awareness that Caribbeans, the ethnic group to which they subscribed, were doing less well than many other ethnic groups in education and socioeconomic domains, this awareness did not seem to affect their self-concept. Rather, their family members, peers, teachers, workmates, and religious and community leaders were their socialisation agents, role models by implications, who invariably provided them with templates for survival and the benchmarks against which they judged their attainment and progression. This is the basis upon which an understanding is reached herein about cultural continuity and the acquisition and usage of cultural resources across generations.

- Overview of Significant Findings in the Study and Situation of This thesis

The inter-generational patterns of educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes suggest that, by providing youngsters with templates for survival, or success in the mainstream, socialisation agents also transmitted to them, directly or indirectly, cultural resources through which they mediated these experiences and outcomes. This resonates with Bourdieu’s (1977) notion of cultural reproduction upon which DeGraaf et al (2000) drew to assert that cultural resources that impact upon educational attainment are transmitted through socialisation in families. Reading this literally, one gets a sense that the family is the setting in which cultural resources are swiftly passed on from one generation to the next. However, it is reasoned in this thesis that the family is a dynamic setting in which diversity in inter-generational experiences and outcomes corresponds to diversity in socialisation - the process through which individuals acquire the cultural resources that they use to mediate their experiences and outcomes in their social worlds, which constitute diverse settings of which the family is only one. This suggests that cultural resources that individuals acquire in diverse settings, and which impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression, may be complementary or even compensatory. Therefore, diversity in cultures and socialisation processes, as discovered among
Moreover, diversity in educational and socioeconomic outcomes corresponded to discernible socioeconomic trajectories that persisted across the generations. This resonates with findings in ethnographic studies that, over the past six decades, have explored tendencies for social groups to reproduce their culture. For example, Willis (1977) provided insights into this process among low-achieving white working-class *lads*. He compared their culture with that of some second-generation Caribbean young men who, he thought, had somehow "inherit from the West Indies a culture of wagelessness and poverty" (p.154) that allowed them to survive without a wage or visible means of supporting themselves. As discussed in Chapter 2, the culture of wagelessness and poverty is a legacy of slavery and colonialism in the Caribbean, but its mode of continuity among current generations seems to resonate more closely with Payne's (2001) and Lareau's (2011) accounts of generational poverty from the point of view of family life and social identity.

In retrospect, a common factor in these patterns of poor outcomes is minority cultures, which have been explored in the literature and the inquiry that formed the empirical part of the study. In this regard, this thesis sits within the body of literature on minority cultures and diversity and disadvantages among social groups in education and socioeconomic domains. However, its emphasis on how cultural resources play out in sociocultural settings in which Caribbeans are socialised, rather than on minority cultures in themselves, is consistent with that of the social psychology accounts in Chapter 2 Part 2. The accounts fill a gap in the literature on Caribbeans' experiences in Britain from the point of view of four theories that were developed in America where their founders explored poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes among black groups, relative to those of other groups. The theories emphasise diversity in group members' experiences and outcomes that are shaped by societal and cultural factors - the key feature that enabled their adaptation to a British context. This emphasis has meant that this thesis offers theoretical insights into minority cultures, low achievement among disadvantaged social groups, and social [groups] psychology in Britain. This, Goldthorpe (1974) might agree, is a valuable contribution towards understanding persistently low achievement among socioeconomically disadvantaged groups - a need, undeniably, among stakeholders who work with these groups, particularly in education and socioeconomic domains. I now turn to some general conclusions.

### 6.4 General Conclusions and Closing Remarks

In this thesis, I have presented an exploration of Caribbeans' experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains and an account of how cultural resources impact upon
educational attainment and socioeconomic progression among and across three generations of Caribbeans in Britain. This section reflects on the account and offers some general conclusions.

To reiterate, the family case study analyses and sociocultural settings analyses offered insights into the experiences and outcomes of ten families and ten individuals who share a common origin in the Caribbean and subscribe to a common Caribbean ethnicity. The members of the families and the individuals aspired to lead a better life, which, for instance, some understood as attaining educationally in order to obtain [better] employment and progress in socioeconomic terms, and some others understood as satisfying their basic needs through paid-work and other means that were typically subsistent. These different understandings, their accounts revealed, corresponded to their educational and socioeconomic outcomes, which were linked to how they used cultural resources to mediate their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains.

This is a significant conclusion from the inquiry, which is supported by the evidence of families and individuals whose outcomes did not conform to patterns of low achievement and those whose outcomes came to be defined by advancement. Most of the first-generation participants in such families had satisfied one of their main goals for coming to Britain, i.e., to lead a better life than the one that they had led in the Caribbean. They ascribed a high value to educational attainment and professional employment that they achieved, and that led to a trajectory of socioeconomic advancements across the generations in their family. This affirms speculations in the literature that there is a progressive section of the Caribbean derived population in Britain.

It could also be concluded from the inquiry and the subsequent analyses that the pattern of socioeconomic advancement among a progressive section of the Caribbean derived population is likely to continue among its current and future generations - in line with their increased familiarity with the norms of Britain's contemporary knowledge economy. Given that they are being born and brought up in Britain, they are far more familiar with the education system than the first generation could have been, and will have access to better employment opportunities that were not formally opened to the first generation. It would of course be idle to suggest that their success in education will remove all obstacles in the way of their socioeconomic progression - especially that they are still members of a widely socioeconomically disadvantaged group. Nonetheless, it is equally clear that their success in education functions as a precursor to their socioeconomic progression, for, without the skills and qualifications that are in demand in the knowledge economy, there would have been little chance of challenging those exclusionary tendencies to which Caribbeans, as a group, have been subjected over the past six decades.

To this end, the deeply sensitive nature of research that concerns Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes in Britain is herein acknowledged. The overall study and this thesis hinge on themes that concern race relations, social problems, and social [groups] psychology that have wider social and political implications. However, as I indicated in Chapters 1 and 3, my inspiration for undertaking the study was not political in a strict sense and, to this effect, I identified my
population through the term ‘Caribbeans’, which is somewhat void of the political tone inherent in alternatives such as Afro or black Caribbeans. In light of this remark, I will now summarise this thesis’ overall contribution to knowledge and literature.

### 6.4.1 Thesis’ Contribution to Knowledge and Literature

- **A Fuller Insight into Caribbeans’ Experiences and Outcomes**

This thesis offers a plausible answer to the key question of how cultural resources impact upon Caribbeans’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression in Britain. It is reasoned herein that there is no such thing as ‘a Caribbean culture’ that is all encompassing, but rather a range of cultures among the peoples of the Caribbean, which provide them with cultural resources that they use to mediate their experiences in their social world. The focus herein on the impact of these resources on Caribbeans’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression, thus, sets this thesis apart from studies, some of which are reviewed in Chapter 2, that have explored the experiences of black Caribbeans of African ancestry and, to a lesser extent, those of mixed-race heritage. It may mean that because essentialist terms such as ‘black’ or ‘mixed-race’ are herein negated, a fuller account with deeper insights into Caribbeans’ educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes in Britain has been proffered. This account treats Caribbeans as a diverse group that is situated differently from other [social] groups within the British education system and wider society, and emphasises the saliency of cultural resources in their experiences and outcomes therein. Put another way, Caribbeans are not treated simply as achievers or underachievers in education and socioeconomic domains. Rather, they are treated as a [social] ethnic group whose members share a common history and certain experiences in education and socioeconomic domains but differ, fundamentally, in their acquisition and usage of cultural resources in various settings in which they are socialised.

- **Problematising Traditional Approach to the Study of Caribbeans’ Experiences**

This thesis challenges the conventional representation of Caribbeans in British society by problematising the race relations and social problem perspectives that often direct research surrounding their experiences and outcomes. These perspectives have been shown to focus research on Caribbeans’ immutable characteristics and the cultures of Caribbean subgroups - such as black Caribbeans, Rastas, and Afro-Caribbeans - upon whose members they seem to impose a non-individuality that implies the individual cannot achieve success in the mainstream that will surpass that of the group. In this way, they are shown to have done injustice to the representation of many Caribbeans who do well in education and socioeconomic domains across generations in their families. This problematisation, thus, highlights some implications of treating Caribbeans as mere victims of racism or social inequality. For instance, as discussed in Chapter 2, a victim status extended, directly or indirectly, towards Caribbeans from these perspectives could function to undermine their imperative to take responsibility for their own
progression by eschewing the virtues of personal responsibility, hard work, discipline, and deferred gratification that have been shown herein to strengthen those who do well.

- **Theorising Caribbeans’ Experiences**

In adopting a sociocultural approach to explore Caribbeans’ experiences in their natural settings, this thesis unites societal and cultural factors in the construction of an explanation for their educational and socioeconomic outcomes. This approach recognises that Caribbeans’ experiences and outcomes cannot be understood in isolation from the settings in which they are socialised, and permitted a range of empirical research to be drawn upon to affirm the salience of cultural resources in diverse educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes among different generations of Caribbeans. This contributed to a plausible account of why some Caribbeans do well in education and socioeconomic domains and why others do not do as well as they are able to. In this regard, this thesis invalidates the stereotype of Caribbeans as low achievers who inhabit socially excluded and economically deprived communities, as well as the taken-for-granted assumption that Caribbeans constitute a culturally homogeneous group.

- **Improving Caribbeans’ Educational and Socioeconomic Outcomes**

This thesis offers insights into how Caribbeans may be helped to do better in education and socioeconomic domains, i.e., by revealing how they acquire and use cultural resources in ways that are conducive to educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. It suggests that these resources intersect Caribbeans’ cultures and their usage may conceivably be improved through interventions in sociocultural settings without problematising any specific culture. This finding seems this thesis’ most significant contribution, in that it offers a backdrop from which stakeholders - educators, social workers, psychologists, researchers, policy makers - can begin to debate how they can work with Caribbeans in these setting to improve their educational and socioeconomic outcomes. Some general implications for policy and practice are considered next.

**6.4.2 Implications of the Study for Policy and Practice**

The study might have some general implications for policy and practice that may improve Caribbeans’ experiences in education and socioeconomic domains. For instance, patterns of behaviours and attitudes among some participants that ought to be taken into account before issues surrounding their poor educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes can be addressed were revealed throughout the inquiry. Pryce (1979) documented some of these very behaviours and attitudes three decades ago. They are based on experiences and perceptions that may be lodged deeply in the Caribbean persons’ psyche and, as suggested by writers such as Sutcliff and Wong (1986), may have their origin in the history of slavery and colonialism in the Caribbean. Triston [F1.2] implied in his account of the response of whites to the airing of Roots during the 1970s that this history is important to Caribbeans. It is a history of survival
and is a key to their adaptation in contemporary education and socioeconomic domains. Additionally, during the post-war period of western industrialisation, the Caribbean served the economic development interests of Europe - England, France, and Holland - and the Americas (Chamberlain, 1998). In a parallel vein, the Caribbean, particularly the Commonwealth, and its peoples experienced misery - evinced by intensification of mass poverty that has continued to this day (UWI, 2009). It is important that policy makers acknowledge this history if they are to address low achievement among Caribbeans. For, as has been inferred herein and corroborated by Sowell (1995), the history of socioeconomically disadvantaged groups in industrial societies is such that succeeding generations, both the continuously disadvantaged and the intelligentsia, invoke ancestral cultures, albeit in adapted forms, to safeguard legacy and distinctive identities.

This is to say that apologies for past wrongs against Caribbeans, often gestured, may not bear advantage where policy makers and practitioners fail to deliver the message that - Britain and Europe have hurt you badly and this is very wrong. However, educational attainment, deferred gratification, occupational skills, positive work ethics, respectability, self-help, and stable family life, which are often thought of as white middle-class virtues, will not only help you to overcome your misery, but are in themselves raceless and classless. This message would require policy makers and other stakeholders to engage in debate about what needs to be done to promote progressive attitudes and behaviours among Caribbeans and help them acquire and use cultural resources in ways that are conducive to educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.

Finally, I would like to refer to a recent campaign - dubbed REACH - that was launched by Communities Secretary Hazel Blears in 2008 “to help raise the aspirations and attainment of some of today’s young Black men”. The campaign was based on the notion of role modelling and, as a result, was led by a number of high-achieving black men, one of whom was Tim Campbell – the winner of The Apprentice 2005. In 2010, I attended a Research to Enterprise conference during which Tim gave an inspirational talk. One thing I remember vividly from his talk is that he was brought up by a lone-mother who instilled in him the virtues of hard work, deferred gratification, and personal responsibility - the same virtues by which my barely literate Grandmother brought me up. He also mentioned her having taught him to mind his Ps and Qs - the sort of thing that I learned in supplementary school. Nowhere in his speech did he say anything about an abstract role model with whom he shared the same skin complexion.

While I am not suggesting that role modelling campaigns are hopeless, as in Tim’s case, I have demonstrated in this thesis that cultural resources that are transmitted across generations by socialisation agents - relatives, community and religious leaders, teachers, peers, workmates - in sociocultural settings are salient factors that impact upon Caribbeans’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression. It is hoped that this will inspire policy and practice to improve the experiences and outcomes of Caribbeans, and similarly low achieving groups, in education and socioeconomic domains, and to reduce their risk of educational and socioeconomic related problems. To end, I consider next some implications the study might have for further research.
6.4.3 Implications of the Study for Further Research

The literature that I reviewed for the purpose of the study dealt overwhelmingly with cultural and societal factors that contribute to low achievement among Caribbean in education and socioeconomic domains. This suggests that Caribbeans’ educational attainment and socioeconomic progression are relatively undeveloped areas of research that warrant exploration if a fuller understanding of Caribbeans’ participation in procuring these outcomes is to be achieved. A continued focus on Caribbeans’ lived experiences from their point of view may offer more intimate insights into the salience of cultural resources and how these resources are used among Caribbeans to mediate their experiences in the various settings in which they are socialised. This may be done in the following suggested ways:

i. Further research may seek to understand and explain more fully the relationship between the various settings in which Caribbeans are socialised and the cultural resources through which their experiences in these settings are mediated. This may be within a cultural context that focuses on hard work, individual agency, and the cultural imperative for Caribbeans to take responsibility for their educational and socioeconomic outcomes - irrespective of their skin colour, other ethnicities, or gender. A viable approach would adequately address the diversity among Caribbeans and how cultural resources figure in their experiences both as individuals and as a group.

ii. Further research may explore the extent to which schools can work to cultivate educational and occupational aspirations among Caribbeans who are less familiar with the rudiments of success in education and socioeconomic domains. The echo in their accounts was ‘show me’ rather than ‘tell me’ how to succeed. There may be a case for supplementary schooling in a Caribbean cultural context that offers potential to improve attainment among disadvantaged Caribbean youngsters. In this respect, culture must be awarded salience in understanding high attainment among the progressive section of the Caribbean derived population.

iii. Lastly, representativeness was a concern throughout undertaking the study. Particularly, it is limited by the small sample and the ethnographic methods that I used in undertaking the inquiry. Nonetheless, the overall study revealed substantial evidence which suggest that Caribbeans who realise educational attainment and socioeconomic progression use cultural resources in ways that enabled these outcomes across generations in their families. Their approach is worthy of further exploration if representativeness might have implications for the promotion of educational attainment and socioeconomic progression within the group, and perhaps among other similarly low achieving groups. To take the study forward, the inquiry may be replicated by using different methods and a larger sample that includes a wider representation of Caribbeans of diverse cultural persuasions. This would require cultural sensitivity because, as have been asserted throughout this thesis, Caribbeans are culturally diverse and lack of regards for their diversity is likely to exclude or include sections of the population and, in so doing, invalidate claims to representativeness.
Abbott, D. (2012, 03 05). Young, black and unemployed: the tragedy of the 44%. Nearly half Britain's young black people are jobless. We've created an inequality timebomb. London: theguardian.co.uk. Retrieved 04 2012, 02, from http://www.guardian.co.uk/commentisfree/2012/mar/05/young-black-unemployed-tragedy


UWI. (2009). *POVERTY & HIV/AIDS IN THE CARIBBEAN*. The University of the West Indies, Faculty of Social Sciences. St. Augustine, Trinidad & Tobago: The University of the West Indies.


Glossary of Unfamiliar Terms

**Better Off:** individual[s] or local communities that are relatively favoured or advantaged - in an educational or socioeconomic sense.

**Dole:** social welfare payments made by the State or other authorised bodies to unemployed people. Payments, also known as unemployment benefits, are based on ones’ compulsory National Insurance contribution. Depending on the jurisdiction and the status of the person, the sum may be small, covering only basic needs, or may compensate the lost time proportionally to the previous income. Payments are generally made only to those registering as unemployed, and often on conditions ensuring that they seek work and do not currently have a job.

**Downtown:** used in a sociological sense to refer to low-income, typically disadvantaged, residential districts in a metropolis [city] centre and nearby areas.

**Free Black:** a person of black ancestry who, prior to the abolition of slavery in the western world, was not a slave. Until relatively recently, almost all blacks in the Americas were thought to have an African slave ancestry but, as early as 1619, a class of free blacks existed therein. The free black population grew from multiple sources - children born of free biracial persons, biracial children born of free biracial mothers, biracial children born of white servants, children of free black and Indian parentage, manumitted slaves, and slaves who escaped.

**Ghetto Culture:** a way of life in which patterns of attitudes and behaviours are inconsistent with norms and standards that underpin progression in an educationally and socioeconomically advanced society. Some notable tenets of such culture are - non-standard language, exuberant dress code, poor diet, substance abuse, and objectification of women. However, it is a classic oxymoron because being ghetto is more about circumstance than about culture in a strict sense. For instance, a poor black man and a poor white man may not talk in the same dialect, eat the same food, or worship the same god, but they may share experiences of poverty, violence, inadequate social services, poor education provision, and geographic, economic, and social isolation that make ghettos ghetto. These are not known to be desired in ANY culture in existence; they are unfortunate circumstances that transcend skin colour, cultures, and nations.

**Ghetto-speak:** a nonstandard form of English characteristically spoken by inhabitant of educationally and socioeconomically disadvantaged local communities - referred to commonly as ‘the Ghetto’.

**Lad:** an informal form of address for a boy or young man.

**Livity:** a concise expression that embodies the key principles of Rasta way of life, examples of which are the Ital diet and Nazirite Vow. It contains the idea of ‘life’ or ‘living’, which is a preoccupation in the very life-oriented Rasta tradition, with its emphasis on acting to improve one’s situation rather than simply resigning oneself to Babylon and hoping for a better existence in the afterlife. The sacredness and assertive power of life are also linked to the presence of the ‘living God’, who remains directly and intimately connected with people’s everyday lives.
**Roots:** a novel written by Alex Haley and first published in 1976. It tells the story of Kunta Kinte, an 18th-century African who was captured as an adolescent and sold into slavery in the United States. The release of the novel, combined with its television adaptation, *Roots* (1977), led to a cultural sensation in the Americas. The novel spent 46 weeks on The New York Times Best Seller List, including 22 weeks in that list's top spot. The last seven chapters of the novel were later adapted in the form of a second miniseries, *Roots: The Next Generations*, in 1979.

**Shift:** derived from the term child-shifting, which refers to shifting of childrearing responsibilities from the birth parents of a child or children to other individuals within or external to the kinship network.

**Sleepover:** an instance of spending the night as a guest at another's home.

**Socioeconomic Progression:** improvement in an individual’s or family’s standard of living, relative to that of others, in social and economic terms. Progression is based on incremental development in life factors, examples of which are level of educational attainment, family background, community orientation, and occupation.

**Strong families:** a term which, when used in a Caribbean cultural context, invokes notions of parental sacrifice, morality through adversity, and faith in God for direction to lead lives as emotionally balanced, respectable members of families, communities, and society in general.

**Trajectory of Advancement:** the tendency for different generations within families to acquire and use cultural resources in a way that reflects in high levels of educational attainment that correspond to acquisition of non-manual employment or high-status occupation and social mobility in the mainstream.

**Trajectory of Urgency:** inter-generational preoccupation with survival and satisfying basic needs of food, clothing, and housing. It is driven by inter-generational poverty, limited participation of socialisation agents in younger generations’ social and educational development, lack of educational attainment, preference for low-skilled work, and scepticism about high levels of educational attainment and high-status occupations.

**Treasure Island:** an adventure novel, by Scottish author Robert Louis Stevenson, narrating a tale of "buccaneers and buried gold". It was serialised in the children’s magazine Young Folks between 1881–1882 under the title Treasure Island and was first published as a book in 1883.

**Uptown:** an informal term that refers to a socioeconomically advantaged portion of a metropolis [city] - in contrast with the socioeconomically disadvantaged downtown area. The uptown neighbourhoods, as distinguished from the disadvantaged district, have upscale or socioeconomically privileged connotation, rather than location or elevation.

**Yardwork:** a Caribbean colloquial term that refers to one’s total span of activities in the home and home extension - "yard" as it is often referred to - such as washing up dishes outside the house, gardening, cleaning, caring for animals, fetching water and firewood for cooking...etc.
Appendices

App.I Windrush Generation

Figure 1: “At 07:00 am today, June 22 1948, a ship, the Empire Windrush, berthed at Tilbury with 417 Sons of the Empire on board”. Credit: BBC Archive - TopFoto
App.II Map of the Caribbean Archipelago

Figure 2: Credit Cindy Sanchez, 31 January 2009
## Participants and Inquiry Summary Table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Family</th>
<th>Origin</th>
<th>Settled</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Generation 1</th>
<th>Generation 2</th>
<th>Generation 3</th>
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<td>Tito</td>
<td>Barbados/Jamaica</td>
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<td>15 meetings 70 hours</td>
<td>6 meetings 25 hours</td>
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<td>Phillip</td>
<td>Jamaica/Ireland</td>
<td>Denton</td>
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<td>Leroy</td>
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<td>Warrington</td>
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<td>4 meetings 15 hours</td>
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<td>Family 4</td>
<td>Marjorie</td>
<td>Jamaica/Trinidad</td>
<td>Denton</td>
<td>1959</td>
<td>2 meetings 3 hours</td>
<td>3 meetings 20 hours</td>
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<td>Family 5</td>
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<td>Old Trafford</td>
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<td>2 meetings 1 hour</td>
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<td>Barbados/Barbados</td>
<td>Oldham</td>
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<td>1 meeting 3 hours</td>
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<tr>
<td>Family 9</td>
<td>Christophe</td>
<td>Dominica/Dominica</td>
<td>Sheffield</td>
<td>1960</td>
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<td>Family 10</td>
<td>Andrew</td>
<td>Jamaica/Jamaica</td>
<td>Manchester</td>
<td>1950s</td>
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<td>Leoni</td>
<td>Carriacou</td>
<td>Huddersfield</td>
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<td>London</td>
<td></td>
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<td>Indira</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>PP4</td>
<td>Tinisha</td>
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<td>Manchester</td>
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<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Moss Side</td>
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<td>Shania</td>
<td>Jamaica</td>
<td>Openshaw</td>
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<td>2 meetings 10 hours</td>
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<td>Grenada</td>
<td>Huddersfield</td>
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<td>PP10</td>
<td>Anthony</td>
<td>Dominica</td>
<td>Deptford</td>
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<td>3 meetings 15 hours</td>
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App.IV Participants’ Background

Families

Family trees and vignettes of the ten families that participated in the inquiry are presented in this appendix. In order to protect the participants’ identity, a pseudonym and a participant code were given to each individual. Mr, Mrs, and Ms are used to identify first generation. The darker shade in the family tree depicts the family members with whom I had meetings and the lighter shade depicts the members who I was unable to meet but were spoken about during meetings.

Family One [F1]

Mr Tito came to England from Barbados in 1958 to live with his sisters. He met and married Mrs Tito who was from Jamaica. Mr and Mrs Tito, both Christians, desired to lead a different life from the one that they had led in the Caribbean. Before he came to England, Mr Tito lived with his parents and had never had a job. He left school with no formal qualification at the age of fifteen. His wife, Mrs Tito, had no experience in formal education before she came to England. She had been the main carer for her younger siblings and three children of her own, who were left with relatives in Jamaica.

During their early days in England, Mr and Mrs Tito worked in the manual sector and lived at various addresses, but eventually settled in a predominantly white upwardly mobile community in Old Trafford. They had three children who were born, brought up, and attended school there. The children completed their compulsory schooling without qualifications and, like their parents, went on to low-skilled jobs. They are all unmarried (one is divorced). Mr Tito’s first son, Tristan, has obtained a secretarial qualification and moved to London where he thought there were more opportunities for black people to progress. His two adult daughters have graduated from universities in London and obtained professional employment. There are eight grandchildren and two great grandchildren in the family.
Mr Phillip came to England from Jamaica in 1959 when he was ten years old to live with his parents. His education started at a secondary modern school in Balham, South London. His childhood ambition was to become a medical doctor and, from the age of fourteen, he volunteered as a first aider with the St John's Ambulance Brigade. He completed his compulsory schooling at the age of sixteen with non-academic qualifications, which were insufficient to enable his progress to medical school. However, he went on to night school where he studied further, while working as an auxiliary nurse. During that time, he met the lady who became his wife. She was born in London to an Irish immigrant family. She also worked as a nurse. They were married in 1971 and had their first of three children, daughter Felicia, in 1972. That same year the family moved to a small exclusively white community in Humberside, Northeast England. Felicia was six weeks old at the time and the family lived at several addresses when they first arrived in the Northeast. Their sons Frampton and Freddie were born in Humberside in 1973 and 1977 respectively.

Mr and Mrs Phillip are Christians and their children were brought up with Christian principles, but not attending church. The children attended Catholic schools and had not had any contact with other Caribbeans or the local Caribbean communities. All three of them have attained university degrees and work in professional employment. Felicia has three children. They live with her in a predominantly white affluent suburb in Lancashire. Frederick is her first child and only son. He has completed his compulsory schooling and is attending college where he studies A-levels accounting, economic, psychology, and English literature. During weekends, he does gardening with his grandfather, Mr Phillip, who continues to be an influence in his life, encouraging him to do well educationally. All three grandchildren in the family are mixed-race.
Mr Leroy is from Jamaica. He is one of nine children and was brought up by his maternal aunt. He left school when he was fifteen years old to work with his older sister, who had a shop in downtown Kingston. His sister paid for him to attend an accounting course at college and he kept the shops' account. He is a devout Christian and had the first of his four children in 1970 when he was twenty one years old. In 1975, he was encouraged by his sister to come to England for a better life. The children were left with their teenage mother, who also lived in downtown, Kingston. The older two children Levvi and Leann joined him in England shortly after and the two younger children, Lee and Lloyd, were later adopted by their paternal aunt.

According to Mr Leroy, as a youngster, he did not have any educational or professional aspiration. In 1975, he married his first wife, who he had met a year earlier in Jamaica. They lived in a predominantly white community in Liverpool, where he worked at various factories and Levvi and Leann attended school, which they were to quit prematurely. Lee and Lloyd joined the family in 1989. They first lived with their father and stepmother [second wife] in a predominantly white community in Warrington, but later moved to the Caribbean community in Preston.

Lee and Lloyd completed their compulsory schooling in Warrington. Lee progressed to university where he attained a degree in journalism. He has been employed as an English teacher at a secondary school for the past five years. He is unmarried and lives in his own home with his two teenage sons. His father lives with him as well. Lloyd attended college also. He did not have educational aspiration, but had an interest in electronics and would have liked to study electronics engineering. Instead, he studied mechanical engineering, which he quit prematurely. He intimated “I was young without direction and being sent to college was the only option for Dad, he needed something to do with us”. Lloyd later joined the Army, where he attained a Higher National Diploma. He has four children by three mothers and lives with his partner and two toddlers in a Lancashire suburb. Six of the eight grandchildren in the family are mixed-race.
Mrs Marjorie is Indo-Trinidadian. Before she came to England, she had attended secondary school in Trinidad, where she attained two O-levels in Spanish and History. She came to England in 1959 to work as a mental health nurse at Macclesfield Hospital and, in 1962, she married Mr Marjorie - a Jamaican. He had come to England to work on the Trafford docks, during which time he attained qualifications in Marine engineering. He was made redundant in 1973 and subsequently set up a small business through which he sold engineering equipment.

Mrs Marjorie was of Hindu faith and Mr Marjorie was a Christian. They had three children, Melvin, who was born in 1962, Megan who was born in 1964, and Marcus who was born in 1967. In 1962, the same year Melvin was born, the family bought a four-bedroom semi-detached house on an affluent street in Old Trafford. The family later dissolved, and Mrs Marjorie moved to Ashton-Under-Lyne to work as a care assistant in a geriatric home. Twenty years later, she attained a Certificate of Social Services (CSS) from the University of Salford. The course was paid for by her employer. Mr Marjorie had custody of the children, who grew up in a white upwardly mobile community and, during their growing up years, had not had much contact with other Caribbeans. They were cared for by different white nannies who ensured that they attended school without reservations.

The children attended secondary school in Stretford, where, according to Megan, she met other Caribbeans for the first time. Melvin and Marcus were particularly encouraged and supported to do well at school by their father. After their compulsory schooling, both boys progressed on to university - Melvin moved to Birmingham and Marcus moved to London. Megan did not do well at school. She explained, “I was shy, had very few friends and did not feel belong at school”. After her compulsory schooling, she aspired to become a nurse like her mother, with whom she worked at the geriatric home. This was her first paid-work experience, which, according to her, “put her off nursing”. She currently works as a training co-ordinator at an NHS trust and has attained a post-graduate diploma in human resource training from the University of Salford. The course was paid for, in part, by her employer. She has her own home and considers homeownership to be an important accomplishment as it represents “long-term security”. She identifies herself as middle-class, albeit a “poor one”. There are no grandchildren in the family.
Mr William came to England from Jamaica in 1959. He was twenty-one years old at the time, and had attended basic school, which he completed without qualification. He could not find work in Jamaica, so he came to England in hope of leading a better life. He was brought up a Christian, but, as a youngster, he attended Rastafari meetings and was influenced by some doctrines of "black empowerment". Nonetheless, he remained loyal to Christianity, and believes that his destiny in life is designated by God.

During his early years in England, he lived in the Caribbean communities in Ardwick, Long-site, and Moss Side. His brother and many of his friends still live in these communities. In 1961, he met and married the lady with whom he currently lives. She is white British and had one child from a previous relationship. The family settled in the white middle-class community of Old Trafford. They both worked in local factories and had two other children, Wilton was born in 1962 and Wilma was born in 1964. Mr William identifies with the working class, which he associates with lack of intelligence. His limited education meant that he was not able to support his children’s education, which was left to his wife who was responsible for their schooling.

The children, Wilton and Wilma, attended school in Old Trafford during the 1960s and 1970s - a time when bi-racial families were uncommon. They both finished compulsory schooling without qualifications. According to Wilma, she "did not have any aspiration, was not interested in school, and did not want to be there". After her compulsory schooling, she did a Youth Training Scheme (YTS) and subsequently worked as an "odd jobber". She has not been married and has one son who is currently not doing well at school, but she does not have the time to help him, neither does she visit his school. Wilton, who Wilma said slept throughout his time in school, has been unemployed for most of his life. He is also unmarried, and has four children, all by different mothers. All five grandchildren in the family are mixed-race.
Mr Edward is from Guyana. He came to England in 1960 as a twenty-year-old to live with his mother who was working as a district nurse in London. Before coming to England, he had attended an elite secondary school in Guyana, and had attained ten O-levels. The school was intended for expatriate children, but he had won a government scholarship to attend it. According to him, the syllabus was the same as that of Eton in England, and graduates were expected to pursue careers in law and medicine.

Mr Edward wanted to study medicine and, once in London, he attended college where he attained A-levels in biology, chemistry, and zoology. He later applied to the Universities Central Council on Admissions (UCCA), but was not offered a place at any university to study medicine, so, instead, he accepted an offer from the University of Edinburgh to study life sciences, and later attained a PhD in bacteriology. He then went on to work as a research assistant at the University of Aston, in Birmingham, from where he would be transferred to Tanzania to work as a university lecturer.

Mr Edward met the lady who became his wife in London, she is a registered nurse. They were both Adventist and Guyanese and were married in 1976. The family’s first child, son Edd, was born in 1978 in Tanzania. They subsequently had a daughter, Edilia, who was born in 1979 in Old Trafford where they had purchased a five-bedroom semi-detached house. Both children started school in Tanzania. Edd attended a non-state fee-paying primary school and Edilia was homed schooled. From age seven and eight, respectively, the children started in a state primary school in Old Trafford, but later went on to fee-paying schools. Edilia subsequently went on to study medicine at university, but she became unwell and died of an autoimmune disease in 2008. Edd had difficulties throughout his compulsory schooling years, after which he attended a private college to study music. He intimated that music had always been an interest of his, and, initially, that was difficult for his parents to accept. Being aware of his limitation, and growing up in a different time from his parents, he claimed to have accepted “most black people’s idea of success, which is sports or music”. However, he explained, he is “not good at sports”, and being an Adventist means that he has very limited prospect for career mobility as a musician because he does not work during Sabbath hours, which runs from sun set on Friday evening to sun set on Saturday evening.
Mrs Ensley came to England from Jamaica when she was twenty-eight years old. Her childhood aspiration was to become a nurse or a teacher, but she was withdrawn from school prematurely to help care for her grandparents. She came to Birmingham in 1962, but later moved to Manchester where she had an invitation to train to be an auxiliary nurse.

Mrs Ensley is a devout Christian. She met the man who became her husband (deceased since 1979) at a church in Moss Side. The family first lived in the local Caribbean community in Longsight, but later moved to Old Trafford to live with a minister from their church. They participated in a micro-financial scheme, known and a Partnership, which enabled them to buy their own home in Old Trafford.

Mrs Ensley worked initially as an auxiliary nurse, but after having her first daughter in 1965, she was unable to continue working. She subsequently had four other children and converted part of her home into a nursery where she cared for children, including her own, during the day. She also worked as a janitor at nights, but during the later years of her working life, she worked as a clerical assistant. Her husband, Mr Ensley, worked at various factories during his lifetime.

The family’s five children were brought up in a Christian way and attended primary and secondary school in Old Trafford. According to Mrs Ensley, she went to every school meeting and would often invite a fellow church member to come along with her to ensure that her children were doing well and that she could understand and help them with their homework. Three of the five children went on to attain university level education. All five of them are in full time employment, which range from low-level administration to high-status managerial positions. There are four grandchildren in the family. The first, a grandson, is currently attending college.
Mr Dmitri came to England from Barbados in 1955. He settled in a local community in Oldham, where there were about half a dozen blacks, mainly of Bajan and Jamaican origin. He started work at a biscuit factory but later moved to an upholstery factory where he met the lady who became his wife. They were both Adventist and were encouraged to marry within the church, which they did in 1961. Mrs Dmitri had completed secondary school and some college in Barbados before she came to England. According to her, they “had to go to school because education is highly valued in Bajan society”. She was nineteen years old when she came to England to train to be a nurse, but was pregnant at the time and, as a result, was unable to continue her training. She subsequently had three other children and, because there were no nurseries, she stayed home during their childhood years to care for them. The family eventually bought their own home, which, Mr Dmitri said they were encouraged to do.

The children were born and brought up in Oldham. They grew up in a Judaeo-Christian way and, according to Mrs Dmitri, ”this guided their life and taught them how to deal with people”. She intimated that by the time the children started school, they were able read because reading was an integral part of religious life and they were expected to know the literature for Saturday services and to find their way around the bible at Sabbath school. This translated to academic interest for some of the children, three of whom attended and graduated from university and have subsequently obtained non-manual employment.

The youngest daughter, Dernelle, still lives with her parents. She completed her compulsory schooling with basic qualification and was in receipt of social benefits for one year before she decided to go on to college and then university as a way out of not having a job. Access to university was relatively easy. She had not had sufficient A-levels, but attained a Higher National Diploma, which satisfied the entry level for her degree course. She did not have to pay for her university education because, according to her, she was “grant maintained”. This was the same for her other two siblings who attended university as well. She sometimes works as a supply teacher and believes that children are gifts from God and should be within marriage. There are five grandchildren in the family. They are all bi-racial and estranged from the family.
Family Nine [F9]

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<th>Name</th>
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<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Education</th>
<th>Marital Status</th>
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</table>
| Mr and Mrs Christope | Both born in Dominica.  
Come to Britain in 1960.  
Three children.  
Both worked as production line operatives and Mr Christopher later worked as a nurse. | Chester | Born 1973.  
Married.  
Attending University.  
Call centre operative. | University graduate.  
IT Consultant. | University graduate.  
Self employed Engineer. |  

Mr and Mrs Christope came to England from the Commonwealth of Dominica during the 1960s. Mrs Christope is of Kalingo [Indian tribe native of Dominica and St. Lucia] descent and Mr Christope of black-Caribbean descent. They settled in the Caribbean community in Preston, where they both worked at local factories. Mr Christope also worked as an auxiliary nurse and later attended university and attained a nursing degree. He later worked as a registered nurse.

The family had three children, Chris, Christian, and Chester, who were born in Preston. In 1982, the family moved to Manchester and settled in a predominantly white community that was also upwardly mobile. According to Chester, his parents, Mr and Mrs Christope, had high expectations of him and his brothers and his father, Mr Christope, was particularly strict about education. The boys attended a Catholic secondary school in Manchester. Chris and Christian progressed on to university. Chris studied information technology and works as a consultant and Christian studied engineering and works as an engineer. Both of them live in London, they have not been married and do not have children. Chester did not do well at secondary school. In 1985, he moved with his parents to Dominica, where he attended a secondary grammar school. He returned to England after his compulsory schooling in Dominica, and has settled in a predominantly white upwardly mobile community in Sheffield.

Chester currently works as a call centre operative and is concurrently pursuing a degree course at university. He is married and does not have children. He said that he would like to "earn more money before he decides to have children". According to him, his childhood friends from Preston and Manchester have gone on to “labouring jobs”. There are no grandchildren in the family.
Mr and Mrs Andrew came to England from Jamaica during the 1950s. They were both illiterate and hoped to lead a better life. They settled in the local Caribbean community in Long-site where Mrs Andrew set up and operated a Shebeen, and Mr Andrew worked at a local factory. The family had nine children, some of whom were born in Jamaica. Mr Andrew was an alcoholic and a gambler. During the 1970s, Mrs Andrew moved back to Jamaica temporarily and took the youngest child, Andy, with her. They returned when he was nine years old and tried to settle in the local Caribbean communities in Peckham and Clapham, but later moved to Moss Side in Manchester.

Andy attended primary and secondary school in Greater Manchester, but he had problems at school and was permanently excluded at the age of fourteen; the age as which he had his first child and started using illegal drugs. He later started a Youth Training Scheme in painting, but was again excluded before he could finish it. He converted to Islam at the age of sixteen and married into a Muslim family at the age of nineteen. He is now divorced and has reverted to Christianity, although he does not partake in religious rituals.

Andy is hardly literate and has been addicted to drugs from since his teenage years. In addition to his first child, daughter Andrea, he has two young children. He claims to be a gangster and works as an intermediary, known otherwise as a runner, between illicit drug dealers and illicit drug buyers. This permits him to finance his “drug habit and support his family”.

The family lives in the local Caribbean community in Moss Side. Andrea has five children by different father. She has never worked and, according to Andy, she uses drugs when she is pregnant to ease the pain. He intimated that she tries to be a gangster like him “but it does not look good on a girl”.

Individuals

Vignettes of the ten independent individuals who participated in the inquiry are provided in this section. In order to protect the participants’ identity, a pseudonym and a participant code were given to each individual. Mr, Mrs, and Ms are used to identify the first generation.

Individual One [PP1.1]
Ms Leoni is an eighty-five-year-old first-generation. She came to England in 1955 from Carriacou, Grenada. She worked in the cotton mills in Yorkshire until she retired in the 1980s. She is registered blind and lives in a geriatric nursing home. She is hardly literate, very religious and is taken to church on Saturdays when she is well. She has five children who were born in Huddersfield. They attended secondary school there but none of them went on to further education. Her eldest child, a son, died at the age of fifty. She has two daughters, one who works as an auxiliary nurse at a nursing home in Huddersfield, and the other, whose occupation is unknown, lives in London. Her other two sons have had various low-skilled jobs, but are currently unemployed. They are receiving unemployment benefit, which she thinks is not sufficient, so she helps them with her pension. There are numerous grandchildren in the family. The majority are bi-racial and their whereabouts are not fully known.

Individual Two [PP2.3]
Kerry-Ann is a thirty-year-old third-generation. She is of Kittitian descent and lives with her four children in London. She completed secondary school in the Caribbean and had no interests in further education. She had her first daughter at the age of eighteen and aspired to have a large family. She works in low-level administration and depends, partially, on income support and housing benefits to sustain her family. She is separated from her husband and thinks that it is “better to be a single-parent because there are benefits” in the social system.

Individual Three [PP3.2]
Indira is a thirty-eight-year-old second-generation from Jamaica. She lives in the local Caribbean community in Lewisham, London. During the inquiry, her Kittitian husband who she had recently married in the Caribbean was visiting her. She completed compulsory schooling without formal qualifications. She works part-time as an auxiliary nurse and hopes to attend college to study nursing. She is a Christian and has a teenage son who lives with her aunt in Jamaica.

Individual Four [PP4.3]
Tanisha is a thirty-two-year old third-generation. She is of Dominican descent and lives with her son and niece in London. She attended a secondary school in the Caribbean, from which she was excluded prematurely. She joined the Royal Army, which she thought would give her an opportunity to learn a skill, but became pregnant during her training and was subsequently expelled. She is unemployed and depends on social benefits. She blames lack of parental support for her failure in school and institutional racism for her expulsion from the Army.
Individual Five [PP5.3]
Sonia is a twenty-nine-year old third-generation of Jamaican descent. She was born in the local Caribbean community in Manchester and was brought up by her maternal aunt. She had difficulties at school, which she quit prematurely. She is unmarried and lives with her two children in social housing. She works in low-level admin as a supply [agency] staff, because she has difficulties finding a permanent job. She considers herself slow and non-academic.

Individual Six [PP6.1]
Mr John is an eighty-two-year-old first-generation from Carriacou, Grenada. He came to England in 1956 to work in the mills. He has no experiences with formal education and is barely literate. His ex-wife is from Trinidad. She is also barely literate and lives in a nursing home. The family had six children. Mr John supported his children through the courts. He believes that the only responsibilities parents have to their children are to provide food, shelter, and clothing.

Individual Seven [PP7.3]
Natalie is a seventeen-year-old third-generation of Jamaican descent. She was brought up by her mother in the local Caribbean community in Manchester, but now lives in Old Trafford. She hopes to attend college, but has no aspiration and does not know what she will study. Her mother explains that the young people in Moss Side, where Natalie was born, have no hope but thing have improved and she decided to move so that Natalie will keep away from bad friends.

Individual Eight [PP8.3]
Shania is a nineteen-year-old third-generation of Jamaican descent. She lives with her single-parent mother in Openshaw. She is currently attending college and hopes to pursue further studies in event planning. Her Grandmother is a retired auxiliary nurse, who came from Jamaica during the 1950s. Her mother works at a charity that supports education and employment initiatives in the local Caribbean community in Manchester.

Individual Nine [PP9.2]
Steven is a forty-seven-year-old second-generation from Grenada. He lives with his white English wife and four children in Huddersfield. He has other bi-racial children by different mothers. He has graduated from university and works as a supply teacher. He believes that education and wealth are for white people and, according to him, he tries “to avoid black people”. His teenage sons, who live with him, are attending a fee-paying school.

Individual Ten [PP10.2]
Anthony is a forty-four-year old single-parent father from the Commonwealth of Dominica. He has six children by three different mothers. He attended basic school only, and has hardly been in formal employment. He lives in social housing in the local Caribbean community in Deptford, London. His two teenage and two infant children live with him mainly. His other two young children live with their mother in a single-parent household.
App.V Participation Consent Form

Exploratory Interviews

Thank you for your participation in my research. The reason for it is to find out about the experiences of Caribbeans in Britain. I want to find out about their cultural resources, such as their attitude towards education, behaviour in schools, and work preferences, and how these resources relate to their educational, social, and economic outcomes. I am doing the research as part of my studies at the University of Manchester, in the School of Education.

I would like to understand how the cultural resources, which you use in your everyday life, affect your ability to achieve educational qualifications and social and economic advantages that could improve your life in Britain. I would also like to understand how these resources are used in your family and, if you have any children, how they have benefited from their use.

I want you to understand that your participation is entirely voluntary and will require several meetings with you and your family. This will be for the duration of the inquiry, which will be no more than three years. I would like to record some of our conversations, with your permission, to help me to reflect on some of the things we will talk about. I will also keep a diary to record some of our more informal discussions. Some of the topics that we will talk about are:

- Your general experiences of school and education
- Your employment, and/or ambitions for your career
- Links between your education, life achievement, and general choices that you make.
- Your background in the Caribbean and your choices about education and employment.

You are not obligated to answer any question that makes you uncomfortable. You can change your mind and you can withdraw your participation at any time. I promise that any information you share with me will be kept safe on my computer and I will use a false name to protect your identity. This means that your story will be completely anonymised. It will be dealt with in the strictest of confidence and only used for the purpose of this research. No information that you share will be released or published without your consent and approval. If you agree and are happy with this, I would be grateful if you would sign below to confirm this.

Family name: ............................................................
Fictitious name: ............................................................
City: ............................................................
Post code: ............................................................
Sign: ............................................................
Date: ............................................................

For research administration use only

Family number: 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Generation 1: 1 2 3
Age range generation 1: 40-60 69-80 81 +
Age range generation 2: 20-30 31-47 45+
Age range generation 3: 16-21 21-29 29+
App.VI Inquiry Guide - Data Collection

In order to understand how Caribbeans in Britain understand their social world and mediate their experiences therein, and how cultural resources impact upon their experiences and outcomes in education and socioeconomic domains:

I will explore:
- How participants live their life.
- What gives participants life its meaning.
- What do participants believe in or do not believe in.
- Whether participants feel they are realistic in and loyal to their aspirations.
- Patterns, commonalties, and differences in participants’ lived experiences

I will ask about:
- Early life – growing up in Britain as a Caribbean.
- Experiences in education – throughout their schooling career.
- Parents’ or guardians’ level of education, occupation, and expectation of them.
- Past, current, and future expectations.
- Experiences and achievements among peers, acquaintances, and role models.
- Past and current experiences in employment and housing.
- Experiences in local community.

I will understand:
- How participants view educational attainment and socioeconomic progression.
- How their views differ across the different generations.
- How their views relate to the way they live their life and the decisions that they make about education and employment.

I will check:
- Whether there is evidence of educational aspiration among participants?
- How participants see their life chances in Britain, in terms of socioeconomic progression and social mobility.
- Whether participants believe education can make a difference in their life.
- The function of religion and any other identifiable traditional norms in their life.
- What do they want in life – how do they want to achieve it.
- How parents motivate their children; what do they say to them? How do they motivate them to achieve things?
- What are the choices that participants make, and that which affect their ability to do well at school and in employment.
- Whether there are differences in experiences and outcomes between men and women.
App.VII Coding for Sociocultural Analyses

Table of the key settings - family, community, religion, education, and occupation - that were extracted from the data set. The settings were identified from the participants' accounts of their experiences, which were interrogated to 1) identify patterns in their educational and socioeconomic experiences and outcomes, 2) ascertain the cultural resources that they acquired and used to mediate their experiences in education and socioeconomic domains, and 3) determine how such resources impact upon their educational attainment and socioeconomic progression in Britain

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Participants background</th>
<th>Family Beliefs and attitudes towards family and social identity. Attitudes and expectations from relationships with family members and children.</th>
<th>Community Values and attitudes towards community. Experiences with housing and homeownership</th>
<th>Religion Values and attitudes towards religion and spirituality. Uses, functions and manifestations of religion.</th>
<th>Education Values and attitudes towards social mobility, learning, education and schooling</th>
<th>Occupation Values and attitudes towards work. Employment preferences and experiences.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Family 1 Generation 1—Tito</td>
<td>I use to walk round the street with a pocket comb, and glasses [sun shades] in my pocket. Rude-boy life-style...yes! Yes! Well the rude boy situation, I don’t know if I could really call myself a rude boy because it was just walking around the streets, we never use to work, we were just sport boys walking around the streets. I think I was too young for working life. Back home growing up – we did not have to work, because we were living at home, - live with parents until I come to England. We was living in different people’s house in one room – different West Indians you know...we had to rent one room, and then when we started having kids, there was three kids in the one room with me and my wife and it was very hard like that because people didn’t want to rent you. And I remember when I started having kids, I use to have to take Triston and his sister outside about</td>
<td>Not many black people living in this [local] area. Not on this street, there are a few spread around. This street, when I bought this house, there was at least twenty families. I bought this house from a Jamaican. There is a mixture of people in Old Trafford. Asians are coming in now. Because if one Asian comes in and buy a House, then the person next to them usually move, and then another Asian family comes. They never wanted to live next to them [Asian] a lot of black people are like that [don’t want to live next to Asians]. That’s why they are always moving. Black people are moving further out into Old Trafford, Stretford, moving further away. I am with the working class...first you’ve got the upper class, who are the rich and famous. Then you have the middle class who live between the upper class and the lower</td>
<td>I don’t know much about Rastas to be truthful, I only watch their hairstyle and their lifestyle. The lifestyle is the way they carry themselves and they, I can’t even think, if they use to like work. Bob Marley, I never followed him anyway. If my son was to come to me and say he wants to be a Rasta – I would say no way, I would point him to the Bible. The Rasta’s use the Bible in their own way. They read the bible and interpret it the way they want. But as Christian, we know what the Bible is saying , the way you should live, the way you should dress. Although we have a Rasta in our church, he is now number three, but when he became a Christian, the Rasta style went, because he wants to look respectable in what he is</td>
<td>I left school when I was about fifteen. Just ordinary school, did not do any other kind of education or training after then. My children did not go to university. I don’t think the education they receive was enough to get to their full potential, because I believe if you push yourself you could do more. I believe that the friends and the group of children that they are associated with, if they are children that are pushing themselves to go forward, then I believe that other kids will follow that. Well going to college and trying to go forward in the society that he was born in. I was working with logistic company at that time and others [first generation] did not pursue other skills. Not because it was not available, Coming to England then, the life completely changed. We came here looking for work, because in working – don’t forget – you had to pay your rent. And you can only do that by working. When we enter this country, it was a different type of life all together. Because we came here with a different mind-set. We came here to live a different type of life, and then the work process involved was different and we settled down into working and then after meeting our girlfriend, in my case. Well I believe that they were born in this country, they should look to something much better than working in the warehouse.</td>
<td></td>
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</table>
half past six in the morning in summer so the land lord could sleep. And even that was not enough, because they give us notice to live in their house.

We got married two years after. In this country, all the young boys that came here in the 60s got married young. But now, this has changed, they getting married later. I think it has to do with the women, because women are more independent now. Women and men are going out to work – women and men are going out to work in the morning and coming back in the evening, - so women are saying, I am working, you are working, so we are equal. That is why women put forward they want equal rights.

I remember when Triston was small, when my wife was going off to work in the morning I had to take them to the child minder. So we was sharing the duties that way.

Again, you’ve got Peter, and then Andrew and Nigel, these are their children that have come up alongside their dad who are now doing the same kind of work that their dads are doing. It might be a pattern, if they have seen their dad do that and now, because Ian is a decorator, his dad who lived over there was also a decorator.

I think, individual family would say different things to their kids. All Caribbean families in Britain are the same – the kids want to get on in life and the society they live in. They pursue the life-style they want and not follow other people.

Our parents were providing for us. In the West Indies, parents provide for their children. And we lived at home until you decide to married, class. So the working class is the one that is the poorest of the three I think. In the Caribbean community you get some are working class and some are middle class. Well the majority would have to be working class.

I live in this house since 1966. Before – I lived at various places because, when we first came to England, there wasn’t any where to live. People did not want to rent you – they said they do not want any kids in their house. That was the main reason; anyone who has a house would not want to rent to someone with kids.

The accommodation was not like how you see it now, where like the Government would build house so for people would rent. We would get a house this week, and by next weekend they give you notice. You have to look for another room. And sometime in three weeks in one month you would live in different places. It was very very hard because you could not find anywhere to live.

We moved into the house for about three months and then we were given notice, at that time, we had lend, I think it was 120.00, to help buy his house, and before giving us back our money, he gave us notice – he was from Jamaica – Moss side is the Ghetto – the thing is – all the black people tend to congregate into Moss Side and then you get a lot of the bad things that always use to happen like shooting, prostitutes, you know? you get doing.

It is normal for people to have a family, this is church life. Church life; the Pentecostal systems.

Christians live a different kind of life to the people of the world, the Bible teaches Christians how to live. You see, in the church, people are allowed to court six months, maybe up to a year, but in the courting process, you are planning your marriage.

It is true that the second and third generations are not religious as the first. God gave everyone their own mind, and they are free to choose. Say from the age of fourteen – sixteen, they choose to make up their own mind, whether they want to follow the Lord, or they follow the world and many of them following the world.

but you get the minority who would go into education but not many. Maybe I would say they did not have the knowledge.

I believe the children going to school and born in this country should concentrate on English. Instead of concentrating on the good things, they concentrating on the bad things.

I would say that comes from the Children’s ability. I would not say that the ability of the child, if they have the brains, then that child would progress more than the other child that don’t have the brains. Some have better brain than others.

[women who worked as prostitutes] They got more money doing that kind of work, than going out to work 8 hours in the day. If they wanted work, there were many factories around – very few would get work as lawyers and doctor – they did not have the education.

[Triston intervenes] Take for instance Peter or Lurkey, they would not buy a business but have a business alongside working in a job, like a builder. These guys, as far as I remember as a child, would come here and take out the walls and put them in. They had the expertise to do that alongside their eight-hour day job, - they were out there making money. I think it was low key, if you are out there working an eight to ten hour job, can’t see where you will have much time to expand that second business. And if they were to take on other people – then they were not business minded to do that. I think it’s a tunnel vision mind-set.

That’s what I call a handy man. It was not a business as such. I believe if you are not business minded – then you are not going to have your mind-set on business. I would say it’s a cultural thing, because we that come from the Caribbean, very few
or until you reach up in the early 20s I would say.

Home – you go out and you visit them [women] at night and then you come back home. Relationships were just like boyfriend and girlfriend – no interest in marriage or family. Not the young boys growing up, we never had that sort of thing in our mind growing up.

Some men from the West Indies sent for their girlfriend back home. It was normal for this generation to married very young. My daughter was married, she is now divorce[ed] I think about 2001. She was thirty-one when she got married.

Having children before marriage when we arrive in this country, that never use to happen. Maybe sometimes they did not want kids, but it just happened. But now they [young women] get pregnant and then they give them a house because they are classed as adult and their parents can't tell them anything. They make their own mind, and that is part of the problem.

West Indian women are very strong women, just like they adopt the principle of this country, very independent women, and they very strong in what they believe in. They believe that a man should not dominate a woman, that is one thing, I can say, that is why I married them.

There is something about what I just say about getting pregnant and getting a house. Then if the two people have a child, and then they split up, they are not going to be together, especially, if the man is on the wild side. Well, get a girl there, she gets pregnant, he moves everything. I believe, the thing is that, black people, they congregate into area where they will more feel safe. In the community where everybody would be able to get together. Because, say for instance, the white people at that time, didn’t know us as it were so they were keeping their distance. There was not much black people could do about this, you tried to be friendly, but people didn’t want to get to close. Actually when we first came here, white people use to say that black people were monkeys.

I was not really called that or nobody ever said that to me, but that was the saying, the young children, the parents would say – there is a monkey, and he would be looking for the tail, but could not find the tail. Some people would want to fight [in response], not only black men, but women, if somebody says, they were a monkey and they would want to show where the monkey is by fighting.

I never use to really get in crowds...the majority of black people around here is Jamaicans, wherever you go in England, the majority is Jamaicans, but everybody get on fine you know. We get on well now, but when we first came to England, then I understand, the Bajans and the Jamaicans couldn't agree. The Jamaicans had a perspective that Barbados is only small and Jamaica was big, and that use to cause conflict between the two. I have not met many Trinidadians in this country.

people go into business
I finished work in 2000. My last job was working as a car parking lot attendant. I worked there nearly ten years.

The recession affected me in [19]86, when the company closed down, I got redundant. People had started getting redundant. Things got hard, but we just adapted to the situation that was before it.

If you got redundant and lose your job and had no money then you would go to the DHS [social services] and they would pay your rent just as it is now.

The recession had nothing to do with the prostitution, it was mostly the white girls, and there were also black girl. These girls did not want to work, they wanted this life-style.
on to another one. It's common among men of all ages. The parent doesn't have anything to do with it. When the kids get to that age of about fifteen – sixteen, the parents cannot tell the kids what directions they should go, especially in this country. The kids have to make that up for themselves. Make their own mind up, because you cannot force a person to become a Christian.

The white women get married to the black men – because they want to keep him. Then I think they use to give the black men money.

My grandchildren, I have two in their twenties, one is nineteen and the others are younger. I believe they will be better - let me see...this one here [pointing to a picture of Triston and his daughter in a university graduation gown] – that's Triston with his daughter, she went to university and she passed out in her studies.

I have seven grandchildren, three in London, two in fallow field, one in Stretford and one in Long-sight. I don't hear from the grandchildren very often, only those in London.

As far as the Rastas were concerned, I did not like their hairstyles and that was enough. There were a lot of the boys who were not cutting their hair. They were not really Rasta, they were lazy, and they did not want to cut their hair. They were just imitating Rasta.

I was very close to the police back home. I was in charge of a boys club, we run boys club in the West Indies, and I was in charge of the one in our district. The boys club is something that was organised by the police to get the boys of the street.

When we first arrived in this country, Bajans and Jamaican were not very close. You know – because of the island situation, but then we started to grow closer and closer.

I think they are following the trend in this country. But in the 1960, they call it the permissive society, because it was a trend, a complete turnaround, then it is when the rolling stones, and the Beatles and all these pop groups, came on the scene, then women completely changed. And that is when even the white girls started having kids, without married. That is from 1960s. So these young West Indians, growing up in this country, they just follow the trend.

But now, in this day and age, a woman can say well I do not want any kids so I am going on birth control, but that was not in the West Indies. Birth control would be common now because it is a complete turnaround. From in the 60s 70s, everything changed. To me looking around
especially in this area, you see the white girls, and the coloured girls, to me they all look equal in having kids. There is another thing also that I believe that cause that to happen. The laws of this country. As soon as a young girl, especially, not so much the boys, as soon as they reach sixteen they are told they are adults and they are free to make their choice, and they out and get pregnant because they can get a house, - this is a problem not just in the Caribbean community but for all young people. They have to make their own mind up. In the Asian community that cannot happen because the parents tell the children what they should do. Who they should marry to and everything. But from the West Indies, that can't happen because you cannot force a person to do what they don't want to do. From the Asian perspective, if the kids rebel against their parents, then they are isolated within the whole community [emphasis].

I don't know if is a real reason why Caribbeans mostly coming from Jamaica. I am not very familiar with the Patois. Well there are certain Jamaicans who still believe in speaking the Patois that they came with and they will never change.

Caribbean communities are not business minded. You can only be successful if you put your mind to something and at the end of the day it turns out the way you want it to be...then you say well, that was success. I would have to say that my generation would have to be
less. I think it is common. A lot of the young people who are going to university and who doing well. The third generation is doing well yeah.

Moss Side use to be a place that I said I would not live. That was the same reason where all the drugs were and it had something that I didn't like about it. And I said I would not live there. But I lived near to it for about a year, and then I move into Old Trafford. That was a better community, otherwise I would not have stayed.

I don't know of any people who are successful, people from my generation are on the same level, I would not say they are successful. Say, I'm moving away from the West Indian side, now, if I'd say somebody is a success, I would look at a man like Alan Sugar, and he is a success. I would look at David Beckham, he is a success. Alan sugar is a successful business man, David Beckham, with the skills he has in his field, he is a success.

In my age group, many people have their own house. I bought the house 1500.00 in 1966. At the time we had the kids and we needed somewhere for them to live. People with their houses did not want anyone that had kids.

There is something we call partner, well we save money like that. One person is in charge of the money. Say twenty people come together and one person is in charge, say its 20.00 each and its 20 people, so that would be £400.00 collected in one week and one person would get that.
Generation 2 – Triston  
First son, second child of Mr and Mrs Tito.

I was ten when I first heard about my brother from Jamaica. I saw mother’s pain – she had left children in Jamaica. Life was really hard. I picked up on her worries about her children left behind, though she hardly spoke about them. She came with the ‘Empire Windrush’ to work for a few years and then return. I believe she stayed in England after she met Dad.

I was in a relationship with the mother of my three children from 1981 to 1998. We lived so many years together, marriage was not a concern.

In 1996, we moved to London. We lived as a family. It was her decision to move. Her parents were from Jamaica. My friends thought that I should not move but as far as I was concerned, we were a family so we moved as family.

I had been in another relationship with the mother of my last my daughter for eight years. We intended to marry. Being married is very important especially as I grow older and to provide stability for the children. Also to officiate the bond as society expects.

My Parents’ lives were very difficult. Compared with my father’s generation, in his days father, though silent, were there. Nowadays they are not. I thought that because of my experience with my parents, I did Roots help to educate me about whom I am. My parents did not play much role in educating me about history. They never talked about it. I had heard the history of my parents’ experience of being discriminated against, could not go to certain places, was not allowed to do certain things. Roots showed the world, at the time, what the black nation had been through, where they came from, where they were taken and what was done to them. It was great as people could actually see. It was a time when a black person and a white person could sit together and watch a movie and have different emotions. The white would say that it’s only history. It is not fair that they should think it’s just history.

There was a general feeling across the country among black people. They saw their parent’s hardship and their own hardship. It was just a lot of things stored up in black boys and men. They were targeted by police, etc. I was at a West Indian Youth Club the night the riots broke out in Manchester. I was seventeen in 1981. I heard the talk of riot and knew what was going to happen so I decided to make my way home from the club that night. Brixton was the night before; it was first so it was almost like a copycat effect in Moss Side.

My parents were very religious; we went to the Church of God. I remember having to go to church; not going was not an option. From day one – Christianity defines who I am as a person. It is how I was brought up with Sunday church.

I went to two churches, one was predominantly white – that was the Sunday school, which was nearby and children went. But also, there was the Church of God, my parent (Dad) has been going for over twenty years. It was only black. I always wondered why my parents’ church was predominantly black, why not one white person would come to the church, but I never questioned it. The Sunday school, it was at the white church, which was somewhere to go on a Sunday for children and it was fun. The black church was more connected to my parents so I had to go. This was in Old Trafford.

I stopped going to church at fourteen when my parents gave me the right to refuse. I stopped because I got bored. My religion combined with my parents – thought Caribbean parents are not strict enough. They don’t take an active role in their children education. They leave this up to the school. They think it is the school’s responsibility to educate their children properly. Dad never showed any interest in my education. I hardly saw my Dad. He worked nights when we were asleep and stayed home during the day when we were at school.

They were also strict, but as Caribbean youngsters we were able to get away with not doing homework than the Chinese. We were twelve of us as friends; about ten would truant. I never truanted. I knew my Dad would have laid into me. Although my friends’ parents were similar to mine, in that they would be beaten for truanting. This did not stop them. They had no fear. I was the only one who had a father not from Jamaica.

Some of my friends got into trouble, some recovered and went on to university. Others are still trapped, even as addicts.

I went to school in Stretford. Most of my school friends were Jamaican. I remember being able to read at age Most of our parents worked in factories, railways, train drivers, bus drivers and as social workers. Most of the men worked at nights especially my Dad whom I hardly saw. Women worked mostly as nurses in the hospitals.

I wanted to become a car mechanic when I was five. I wanted to join the Army when I was eighteen. Joining the Army was a way out of not having a job but my Mum was not happy and discouraged me.

No mother wants to see their children go off and may have to fight in wars if they are called. She also knew other people who had gone off to the Army but she never talked about it. Also, I had a young family to care for. My daughter was only one year old then, so I was unable to attend the Army initiation training in Birmingham.

I started work as a painter decorator, then a blacksmith in Salford. Terrible, the most terrible job I had. Then I got a job at the factory where my

£400.00. The next week someone else would get the £400.00 and so on. That is how black people save money. Going to the bank, you got to put the 20.00 in 20 weeks. To get a loan that would incur more interest.
not want the same for my own children. I wanted to be there for them.

Black women think they can go it alone. Relationships are mostly ended by women, and if there are children they feel better able to go it alone with their children. They seem to take control and the society and the welfare is responsible. This affects the Caribbean family. Whereas my parents (first generation) stayed together, to raise children, although fathers were mostly out because they worked long hours at nights, they were there. But newer generations men/fathers are not there. They are absent.

For example, with the mother of my last daughter, we lived together in Manchester after I moved back from London. I was a working father; she did not work but was on welfare. Once I moved in, the welfare stopped. She demanded I paid all the bills and expenses, as I was responsible for causing her welfare to stop. This was difficult as I had other financial obligations and three other children from my previous relationship. Being around caused tension especially that the welfare had stopped, and the family fell apart as she wished to return to normal – which is being on welfare with her child.

She has a niece, also from Grenada, who is about 34 and has never worked because the welfare makes it possible and easy to do that – she has three children. The attitude is, why work when you can get it free. It is very common among second and third generation in Manchester. They learn the loopholes and use it.

Next morning I had to go to Moss Side to the YTS. Moss Side was burnt down; all the shops, houses etc. I wondered why they would burn the places and shops they needed to by their food and clothes. They only burnt their own things that they needed. That day, I was walking down the street with two other friends – a police van passed – full of officers and one gestured 1-0. Indicating that the community had won and they, the police, had lost. I understood from then that the police saw it as a battle with the community and, on this occasion, the community won. I see the police as individuals than as an institution. The individuals have their own way.

Moss Side...huh!, one time at work, during lunch, I took my Ghetto blaster to listen to music and one colleague said "turn this jungle music Off". I felt offended and went to the supervisor - that the statement was racist, the supervisor said it’s “water off dogs back” and did nothing.

When we were growing up criminal activities were lucrative and very accessible. I never got involved as I was too fearful. Though it was glamorous, it was wrong. Most people had nice cars, nice clothes and everything. They were doing what they had to do to survive. I am not a risk taker and I try to do everything right. I was never afraid of the police, but was very careful to do everything right. I knew from the streets that police are not nice to black people. If there is an issue between a black and a white person, the black person me to be good; not to lie, steal, nurturing and so on.

Rastafari came around in 1978 when I was fourteen years old; I was still at school. I was not thinking very deeply about it. My friend, a group of about 15 boys, all of Jamaican parents hung out together. All about thirteen years old around the time Rastafari came about. Bob Marley was big at the time. Then there was this big Rastafarian movement that everybody remembers. Even if they were not involved, they knew about it. Every young black boy wanted to identify with the movement.

At the time when Rastafari was big, I had the Rasta colour clothing and I wore my Rasta woolly hat. Once, this proper white man in Sunday school asked me to remove the ‘tea cosy’. I felt the comment but was not in a group to respond. I listened to reggae music. Had my own Ghetto blaster [music set].

At thirteen, I heard about Hail Silassi but I felt confused as I was in the church and had known of Jesus – but that didn’t matter.

Reggae music was big, the Rastafarian look, and the hair, the Ethiopian colours, red = blood, yellow = sun and green = pastures and the earth. I believed in the culture. Would have followed the movement in full if I had five, when I started school. There were no preschool back then. Mum taught me to read. I was a ‘middle of the road’ student. I had friends who were a lot brighter and some who were a lot less bright than me. After secondary school, I went to Stretford North College. I enjoyed going to school. Most of my friends at school were the same that I played with out of school, so school was fun.

The school population was about two thirds white and one their ethnic - of Caribbean and Asian Pakistani origin. The Chinese, though not many, were the top performers at school. Their parents were very strict. They would do their homework after school.

My first experience of discrimination was at school. Though there was a fair mix of pupils, the whites believe they are superior to others, but in my own mind I know that no race is superior to others so.

I did a YTS after secondary school [June 1980]. I was fifteen years. In 1984, I was twenty, years old and working at a factory warehouse shifting boxes. I was not feeling good about myself and Dad came from same background. I remembered the talk from my parents that they did not want their children to do the same as they did.

My Parents use to tell us
The society and welfare is responsible for the breakdown of the Caribbean family. The men are not in the families, not by choice, they are chased away because the women want to be independent and the welfare makes it possible.

I have just been to parents' teacher meeting about [youngest daughter] and found out I had been kept out from knowing of a play she participated in during Christmas because her mother thought that she would not be the same if I was around. This isn't right, how can she say that.

Caribbeans are individualistic and don't care about community. Black people will not pull together to build a community here as they do in London. They are selfish when compared with the Asian community, who helped each other and their community. Black communities don't have that.

Black communities in London are more prosperous than Manchester. They own their own businesses, stores, they are solicitors, office workers. Black people in London are visibly progressive unlike Manchester. It goes back to whoever is in control. The authority hands the power to people who decide who will be progressive. Authorities in Manchester are responsible for black people not prospering in a way. Minorities in the North are held back.

[to father] you know Ronald, Judith's partners – he came up in Moss Sides, or in Hulme, in council properties on the estates back in the 60s 70s, and he told us one evening that life was hard, for them coming up as a family and not having the experiences we had coming up in a secure home.

Black people have their own language and culture, which is not recognised and they have been put down for it. The language of black people is Patois and it has not been recognised, and the whites do not respect that. They respect the Indian, Chinese and the Pakistani language but not the black language. This is very sad.

not been stopped by Dad. Dad was very against the idea. Mum did not say much, she was from Jamaica so maybe she could relate to it and thought differently.

My friends who did not go to church believed Silassi was God. Since there was a void so it was easy to fill with Silassi and Rastafari They got a flat together when they were about sixteen and left home to live as Rastas. They changed their lifestyles and their diet, stopped doing a lot of things and stop eating meat and smoking marijuana. Some went on to harder drugs and are addicts to date. Others changed and did other things with their lives. At the time, I was going in a different direction from my friends.

that we had opportunities in this country and [we] should make use of the resources to do better. One day, I asked myself – why are you shifting boxes, I am fairly educated and can do better. So I decided to leave the warehouse after one year and I went back to college where there was a secretarial course. I heard about the course from a black girl who was attending it. It was specifically to help black people. I went on the course in 1986 for six to eight months. I learned how to type and office procedures over an eight months period. Then at the end of the course the teachers offered a certificate and prize for the pupil who exceeded expectation. When my name was called for the prize I was very surprise. The course was attended by mostly women. If there were forty, about five were men and there were a few whites.

I have been very hands on with my own children. Both daughters [pointing to framed pictures on living room table] attended university. The first one is married and studied politics the second studied sociology.
**Generation 3 - Trevicia**

First daughter of Triston, who was born in Manchester. She is currently living with her husband and daughter in the Caribbean community in London.

| I have not categorised myself into a social class. I do not believe that social class dictates much of anything in today's society. Overall, I think it depends on how each Caribbean parent is raised, and what values they have, that govern what they say to their children. People are very individualistic. Wanting a secure foundation, relationship wise, has always been something that I've found really important. In comparison to being brought up in a stable environment i.e. a nuclear family structure, I definitely think that it contributed to the value I place on relationships and commitment. A large proportion of the people I know or have as friends are either married, or are in a long-term relationship where the attitude towards commitment is very high. |
| Blacks feel targeted. Patois does not affect Caribbeans ability at school, it's a different language and they can switch between English and Patois easily. I'm currently saving towards a deposit for a home. Homeownership is something that I would have done already if finances permitted. I wouldn't quite say I see it as an aspiration but more of a natural step of progression. Why pay to rent when you can pay to invest in your own life and that of your future? It just makes sense! |
| Well, I am a Christian. I don't go to church any more. The attitude at home was encouraging of education from a young age. My Mum invested in getting me lots of books that I actually liked and so the interest for reading and learning was always there. My Dad used to recite the times table to me at bath times, and I could never quite grasp how to memorise such a complex thing. I've never really been good at numbers but his approach perhaps made a difference to me still being open minded to trying to tackle something that I'm less good at than something like English that I absolutely loved and always did well in. But these things that my parents did were done at a very young age from say three – four years onwards. I quite liked to learn and do well. Achieving was a personal thing for me. I wanted to do it and do it well. I got quite upset when I came lower than my peers in exams and minor tests. The attitude at home was very spiritual based. It was more about doing the right thing from a Godly perspective and feeling passionate about doing the right thing. |
| Education wise, I read Politics at university so again, no real connection there. Once I graduated the appeal for working in Government died out and the type of positions I was interested in required more than just a degree! So the next best thing was to sign up with a few really good agencies and through doing enough contracts, find out what I like and what I'm good at. I'm a senior project analyst at the Royal Bank of Scotland, which does not quite relate to any childhood career aspirations to work in Government or owning my own business. I came about this employment through undertaking several short-term contracts previously in a project management environment, which developed my skill and ability to apply for this position. |
## App.VIII Cultural Resources and Socioeconomic Trajectories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cultural Resources</th>
<th>Socioeconomic Trajectory of Advancement</th>
<th>Socioeconomic Trajectory of Urgency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Family:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familial influence in children's</td>
<td>• High levels of family participation in children's educational development</td>
<td>• Low levels of familial participation in children's educational development</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>educational development</td>
<td>• Stable – consistent family life</td>
<td>• Preoccupation with basic needs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Encourage individual initiatives</td>
<td>• Disadvantaged educational and socioeconomic backgrounds</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Encourage, motivate, and guide younger generations to attain educationally so that they could obtain 'good jobs' in their adult life</td>
<td>• Limited involvement in the social lives of children</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Community:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Community orientation</td>
<td>• Settled in communities that were upwardly mobile</td>
<td>• Settled in Caribbean communities that were typically economically deprived and socially excluded</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Awareness of how one can use community facilities to attain educationally and obtain better jobs</td>
<td>• Limited awareness of how one can use community facilities to attain educationally and obtain better jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Settle in community where others are educationally aspirant</td>
<td>• Lack of role models or templates for educational attainment and progression in the mainstream</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Religion:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Religiosity</td>
<td>• Moral guide to passive resistance</td>
<td>• Legitimising resistance to disadvantages</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Encouraging pursuit of attainment</td>
<td>• Legitimising poor educational and socioeconomic outcomes</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Legitimising high attainment as a means of resistance</td>
<td>• Oppressive – non conducive to educational attainment and socioeconomic progression</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Affirming high achievement as a reward from God and for hard work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Education:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiarity with formal education</td>
<td>• High levels of familiarity with the processes of formal education</td>
<td>• Low levels of familiarity with the processes of formal education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>processes.</td>
<td>• Advance understanding of the vocational usefulness of educational attainment</td>
<td>• Lack of motivation for educational attainment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Pursue vocational training for professional employment</td>
<td>• Lack of understanding of the vocational usefulness of educational attainment</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Aspiration for educational attainment</td>
<td>• Only basic or no education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Occupation:</strong></td>
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<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Occupational aspiration</td>
<td>• Aspiration for high-status occupation, especially in healthcare</td>
<td>• Preference for low-skilled work</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Value white-collar employment</td>
<td>• Perceive hustling, manual work, and physical labour as normative</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>• Desire prestigious occupations</td>
<td>• Dependency on social benefits.</td>
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App.IX Key Stages in Schooling Experiences

Key stages are the various levels of the State education system in England, Wales, and Northern Ireland. There are four key stages in the compulsory schooling system, which correspond to age groups, and are indicative of the educational knowledge expected of students at various ages within the predefined age groups.

The stages are as follows:

- **Key Stage 0**: Nursery and reception years (3–5 years old). Now included as part of the Early Years Foundation Stage
- **Key Stage 1**: Years 1 to 2 (5–7 years old)
- **Key Stage 2**: Years 3 to 6 (7–11 years old)
- **Key Stage 3**: Years 7 to 9 (11–14 years old)
- **Key Stage 4**: Years 10 to 11 (14–16 years old). The exams at the end are the GCSEs.
- **Key Stage 5** (more commonly referred to as Sixth Form): Years 12 to 13 (16–18 years old). The exams at the end are A-Levels, AS-Levels, NVQs or National Diplomas.
Tupac – Brenda’s Got a Baby – released in 1991

I hear Brenda’s got a baby
Well, Brenda’s barely got a brain
A damn shame, the girl can hardly spell her name
That’s not our problem, that’s up to Brenda’s family
Well let me show you how it affects our whole community
Now Brenda never really knew her moms
And her dad was a junkie putting death into his arm
It’s sad, cause I bet Brenda doesn’t even know
Just cause you’re in the ghetto doesn’t mean you can’t grow
But oh, that’s a thought, my own revelation
Do whatever it takes to resist the temptation
Brenda got herself a boyfriend
Her boyfriend was her cousin, now let’s watch the joy end
She tried to hide her pregnancy, from her family
Who didn’t really care to see, or give a damn if she
Went out and had a church of kids
As long as when the check came they got first dibs
Now Brenda’s belly is getting bigger
But no one seems to notice any change in her figure
She’s twelve years old and she’s having a baby
In love with a molester, who’s seeing her crazy
And yet and she thinks that he’ll be with her forever
And dreams of a world where the two of them are together, whatever
He left her and she had the baby solo
She had it on the bathroom floor and didn’t know so
She didn’t know, what to throw away and what to keep
She wrapped the baby up and threw him in a trash heap
I guess she thought she’d get away, wouldn’t hear the cries
She didn’t realize how much the little baby had her eyes
Now the baby’s in the trash heap bawling
Momma can’t help her, but it hurts to hear her calling
Brenda wants to run away
Momma say, you making me lose pay
The social workers here everyday
Now Brenda’s gonna make her own way
Can’t go to her family, they won’t let her stay
No money no babysitter, she couldn’t keep a job
She tried to sell crack but end up getting robbed
So now what’s next, there ain’t nothing left to sell
So she sees sex as a way of leaving hell
It’s paying the rent, so she really can’t complain
Prostitutes, found slain and Brenda’s her name, she’s got a bab

Tupac is referring to problems of illiteracy, poor sex-education and teenage pregnancy. He does not blame Brenda [a 12 year old] or her family for her illiteracy and immature pregnancy. Like in a Socratic dialogue... in the music video, Dullard: “It’s not Brenda’s fault she’s stupid, it’s her parents!” Tupac retorts “That’s not the issue, dude; teen pregnancy affects everybody!” and goes on to explain the implications for the community and wider society. Reference to a fractured family and Brenda’s Dad, the only parent she has/knows, shoots heroin [named “death”, since it is a lethal drug]. Tupac doesn’t take drugs because he wants to make good of his life, that is his own approach, and he urges others to do whatever they need to do to not become junkies, even though the temptation is high. Brenda has been made pregnant by her boyfriend, who is also her cousin. Sex at Brenda’s age, no matter how consensual, is a crime in America, as in most western countries. Add incest law to the situation and her cousin would be in trouble if he were to be found out. Under the Child Tax Credit welfare system in America, every child is worth money to welfare recipients, such as Brenda’s family, who, he infers, take advantage of the system. Time is passing by but no one notices she is pregnant. Brenda is in love with her boyfriend/cousin most likely because he is the only significant adult who is actively in her life. By law her boyfriend is a criminal because he is having sex with a 12 year old girl, but she does not understand this, she is young and in love, so she imagines her boyfriend never leaving her and both of them having a life together. Brenda’s boyfriend leaves her and she gives birth to her baby alone. While it’s common for women to experience a world of pain during childbirth, Brenda, although a child, appears to have no such pain. She gives birth to her baby by herself in unsuitable conditions [bathroom floor] without trouble or complications. She is alone and confused. In the music video the image of a teenage girl cleaning up after her own childbirth is gruesome. She has the afterbirth [aka placenta] and the new-born child and is contemplating throwing away both of them, which she eventually does, but feels guilty after having seen the baby’s face and hearing it cry. She knows she cannot support the baby but she cannot turn away from her own child, so she retrieves it and takes it home. Brenda’s Mother is not particularly understanding or helpful. When Brenda comes home with her baby, her mother complains about the cost of raising the child and the interference of Child Services. Brenda’s family kicked her out of the house so she needs to support herself and her child on her own. She cannot find or keep a regular job. This is not surprising because she is 12, and there are child labor laws. Because of this, she decided to deal Crack on the street, but being so young made her an easy target for thieves. The song's narrative grows slightly sarcastically melodramatic: what drug dealer would trust a 12 year old girl with Crack/money? To provide for herself and her baby, Brenda turns to the last possible job she can take, child prostitution, as a means to escape wretched poverty...aka hell. Alliteration on “So-she-sees-sex. Alas, we have come full-circle, Brenda has fallen victim to the streets. Tupac attempts to objectify her outcome by talking about it like a news article, “Prostitute Found Slain (p. 2)”. But ultimately, he relates to it because her reality is his reality, which he cannot abandon.
Tupac - Changes - released in 1998

I see no changes
Wake up in the morning and I ask myself:
"Is life worth living? Should I blast myself?"
I'm tired of being poor and, even worse, I'm black
My stomach hurts so I'm looking for a purse to snatch
Could give a damn about a negro
Pull the trigger, kill a nigga, he's a hero
Give the crack to the kids: who do the hell cares?
One less hungry mouth on the welfare!

First ship em dope and let em deal to brothers
Give em guns, step back, watch em kill each other
"It's time to fight back!", that's what Huey said
2 shots in the dark, now Huey's dead
I got love for my brother
But we can never go nowhere unless we share with each other
We gotta start making changes
Learn to see me as a brother instead of 2 distant strangers
And that's how it's supposed to be
How can the Devil take a brother if he's close to me?
I'd love to go back to when we played as kids
But things change... and that's the way it is

[Hook]
That's just the way it is
Things'll never be the same
That's just the way it is
Aww yeah

[Verse 2]
I see no changes, all I see is racist faces
Misplaced hate makes disgrace to races
We under, I wonder what it takes to make this
One better place, let's erase the wasted
Take the evil out the people, they'll be acting right
Cause both Black and White are smoking crack tonight
And the only time we chill is when we kill each other
It takes skill to be real, time to heal each other
And although it seems heaven-sent
We ain't ready to see a black President
It ain't a secret, don't conceal the fact:
The penitentiary's packed, and it's filled with blacks
But some things will never change
Try to show another way but you staying in the dope game

Now tell me, what's a mother to do?
Being real don’t appeal to the brother-in you
You gotta operate the easy way
"I made a G today" but you made it in a sleazy way
Selling crack to the kids, "I gotta get paid!"
Well hey, but that's the way it is

We gotta make a change
It's time for us as a people to start making some changes
Let's change the way we eat, let's change the way we live
And let's change the way we treat each other
You see the old way wasn't working so it's on us to do
What we gotta do to survive

[Verse 3]
And still I see no changes, can't a brother get a little peace?
It's war on the streets and a war in the Middle East
Instead of war on poverty
They got a war on drugs so the police can bother me
And I ain't never did a crime. I ain't got to do
But now I'm back with the facts giving it back to you
Don't let 'em jack you up, back you up
Crack you up and prepp-smack you up
You gotta learn to hold your own

They get jealousy when they see you with your mobile phone
But tell the cops they can't touch this
I don't trust this, when they try to rush I bust this
That's the sound of my tool
You say it ain't cool, my mama didn't raise no fool
And as long as I stay black, I gotta stay strapped
And I never get to lay back
Cause I always got to worry 'bout the payback
Some buck that I roughed up way back
Coming back after all these years

"Fut-tat-tut-tat-tat!" That's the way it is.

Tupac sees no changes in a society that oppresses the black community. It makes him question the value of his life. He is tired of being a victim of oppression. It is bad enough to be white and poor, but it is even worse to be black and poor in a racist, cruel system. Pervasive poverty in black communities leads to unemployment and low wages for those who have jobs. Both those with a low income job and those without a job all will have to turn to alternative sources of income, such as crime. Many are caught and sent to prison, and if they are lucky to get out, they only go back to the world they came from, the one which left them nowhere to turn but to crime. Therein lies the cyclical oppression of blacks. Not just the weakness to give into crime, but also the hopelessness to give into it willingly, regardless of moral compass. This leads to highly policed black communities, under the auspice of security, but that in reality eliminates blacks violently. The Crack epidemic of the 1980s and 1990s was considerably worse in black communities but was believed to be ignored because of the perception that blacks were bordering the tax system with excessive dependence on welfare payments from the governments, which, according to conspiracy theory, also distribute harmful drugs and weapons in black communities.

Huey P. Newton, founder of the Black Panthers, was shot dead by a drug dealer in Oakland in 1989 at the age of 47. His point is that progress cannot be made if we do not accept and appreciate each other’s differences. He is tired of the broken system and calling on blacks to make changes from within their communities, to care about others, tolerate different types of people and prevent vulnerable ones from slipping between the Cracks. A paradigm shift in how we view each other could improve everyone's lot. Growing up has changed his outlook on life. As a child, one doesn't see differences, but a potential to make a new friend. Racism is taught, not bred. He sees that society is not improving, all he sees is the same conservative "racist faces" that are holding back progress. People’s hate is placed on other races, which is as disgrace because hating on other humans based on race debases anyone who does it. Every person has a good side and an evil side, take the evil side out and they will behave right in the society. Blacks and whites commit crimes - they kill, steal, and smoke Crack. These are problems poor people face, regardless of race or creed. The only time the two races get bonding time is when they are at war killing other humans. This experience debases the two community. It makes him question the value of his life. He is tired of the blame heaped on the society, to have positive thoughts and do things right. They follow negative trends selling Crack - easy, big money - that destroy them and their community. He is trying to bring to the dealer's attention that he is profiling out of the children and adults who are self-destructing on the drug. But he understands life is hard and everyone needs to make money for obvious reasons. Tupac introduces a morality issue; an example of how some people hate is placed on other races, which is as disgrace because hating on other humans based on race debases anyone who does it. He is telling his people [blacks, disadvantaged] to give into it willingly, regardless of moral compass.

Some people feel that they are too ghettos to have positive thoughts and do things right. They follow negative trends selling Crack - easy, big money - that destroy them and their community. He is trying to bring to the dealer's attention that he is profiling out of the children and adults who are self-destructing on the drug. But he understands life is hard and everyone needs to make money for obvious reasons. Tupac introduces a morality issue; an example of how some people don't care about others, especially vulnerable people, as long as they can make money. He criticises the capitalist system that motivates people to do evil [like selling drugs to children] to turn profit. He is telling his people [blacks, disadvantaged] they need to change because, the way they have been going about life is not working. The real problem in the black community is poverty, but the focus is on crimes and drugs, which attract the police and their harassment. But this is a reflection of wider societal conflicts. Most people resort to crimes because of need, not because they want to. He is encouraging them to make changes instead of teaching them how to sell Crack and make fast money. In the mid '90s, having a mobile phone implied one had money. Afeni Shakur, Tupac's mother, raised him an intelligent/street smart child who knew how not to be taken advantage of by anyone. If you are in the ghetto, where black on black crime is legendary, you need to be prepared. Doesn't necessarily refer to weapons, could be being knowledgeable of your rights so you won't be taken advantage of, by the police for instance. He will never get any peace or time to rest because he is too busy worrying about someone seeking revenge against him, especially someone whom he 'roughed up' in the past. Gun onomatopoeia. This is what eventually happened: Tupac was shot and killed, gangsta-style. Despite his presence, he accepted his fate and continued to rap for change.
Ghetto Gospel chronicles the social injustice in society and how it reflects in disadvantaged communities - aka ghetto. Elton brings back some of the words in his song “Indian Sunset”, which chronicles the story of an American Indian warrior on the verge of defeat from the white colonisers. It conveys the transition of Northern American land from the Natives to the Europeans. A reference to the Bible, where Jesus welcomes the children to his kingdom. It is the end of an era in which Tupac was revered. The song accepts that Tupac is gone and the sun is setting on the legacy he has left, which will not go away. This highlights the message of the song – a desire for peace on the streets. He is reflecting on when he had good experiences and positive memories. He notes that, as with older generations, there is a gap in the understanding with those that are younger. He feels empathy for the young people now because they have a different upbringing, different social stressors, and different expectations than his generation did when they were growing up. People tend to blame adolescents/young adults for being troublemakers and thinking they are above the law; hence he says, “everyone’s ashamed of the youth”. However, as a young adult himself, he believes that everyone is to blame for not creating a positive enough environment, i.e., a good community, for themselves and the youth. Bobby Hutton and Malcolm X were black political activists and revolutionary thinkers who were murdered. Even after these great figures died trying to change the way things were during their lifetime, things have remained largely the same, which makes their efforts seem pointless. He hopes we can see through the dreary world, the ghetto that we are in. He hopes that we can all realise that we are on the same page and at its core, the problems alluded to (“world that’s cursed”) is a human problem. He encourages people to see beyond race and racism and listen to his lyrics and message, which will help them to empathise with their fellow humans and learn to cheer up those stuck in the ghetto. In the music video of Ghetto Gospel, there is a poor old woman on the streets living out of bags but he is saying that she is glad for the things she has, and it is sad. He sees a woman who is on Crack, a very common sight for him. Crack began to be used on a large scale in California, where Tupac was from, in the early 1980s, from when its distribution and usage exploded, and by the end of 1980, it was widely used in the majority of black communities in America. Implying that the Crack-head is unfortunately giving birth to a baby, a sad sight, a Crack baby, more destruction. From the problems that black men and women faced in the past, they are now moving into different problems, such as mass incarcerations of black males – a modern slavery, which implies that enslavement of blacks has changed form and is still extant. Tupac wonders if white people will ever fess up to all that they did wrong to black people and if they do, will he still have the same courage as he did before that happens. He is saying that he lives his own life his way, regardless of what other people think or say about him. He admits that he makes mistakes but also that he learns from them, and when he does so, he becomes a better person. Even though he may offend other people – by the things he does or says, God has use for him, through his rap skills, to deliver messages of tolerance, racial harmony, and the pursuance of peace. People often discriminate against those, like himself, who drink alcohol, who smoke soft drugs, or that are from the ghetto in general. However, he is saying that it does not make anyone less holy, it’s a part of one’s inner struggle. Instead of thinking of the bigger picture and trying to fix all the world’s problems, we must start thinking of our own local problems first. People are dying on the streets, fighting among themselves, and many others are affected indirectly. That is where Tupac thinks we should start. He is talking to God and saying that he has paid the price of having been born in the very disadvantaged circumstances that he did and would now like to send a message to others.
End Notes

i In the UK Census of 2001, 565,876 people classified themselves in the category 'Black Caribbean', amounting to around 1 per cent of the total population. Of the 'minority ethnic' population, which amounted to 7.9 per cent of the total UK population, Black Caribbeans accounted for 12.2 per cent. In addition, 14.6 per cent of the minority ethnic population (1.2 per cent of the total population) were identified as mixed-race, one third of which stated that they were of mixed white and Black Caribbean descent. In 2001, 61 per cent of the Black Caribbeans lived in London. The Census also records respondents' countries of birth and the 2001 Census recorded 146,401 people born in Jamaica, 21,601 from Barbados, 21,283 from Trinidad and Tobago, 20,872 from Guyana, 9,783 from Grenada, 8,265 from Saint Lucia, 7,983 from Montserrat, 7,091 from Saint Vincent and the Grenadines, 6,739 from Dominica, 6,519 from Saint Kitts and Nevis, 3,891 from Antigua and Barbuda, and 498 from Anguilla.

ii Critical Race Theory (CRT) observes that racism is engrained in the fabric and systems of British society. The individual racist need not exist to note that institutional racism is pervasive in the dominant culture. This is the analytical lens that CRT uses in examining existing power structures. CRT identifies that these power structures are based on white privilege, which perpetuates the marginalisation of non-white people. White privilege is a way of conceptualizing racial inequalities that focuses as much on the advantages that white people accrue as on the disadvantages that non-white people experience. Unlike theories of overt racism or prejudice, which suggest that people actively seek to oppress or demean other racial groups, theories of white privilege assert that the experience of whites is viewed by whites as normal rather than advantaged. This normative assumption causes all discussion of racial inequality to focus on the disadvantages of other racial groups, and on what can be done to bring them up to white (i.e. 'normal') standards, effectively making racial inequality an issue that does not involve whites. Researchers suggest that more equitable attitudes can be achieved by refocusing such discussions to include whites as a group which holds social advantages rather than experiencing a 'normal' state of existence.

iii Facebook is a web based social network that was founded in February 2004 by Mark Zuckerberg with his college roommates and fellow Harvard University students Eduardo Saverin, Andrew McCollum, Dustin Moskovitz, and Chris Hughes. The website's membership was initially limited by the founders to Harvard students, but was expanded to other colleges in the Boston area, the Ivy League, and Stanford University. It gradually added support for students at various other universities before opening to high school students, and eventually to anyone aged 13 and over. Users must register before using the website, after which they may create a personal profile, add other users as friends, exchange messages, and receive automatic notifications when they update their profile. Additionally, users may join common-interest groups, and categorize their friends into lists such as "People From Work" or "Close Friends" etc. As of September 2012, Facebook has over one billion active users.

iv NVivo is a qualitative data analysis (QDA) software whose first product was developed by Tom Richards in 1999 and is currently produced by QSR International. It contains tools for fine, detailed analysis and qualitative modeling and has been designed for qualitative researchers working with very rich text-based and/or multimedia information, where deep levels of analysis of small or large volumes of data are required. It is used predominantly by academic, government, health and commercial researchers across a diverse range of fields, including social sciences such as anthropology, psychology, communication, sociology, as well as fields such as forensics, tourism, criminology, and marketing.

v "On a Sunday afternoon in March 2006, Richard Austin, 19, and Carlton Alveranga, 20, walked into the Brass Handles pub in Salford. The pair had been hired to perform a gangland "hit" on a man drinking inside the pub. Instead, they had their guns wrestled from them by pub regulars and were themselves shot – murdered with their own weapons – and left to die on a grass verge outside. Despite the pub being busy due to the football match, no one admits to having witnessed the killings, and the police have made no headway with the murder inquiry. After the shooting, the pub’s shutters were immediately pulled down and the CCTV footage from inside was wiped clean before police could get hold of it" (Independent, 2006).