



Reading and Resisting Racialised Misrecognition

An Exploration of Race Scripts, Epiphany Moments and Racialised Selfhood

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Abstract

This thesis illuminates the public significance of ‘race’, by following the personal troubles racialisation provokes. Guided by Black ‘mixed race’ young people and their family members’ reflections on *epiphany moments* (shifts in consciousness), this thesis explores how participants learnt to read ‘race’ across space and time and respond to racialised misrecognition in ordinary life. I introduce the concept of *race scripts* to highlight how readings of ‘race’ are transformed by individual experiences; and I explore how *racialised kin-work* carried out in families shapes initial and subsequent readings of ‘race’ across social fields. Throughout this thesis, I pay close attention to how *race scripts* emerge in (a) kinship relations (b) educational institutions and (c) selfhood. I argue that participants inherited different ‘pedagogical packages’ (Lewis, 2005) for navigating *racialised encounters* which, in turn, impacted their formation of themselves as (racialised) beings. This racialised subjectification becomes ingrained in habitus and informs social action. Rather than thinking of habitus as unwieldy or fixed, I consider how these learned dispositions can be generative; enabling participants to assert agency through conscious strategies and performances to counter *racialised misrecognition* in everyday life. Whilst participants developed these tactics to get by, these were context dependent, psychologically draining and more successful for those with greater economic, cultural and social capital. I conclude that the acts of social contortion participants must master - to counter misrecognition, alter the racial gaze of others and have their talents and capabilities rendered equal – are too great and reflect the deep inequities of racism in British society.

Keywords: Racialisation, ‘Mixed Race’, Habitus, Subjectivity, Family, Race Scripts

Dedication

*For George Thompson
Yemaya Philogene Heron Wilson
and
Paulette Wilson*

My Past, Present and Future

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Adom, thank you so much for all your love, support and encouragement. You have pushed me forward every time I felt like giving up. We see the world differently at times, but I have been so blessed to have had someone to talk to on this journey who has challenged and stimulated me. My love for you runs deep, as does my gratitude. Jessie, my Sociology sister, it is so nice to have a friend like you. Thank you for introducing me to Sociology and convincing me to try A levels. Without that intervention, I would not be here. I will be forever grateful for that moment, and for you! Kehinde thanks for keeping my politics in check! I have learnt so much from you. Thank you for guiding me in my fight for social justice. Jayne, my academic mother. You and your work have deeply inspired me. The support you gave during my visit to Duke and ever since has significantly shaped me and the work I have produced. Thank you! Hen, the getaway goddess. Thank you for all the time and space you have helped me steal; and always providing me with a retreat when I needed it most. April-Louise thank you for always being at the end of the phone and for all the guidance you have shared. You have helped me to navigate the craziness which is academia, and have kept a smile on my face. Thank you baby girl! Amanda and David, you have been great supervisors. Thanks for always reading my work at short notice and helping me to find my (writing) voice. Kiran, my most artistic friend, thank you for the beautiful sketches! I would also like to thank Mama Ros, Omari, Danika, Anne, Kurt, Marie, Michael, Sharon, Hetty and Kylie for all your love and support. To myself, if you are ever feeling like you can't do it, read this and remember with hard work, kindness and belief in yourself, you will always overcome. And finally, to The Most High, none of this would be possible without you. My prayer as always is keep guiding me to do what needs to be done.

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Glossary

CP – Core Participants
NP - Nominated participants
CRT – Critical Race Theory
CMRS – Critical 'mixed race' Studies

Brown Baby

As you grow up I want you to drink from the plenty cup

I want you to stand up tall and proud

And I want you to speak up clear and loud

Brown Baby Brown Baby Brown Baby

As years go by I want you to go with your head up high

I want you to live by the justice code

And I want you to walk down freedom's road

You little Brown Baby

Lie away sleeping lie away safe in my arms

Till your daddy and you mama protect you

And keep you safe from harm

Brown Baby

It makes me glad you gonna have things that I never had

When out of men's heart all hate is hurled

Sweetie you gonna live in a better world

Brown Baby Brown Baby Brown Baby

By [Nina Simone](#)

Foreword: Reflecting on my PhD journey

I wish I could say this PhD has been the hardest thing I have ever done. But my life has been pretty tough. That said, this thesis has been challenging. Which I am grateful for. Education has always been my escape. A selfish pleasure, something that only I benefitted from. My investment in myself. However, now in my 30s, with a life that is, in comparison to my childhood, an extended yoga retreat, studying for a PhD has turned my happy, safe and quiet space into a journey full of ups and downs.

The downs: Firstly, the unspoken race, gender and class dynamics that sit within my university's institutional atmosphere and the academy more broadly - make me feel that as a Black woman I do not belong. Secondly, coming from a working-class background has also made me feel insecure about how I express myself and participate in the academy. I am so afraid of my own voice. Because I do not know how to debate without coming across as a bit aggressive and do not use fancy words when I talk. Through this journey I have battled to accept that I only know the words I know and have learnt to use these the best I can. Too often during this journey, I have felt worthless, stupid and judged. These are common feelings that people studying for a PhD have. However, for me these insecurities have resulted in my retreat from academia. I have avoided my institution and PhD sociality for a long time (with the exception of a few close friends).

The ups: I started this journey, set out to prove my intelligence – mostly to myself. As I near the end of this journey, I am more aware of the limits of my intelligence than ever before – which I now know I just have to accept. I have learnt so much, but it has been difficult. Studying issues of race, class and gender has heightened my awareness of injustice as it unfolds. At times, my openness to the pain in the world and my desire to make sense of it has been debilitating. The state of this world makes me so so so angry. The frustration I feel is so overwhelming at times. I have had to learn to cut myself off from reality in order to protect my mental health and function in my other roles.

And so, I have learnt to repress my feelings in my day-to-day life (as much as possible) and let them out when I write. This PhD journey has given me the space to learn to write. Which has been so fulfilling. This PhD has been written through three house moves, one pregnancy and a global pandemic. It has demanded so much space! Space that has been very hard to come by. Over the last year I have had to steal time, pockets of silence to write, retreating to my mother-in-law's attic, expelling my husband and daughter from our one-bedroom flat and running away to Airbnb's when I could! I have really relished in this time by myself. This time to think and create. So whilst writing this PhD has been tough, it has also been amazing. I have loved getting into my work and thinking deeply about my participants. Struggling to find ways to tell other people the things that I see so clearly in my head. I am so grateful for this time. It has been such a privilege to be able to manage my own schedule for so long and only have to answer to my very supportive

supervisors. What's more, I finished this on the beautiful island of Dominica. My new home. I have been truly blessed. I hope you enjoy this thesis!



Figure 1 'Bwa Kwaib' Dominica's national flower¹. By Kiranjeet Kaur

¹ Bwa Kwaib is a sign of seasons change. For me it represents a new beginning.

1 Introduction

1.1 Research aims and motivations

In 2014 - two months after starting this doctoral programme- I wrote the below poem. Reading it now I am struck by how difficult it is for me to relate to this poem, as the issue discussed is not something I think about anymore. Arguably it reflects where I was, in myself, at the start of this research. It illustrates the issues I was grappling with at that time as I tried to make sense of what 'race' meant for me and how it operates in society. As such I have chosen to begin with my words from 2014:

Because I read books does that mean I'm not Black?
 Does being Black mean being stupid
 Because educated people aren't Black
 As I learn more I know more begin to explain myself differently
 Does using different words make me not Black?
 Because I listen to music from all over the world...does that mean I'm not Black?
 Are all Black people rude?
 Are all Black people loud?
 Because I am polite and quiet does that mean I'm not Black?
 When I walk out of my house does the white man across the street think I'm not Black?
 When I go to school and sit in rooms full of white people do they see me as Black?
 Does the man interviewing me think I'm not Black?
 Do the white people in this world see my education and hear my voice think I'm not
 Black!
 Do they let me experience white privilege because I'm not Black?!

Or is it only people who are most like me
 Who are victims of racism and inequality
 Who are looked down by others
 Who are not expected to achieve

That think I am not Black?

Figure 2 Annabel's Poem

Starting from an interest in ‘horizontal hostility’² (Campion, 2019), I think this project grew out of a frustration with the everyday significance of racial categories. Their power to include and exclude people. The way they say so much about you without your permission. These categories are significant for ‘mixed race’ people, whose ability to make legitimate claims of belonging can be diminished by their association with more than one racial category (Campion, 2019). However, these processes of categorisation are also significant for people who are not ‘mixed’. No one neatly fits into socially constructed categories of ‘race’³. Racial categories represent an illusion, designed to further the interests of capital and by extension those who own it and benefit from its racial logics and subsidy. In this thesis, I grapple with the processes that give ‘race’ power. This thesis centres the experiences of Black ‘mixed race’ young people and their families, not to make sense of the impact of ‘mixedness’ on their experience, but to explore how they learn to recognise and respond to what I now understand to be (complex) processes of racialisation.

1.2 Departures: ‘mixed race’ studies

Since the inception of modern racial thinking, from the 17th century onwards (Robinson, 1983), there has been a scholarly interest in the social and sexual consequences of racial mixing (Ifekwunigwe, 2004; Henriquez, 1974; Young 1994). Inspired by Omi and Winant’s (1994) concept of *racial projects*⁴, Caballero (2004) argues that discursive shifts in ‘mixed race’ representations are revealed by investigating historical and geographical locality of what she calls ‘mixed race’ projects. Positioning ‘mixed race’ as a racialised rather than ethnicised concept, Caballero (2004) argues that it is important to investigate what ‘mixed race’ means ‘discursively’ and how it is ‘organised structurally at both the personal and socio-political level’ in different locations in time and space (Caballero, 2004 pg. 42-43). Through this framework, ‘mixed race’ studies can be conceived of as addressing three distinct moments in racial thinking: the construction and pathologising of subordinately racialised groups; a call for recognition of fluid racial identities; and a commitment to illustrating the structural reality of ‘race’ and its affects.

Often referred to as the first wave of ‘mixed race’ studies, this scholarship was constructed in relation to the dominant racial project of the 17th and 18th centuries which used ‘race’ to divide humanity into dominant and oppressed categories and justify colonial expansion (Fredrickson, 2002) (see Chapter 2). As part of this, ‘mixed race’ was constructed as a transgression of social norms and values that resulted in negative psychological consequences (Reuter, 1918; Stonequist, 1937; Myrdal, 1944). The legacy of the first wave was long lasting. It was not until the 1990s that an interest in ‘mixed race’ scholarship re-emerged.

² Refers to Black ‘mixed race’ people’s encounters with discourses of Black (in)authenticity as they interact with Black counterparts and as a result feel excluded from a collective Black identity (Campion, 2019 pg. 196).

³ ‘Race’ and ‘mixed race’ have been placed in quote marks throughout this thesis to indicate the socially constructed roots of these concepts.

⁴ ‘What ‘race’ means in a particular discursive practice and the ways in which both social structures and everyday experiences are racially organised based upon that meaning’ (Omi and Winant, 1994; p56).

This resurgence can be broken down into two additional waves. The second wave aimed to counter the construction of ‘mixed race’ as a pathologised racial category (Wilson, 1987; Root; 1992; Tizard and Phoenix, 1993; Zack, 1995; Parker and Song, 2001; Ali, 2003). These scholars shifted the debate in the hope of reconstructing ‘mixed race’ as a legitimate and normative racial category by centring the importance of identity choice and recognition for ‘mixed race’ people. These scholars worked hard to undermine dominant beliefs that positioned ‘mixed race’ people as inherently confused and psychologically unstable (Richmond, 1954; Collins, 1957; Little, 1972). However, whilst their focus on the individual and their emphasis on identity fluidity (as a means of deconstructing rigid racial categories) was necessary at the time, it produced a body of uncritical scholarship that was disconnected from broader debates concerned with ‘race’ and the structural effects of racialisation processes (Mahtani, 2014). These micro-focused, individualised studies obscured racialisation’s macro-level societal machinations.

Constituting a third wave, recent studies of ‘mixed race’ have commonly stressed the importance of conducting historically, politically and geographically situated research (Ifekwunigwe, 1999; Ifekwunigwe, 2004; Caballero, 2004; Twine, 2004; Joseph -Salisbury, 2018a; Campion, 2019). Scholars within this wave, prioritise knowledge production that locates ‘mixed race’ as a phenomenon and category of being that results from what Bonilla-Silva (2015 pg. 3) describes as ‘racial domination projects’ (e.g. colonialism, slavery, labour migration, etc.) and highlights its intrinsic connection to racism, which is -

above anything, about practices and behaviours that produce a racial structure—a network of social relations at social, political, economic, and ideological levels that shapes the life chances of the various races... [R]esponsible for the production and reproduction of systemic racial advantages for some (the dominant racial group) and disadvantages for others (the subordinated races)

(Bonilla-Silva, 2015 pg. 3)

In doing so, the third wave of ‘mixed race’ studies has developed in relation to prominent issues across theories of ‘race’ and racism which highlight the structurally embedded material reality of ‘race’. In this thesis, ‘mixed race’ is positioned as a product of the construction of ‘race’ which cannot be divorced from the social, cultural, economic and political processes that underpin it (Caballero, 2004). Whilst I do investigate the impact of ‘race’ on identity, I do so from a standpoint that considers the impact of social structures on inner worlds and how the two entwine as they shape social interactions and lived experience. Furthermore, I remain attentive to how social position (produced at the intersections of multiple social categories) affects racialisation.

1.3 Positioning ‘race’

In this thesis, I have made a conscious effort, to deconstruct rather than reinforce the construct of ‘race’. I have done this by investigating everyday manifestations of racialised misrecognition and asking how these are negotiated in everyday life. The term racialised misrecognition describes the process whereby power (in the form of structural privileges) is leveraged to construct racial categories through processes of systematic misattribution. To put it otherwise, racialised misrecognition underpins the symbolic power of dominant discourses which construct meaning systems that appear to represent ‘common sense’. This ‘common sense’ situates different groups of people, based upon skin tone, phenotype and ancestry into privileged or subordinated racialised positions. In this thesis, I argue that racialised misrecognition is key to understanding processes of racialisation in British society (see Chapter 2). By focusing on the relationship between power and ‘race’ I have remained focused on the link between structure and agency throughout this thesis. This has also allowed me to move beyond a reading of ‘mixed race’ as a bounded category.

In what follows I do not attempt to make definitive claims about the ‘mixed race’ experience, but instead I have tried to illustrate how ‘race’ creates boundaries which manifest in racialised encounters which demand a conscious response (see Chapter 7). These boundaries code space and become ingrained in discourses and minds (Delaney, 2002; (Morrison *et al.*, 2017). All racialised people can cross the boundaries ‘race’ makes. However, these boundaries form in relation to a person’s positionality (their ‘race’, class, gender, sexuality etc.) and are contextual. For example people who are Black and middle-class or Black and LGBTQ cross ‘normative’ boundaries constructed through processes of racialisation. As do Black working-class people who enter white middle-class spaces or white middle-class people who enter Black spaces. As such, I am not proposing a generalised theory of hybridity that is disconnected from political and historical struggles (Anthias, 2001). Nor am I suggesting that all racialised people can be understood in similar ways, or even centring the navigation of mixedness. Rather, I am proposing an approach that focuses on how my participants confront manifestations of racialisation in their everyday lives. So, although I have learnt about the experiences of Black ‘mixed race’ people, more than anything I have gained a greater insight into how racialisation works and how people respond to moments of racialised misrecognition.

I have chosen to grapple with the experiences of Black ‘mixed race’ people as these individuals are forced to navigate dominant polarised understandings of ‘race’. The idea that blackness is the antithesis of whiteness informs dominant racial imaginaries and the ‘common sense’ understandings of racial difference (Gines, 2014; Rankine *et al.*, 2015). I argue that because of their confrontation by binary race-thinking, Black ‘mixed race’ people offer insightful contributions on processes of racialisation; they continually negotiate racial categories as they move through the world developing a heightened awareness of the contradictions they seem to embody. However, despite this betwixt positionality, I propose that the framework for

understanding racialisation that I outline could be extrapolated to make sense of other racialised experiences (see Chapter 8).

1.4 Theoretical commitments, research questions and study design

This thesis grows from a Black feminist standpoint. Black feminist research is anchored around the core principles of equal participation, connection, care and resistance (Collins, 1989). Throughout this study the relationships I have formed with my participants have been built with care and connection which has led to the collection of rich data. By working within an intersectional framework I have been able to grasp much of the complexity of my participants' experiences (Collins and Bilge, 2020). I have achieved this by remaining attentive to the presence of dynamic and interacting social categories at each stage of the research process: from designing the study, to analysing the data and writing up this thesis. In addition to Black feminism, Bourdieu has greatly influenced my thinking. However, since 'race' is a peripheral concern for Bourdieu (Wallace, 2016), I repurpose his theoretical tools by integrating them with Critical Race Theory. This enables me to investigate how intersections of 'race', class and gender informed my participants' experiences of racialisation. In line with these theoretical commitments this research was guided by the following core questions:

1. What do the experiences of Black 'mixed race' people and their families reveal about processes of racialisation?
2. How are understandings of and responses to racialisation shaped by experiences within and beyond the family?
3. How can Bourdieu's key concepts (field, habitus and capital) help us to make sense of the impact of social position (especially 'race', class and gender) on participants' responses to racialisation?
4. How does racialisation impact the making of identities?

To answer these questions I worked closely with five Black 'mixed race' young adults who I refer to as my core participants (CPs). Each core participant is discussed in this thesis as an individual case. Based on the data collected from multiple field visits and interviews with each core participant across an 18-month period, this thesis investigates how my core participants have experienced, understood and responded to racialisation throughout their lives. Crucial to developing this understanding of their lives has been the inclusion of others who core participants felt had significantly impacted the person they are 'today'. Hence, core participants were invited to nominate others close to them to take part in the study. All core participants nominated family members. These participants are referred to throughout as nominated participants (NPs). Nominated participants were each interviewed once, and the data collected was analysed as part of the corresponding core participant's case. Whilst nominated participants are not the main focus

of this thesis, their insights and experiences have assisted me in developing a more holistic and in-depth understanding of my core participants.

1.5 Racialisation journeys

In this section I outline my approach to understanding CPs' racialisation journeys; how they learnt to read and navigate 'race' in the world and understand themselves as racialised subjects. As mentioned above, throughout this research study, I have positioned each core participant at the centre of my investigations. However, understanding that individuals are socially produced (Jenkins, 1996), I have also focused on how their networks (families, peers and colleagues), social experiences (especially those that occurred within education settings) and social position have shaped their identities and their understanding of 'race' (this research framework is represented in the diagram below). To make sense of CPs experiences I have remained in a continuous dialogue with Bourdieusian Sociology, Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Black Feminism, adopting an intersectional approach to my enquiry to avoid producing knowledge rooted in individualism.

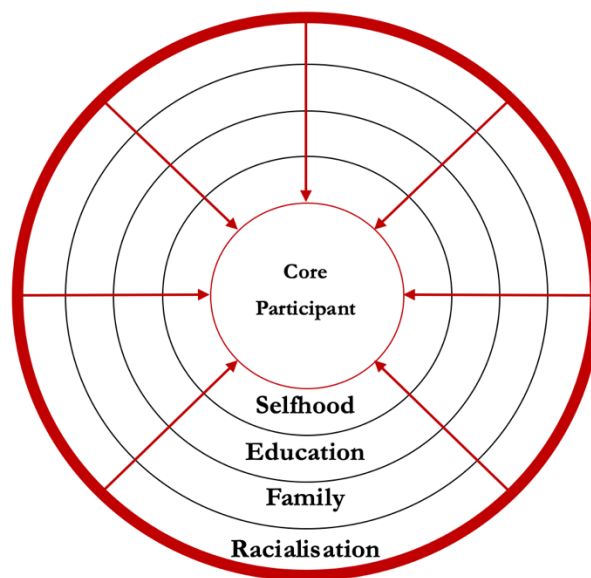


Figure 3 Research Design Framework

By adopting this approach I contribute to racialisation and 'mixed race' studies in the following ways. By positioning Black 'mixed race' families as sites where differing understandings of 'race' meet and are negotiated, I contribute to 'mixed race' family literature. Black and 'mixed race' families have often been constructed as dysfunctional sites that produce conflicted relationships between parents and their children (Alexander, 1996; Staples, 1999; Reynolds, 2009; Lawson, 2012; Song, 2015;). Furthermore, 'mixed race' families are often perceived as inherently flawed, filled with 'culture clashes' that cannot be overcome (Joseph-Salisbury, 2018b). In this study, by exploring how processes of racialisation manifest in family life, I draw attention to the structural reality of racism and how these external dynamics challenge and place

pressure on families (Carby, 2019). These families are not faulty or inherently flawed, but navigating the social reality of ‘race’ is difficult. Through this study, I demonstrate how parents attempt to negotiate these dynamics. Approaches to parenting have been greatly researched within ‘mixed race’ study (Twine, 2004; Edwards, Caballero and Puthussery, 2010; Peter and Song, 2001; Smith, Caballero and Edwards, 2011; Edwards, 2017; Pang, 2018; Joseph-Salisbury, 2018b). However, few studies work with multiple family members across generations (Joseph-Salisbury, 2018a). This study explores a process of transference and internalisation between parent and child. By doing so, it explores how parents have attempted to guide their children’s understanding of racialisations but also how these children (the CPs) have interpreted these ‘lessons’ and used them in their own lives.

Education settings are often one of the first sites a person navigates independently. Arguably, education represents a microcosm of society tarnished with the same systems of inequality present across broader society (Durkheim, 1956; Haupt 2010). By exploring CPs’ experiences of education – a field rooted in white supremacy which frequently fails Black and Black ‘mixed race’ people (Gillborn, 2008) – I have been able to explore how my CPs’ understanding of ‘race’ were shifted by their experiences in this field. Furthermore, I have drawn connections between how manifestations of ‘race’ in the family impacted CPs’ interpretations of racialised encounters within the field of education. In doing this, I demonstrate the power of whiteness within this field and the psychological consequence it can have upon individuals who embody blackness. By exploring how racialisation operates across multiple aspects of core participants’ lives, I have been able to gain an in-depth understanding of the impact of racialisation upon their identity and social action.

1.5.1 Key arguments

This thesis explores how people navigate the shifting logics of racialisation and manage the psychological and emotional threat it poses to their wellbeing. It explores how structure and agency affect social action within racialised encounters. I argue that experiences of racialisation can disrupt ‘the practical sense of habitus’ making a person consciously aware of the collective misattributions that underpin *racialised misrecognition* (Bourdieu, 2000 pg. 143). Whilst such shifts in consciousness expand agentic capacities, the conditions that enable people to purposefully counter racialisation are complex, differing between contexts, individuals and over time. They are affected by class, gender and other forms of hierarchical categorisation. Thus, an intersectional approach to research is needed if variations between responses to racialisation are to be understood. For too long the labour required to negotiate a racially unjust world has been overlooked and individualised. Whilst this effort is often only recognised by people who share similarly subordinate positions, those who do not often remain unaware of this labour and how their own actions contribute to the reproduction of racial hierarchies. In this thesis, I seek to explicitly acknowledge the energy people

racialised as inferior (to normative white modes of being⁵) put into surviving (British) society. Thus, the aim of this work is to shift the gaze produced through ‘epistemologies of ignorance’ towards a common acknowledgement of racialised struggles across all peoples (Mills, 2007).

In this thesis, I illustrate that shared and ‘common sense’ understandings of ‘race’ are rare. Difficult processes must be undertaken for people racialised in different ways to make sense of each other’s experiences as positionality so deeply informs a person’s understanding of racialisation (Omi and Winant, 2004). By researching the experiences of Black ‘mixed race’ people and their families, I highlight the unique and complex ways in which people negotiate different understandings of ‘race’ within an intimate space. In this space, despite the love and care family members feel for one another, at times processes of racialisation complicate relationships. As family is so entwined with social position, these negotiations impacted CPs subsequent interpretations of ‘race’ as they encountered it in the world. That is, within social interactions that occur beyond the family.

Moreover, I argue that collisions with racialisation processes across one’s life – especially within educational settings in this case – can lead to *epiphany moments* which shift consciousness, changing how one understands oneself and society. For the CPs in this study, these moments resulted in greater awareness of oneself as racialised beings, as well as increased awareness of dominant racial discourses and their consequences. As the circumstances that produced consciousness shifts differed between participants, each of whom held different perceptions of ‘race’ influenced also by their unique upbringings, participants interpreted and internalised dominant racial discourses in different ways. Interpretations, then, were also shaped by participants’ social class, gender, locations (urban or rural) and experiences of racism.

Everyone embodies a racialised self (see Chapter 5). However, people who occupy subordinately racialised positions in society engage in a never-ending process throughout their lifetime, to develop and nurture their racialised selfhoods in order to feel a sense of control over their embodied racialised self. Central to this process is the mastering of the symbolic representations others use to position, understand and dissect (Fanon, 2008); developing strategies to counter, complicate or embody such representations. This process is easier for some than for others. It is emotional labour that impacts psychological wellbeing and affects how a person acts in the world and responds to racialised encounters. Thus, I argue for a consideration of racialised selfhood as the site where the racial gaze and human social action meet.

⁵ See Sylvia Wynter’s (2003) analysis of heterosexual European bourgeois Western ‘man’, over-represented by post-Enlightenment Western societies as the ‘normatively known self’ of our species.

1.6 Thesis overview

In Chapter 2, I show how racialisation operates through arbitrary processes of racial categorisation which endeavour to deceive, define and oppress. I suggest that racialisation requires contextualised analysis, that considers how it impacts social and mental structures. Thus, unlike a conventional literature review, I use this space to explore the foundations of racialisation processes within Britain whilst demonstrating the logic of my theoretical approach. To do this, I combine literature with theory to situate racialisation as an historically rooted system of power and repurpose Bourdieu's theoretical tools towards a Critical Race Theory approach to investigate this. That is, I simultaneously explain what racialisation is, how it came to be and propose a method through which to know and make sense of its manifestations as they occur in everyday life.

In Chapter 3, I outline my approach to data collection, analysis, ethics and reflexivity. I discuss how Black feminism and Bourdieusian Sociology underpinned the methodological foundations of this study. I illustrate how working with these paradigms, enabled me to design a research project attentive to both structure and agency, and helped me to emphasise the differences between participants subjected to similar forms of racialised power. I illustrate how through adopting a case study design, I was able to explore how racialisation is reproduced structurally whilst continuing to acknowledge complexity. Chapter 4 is a short descriptive chapter. It introduces participants and aims to provide useful background information to help the reader engage with the empirical chapters that follow.

The three chapters that follow explore perceptions and experiences of racialisation, each having a distinctive analytical emphasis. Each chapter builds upon the last in order to present a comprehensive account of how participants' lives were affected by racialisation processes.

In Chapter 5 I explore how 'race' affects family life through a discussion of how family members make sense of 'race' and how different understandings are navigated within the family. In this chapter, I contribute two new concepts to the literature to illuminate how racialisation manifests in the family experience: *race scripts* - the racialised dimensions of habitus that encapsulates a person's understanding/perception of 'race' and its consequences; and *racialised kinscripts* – shared understanding of 'race' formed through the negotiation and integration of individual *race scripts* within families. I discuss how *race scripts* develop over time and in relation to lived experience and demonstrate how different *racialised kinscripts* carry different expectations of how racialisation processes should be navigated within and beyond the family.

In Chapter 6 I explore how racialisation impacts the relationship between habitus and field. Through exploring how 'race' manifests in space and affects social interactions, I highlight how participants are confronted by the social significance of their racialised existence and how this gives rise to *epiphany moments*

that shift their perception of themselves and their surroundings (Denzin, 2002). Focused mostly upon experiences that occurred within education settings, I explore how racialisation impacted participants' in three senses: *movement* – the transition from one field to the next; *mobility* – the ease with which they could participate and progress within and between fields; and *belonging* – their sense of status within different fields.

In Chapter 7 I focus on how participants develop racialised selfhoods and use the capital they possess alongside their *race scripts* to counter instances of racialised misrecognition. I draw on Fanon and Bourdieu to articulate how a racialised selfhood becomes embedded in the person; and show how my Black 'mixed race' participants devise pragmatic strategies to locate a racialised self they feel ownership of. I conclude the thesis in Chapter 8 by outlining its key contributions, answering the research questions posed, offering recommendations, exploring the limitations of the work and proposing areas of future study.

1.7 Key definitions

1.7.1 Black 'mixed race'

Through this thesis I use the term Black 'mixed race'. There is no collective 'mixed race' experience (Song, 2010a) and people who embody a Black/white mix are often racialised differently to those from other mixed backgrounds (Ifekwunigwe, 1999). Black 'mixed race' people are often perceived as Black (Khanna 2011; Aspinall and Song 2013; Caballero 2004; Sims, 2016), thus using the term Black 'mixed race' captures the impact dominant discourses of blackness and mixedness have on shaping the reality of these individuals (Joseph- Salisbury, 2018b).

1.7.2 Social class

Class can be determined by more than occupation as it directly affects social and cultural aspects of a person's life (Crompton, 2008). In this thesis, class was conceptualised using a Bourdieusian framework through which participants were placed (theoretically) into social classes based upon their relative positions in 'social space', determined by the amount of economic, social and cultural capital they possessed (Bourdieu, 1987). Rather than assigning fixed class categories to participants, I have described the features that relate to CPs class background such as their own and their parents' and grandparents' occupations, educational attainment and housing tenure and hesitantly positioned them as middle-class or working-class (see Chapter 4). My hesitancy arises from my understanding of the intersection of 'race' and class and how the former impacts the symbolic value of capital, meaning that class privilege is never guaranteed for those who occupy racially subordinated positions but must be negotiated (Rollock *et al.*, 2015; Wallace, 2018).

1.7.3 Blackness and whiteness

Rather than offering a prefigured explanation I have elected to allow an understanding of blackness and whiteness to emerge empirically through my analysis of their significance for my participants' experiences.

2 Racialisation and social fiction

2.1 Introduction

'Race' is not a material object, a thing; it has to do not with what people are but with how they are classified. It is a practice or series of practices, a technology that calculates and assigns differences to peoples and communities and then institutionalizes these differences. It is a verb not a noun. The only way to understand the complex configurations and connotations of 'race' is in the context of particular times and places. I use the word Racialization to capture the practices and processes involved in the calculations and impositions of difference, all of which have their own logic but are not externally fixed.

(Carby, 2019 pg. 65)

In this chapter I entwine social theory and various research literature sources to illustrate how processes of racialisation operate across multiple levels of society. I focus on how racialisation manifests in space, institutions, discourse, bodies and minds. Here I repurpose Bourdieu's theoretical tools towards a Critical Race Theory (CRT) approach, focusing on how racialisation affects *misrecognition*, *doxa* and *symbolic violence*; and is embedded into *field*, *capital* and *habitus*. In Part 1 (Section 2.2), I define racialisation, introduce the concept of racialised fictions and outline how they have sustained and strengthened the illusion of 'race' throughout British history. I then discuss how this fiction was threatened by 'racial' mixing. Through an analysis of the 'mixed race' literature, I chart the shifting racial logics that have underpinned this category, transforming it from a symbol of contagion to one of 'progress'. I suggest that Black 'mixed race' people are helpful informants when researching issues of racialisation, as their unique experiences often force them to consciously deliberate on this process and to reckon with racial misrecognition throughout their lives. In Part 2 (section 2.3), I outline the theoretical framework that underpins this thesis by interweaving threads from Bourdieu's notion of *habitus*, Du Bois' notion of *double consciousness*, Elijah Anderson's *n***** moment*, and Fanon's *négritude*. Here I extend the discussion of racialisation and inner worlds to examine the relationship between the psychological effects of racialisation and consciousness.

2.2 Part 1: What is Racialisation?

Racialisation: The process of making or becoming racist in attitude or behaviour. Also: the application of racist principles or criteria.

Racialise: Transitive. To impose a racial interpretation on; to cause to become racist in attitude, behaviour, or structure; to categorise or divide according to race.

(Oxford English Dictionary, 2009)

In this section I explore multiple definitions of racialisation and outline the meaning underpinning my own use of the concept. Lewis (2007) makes the important distinction between racialisation and racism. Whilst racism is concerned with the symbolic violence against specific people and often associated with violent acts, racialisation describes the subtle everyday system of categorisation that constructs ‘race’ and legitimises its function as a determinant of power (Lewis, 2007). Barot and Bird (2001) have charted the genealogy of racialisation, illustrating how the logics and discourse underpinning the concept have shifted over time. They suggest racialisation was intermittently discussed between 1899 and 1930. Firstly, underpinned by Social Darwinism, prejudices were understood as a manifestation of natural differences in world-wide hierarchy (see Section 2.3). Racialisation ensured survival through the maintenance of ‘race’ purity with superior humans (whites) procreating with each other (Keith, 1973). Secondly, it was assumed indicative of social progress, suggesting that as societies ‘advanced’ they would deracialise, gradually becoming white – symbolising civilisation (Toybee, 1918; Barot and Bird 2001). Within the 20th century, racialisation has been used to describe the process by which African identity and culture was undermined, resulting in those of African descent becoming alienated from multiple aspects of their ‘cultural’ origins (Fanon, 1963). More recently within sociology, racialisation is framed as a useful language for discussing issues of ‘race’ as it corrects rather than contributes to the ‘intellectual error’ that underpins the social construction of ‘race’ (Banton and Bird, 2001 pg. 601).

‘Race’ is an example of what Bourdieu (1996) would describe as a ‘well-founded fiction’. That is, ‘a collective principle of constructed collective reality...with no other basis than social construction, and that they really exist, inasmuch as they are collectively recognised’ (pg. 20). Using the term ‘race’ reinforces the illusion the concept constructs (Loverman, 1999). Many attempts have been made to overcome this issue⁶ including reframing issues of ‘race’ under the umbrella of ethnicity (Hirschman, 2004); wrapping ‘race’ in ‘quote marks’ to highlight its constructed etymology; and the abandonment of the concept entirely in favour of the conceptualisation of racism as an ideology and racialisation as a process (Miles and Brown, 2003).

⁶ Throughout this thesis I use the word ‘race’, as discussing an issue in terms detached from how it is popularly conceived is exclusionary. Furthermore, erasing the word ‘race’ does not erase the real consequences of racism (Bonilla-Silva, 1997; Ifekwunigwe, 2004). However, as my analysis is focused upon racialisation, I continuously bring attention to and critique the significance of ‘race’. I do not find ethnicity a useful concept in my analysis of racialisation as, despite the intention of ‘ethnicity’ to describe individuals linked through common socio-cultural identifications and experiences, it is frequently used as a politically-correct code word for ‘race’ (Miles and Brown, 2003 pg. 93) that racialises individuals into externally positioned groups (Grosfoguel, 2004). Moreover, as this work is built upon the stories of ‘mixed race’ people, who rarely relate to one another upon the ground of ethnicity due to the multiple intersections (class, gender, location, *race script*, sexuality etc.) that complicate the possibility of collective experiences between ‘mixed race’ individuals (Song, 2010).

Throughout this thesis I argue that racialisation is a concept rooted in illusion that leads to the production of simplistic and dichotomous racial thinking and a racialised ‘common sense’. Resulting from a flawed system, it wields power through the conversion of physical and cultural differences into status categories (Lewis, 2007). A process of deception, it produces a veil that demonises and misconceives humans with Black and brown bodies (Du Bois, 1968). It distorts the real consequences of the oppression it legitimises by transforming its victims into perpetrators, responsible for their own disadvantage. As a fundamental organising principle of social life ‘race’ then comes to be easily observed in everyday interactions. It underpins political, economic, cultural and mental systems, and their associated institutions. It is possible then to observe how racialisation is navigated – within objective structures, bodies, minds, discourses, and social space. It is inescapable. Essential to the making of ‘self’ and ‘other’ (Wynter, 2003). To know one’s racialised self is to be conscious of one’s social position. At its core, racialisation is an intersectional process that corresponds with other measures of value such as gender and social class to ensure domination flows in an intended direction. Racialisation is not racism, but through racist ideology becomes a vehicle for inclusion and exclusion (Lewis, 2007). The practice of projection is so central to racialisation whereby undesirable characteristics are separated/ denied from whiteness. To embody whiteness is to be invisible, superior and innocent, incapable of the evil, violence and brutality that produced this hegemonic process (Lewis, 2007). Racialisation has always been resisted by those subordinated by it. Such resistance shapes and shifts its parameters in small, subtle, meaningful ways (Lewis, 2007).

Different groups of people are racialised in different ways, in different contexts, at different times. Grosfoguel (2004) argues that ‘shifting meanings about race have a historical continuity that can only be understood in relation to the colonial histories of empires’ (pg. 326). Within the British context, different minority groups have been negatively racialised to different degrees dependent upon the historical political relationships between their country of origin and new country (e.g. colonial, neo-colonial or resulting from military intervention) and the racial characteristics (Grosfoguel, 2004). This has affected how members of a group have been incorporated into Britain’s ‘imagined community’ (Gilroy, 1993). The historical relationship between Britain and the Caribbean is a long and exploitative one that dates back to the early 17th century. The lives of Black ‘mixed race’ British-Caribbean people are the central focus of this thesis. Their lived experiences demonstrate the continuity of colonial power within the current ‘post-colonial’ era (Grosfoguel, 2004). Going forward I draw upon a Bourdieusian framework. In the next section, I briefly outline how I use Bourdieu’s tools to make sense of the legacy of colonisation upon Britain’s racial formation and the processes of racialisation that underpin this.

2.2.1 Working with Bourdieu

Bourdieu overlooks or takes for granted the extent to which ‘race’ operates as a key principle of differentiation that affects the distribution of power (Wallace, 2019, Pennant, 2019; Ayling, 2015;

Meisenhelder, 2000; Bourdieu, 1993). Despite this, I have chosen to work with Bourdieu's concepts and theory for three reasons. Firstly, as 'race' is in the first instance an imagined category, made real through its consequences, I needed to work with tools designed to analyse symbolic power (Thomas and Thomas, 1928). That is, to trace how and by whom collectively recognised meaning systems are constructed, preserved or changed (Wacquant, 2013). As power is understood as resulting from historical struggles over meaning, Bourdieu's work also helps me to demonstrate how the legacy of colonialism lives on and shapes Britain's current racial formation. Secondly, Bourdieu's theoretical tools attempt to illustrate how power operates through structures, discourse and agents (Wacquant, 1993). Thus, it has the capacity to comprehend the multiple dimensions of racialisation which requires historical, spatial and psychological analysis (Lewis, 2007). Finally, as I want to explore how racialised encounters shift consciousness Bourdieu's theory helps me to articulate how people change as they move between contexts and are changed by contexts. That is, to illustrate how experiences shift people's understanding of themselves and their surroundings. For Bourdieu's theoretical tools to encapsulate processes of racialisation, I have moved beyond the national conceptions of society that dominate his work and have undergone an analysis of the global power relations that underpin British economic and cultural structures (Gilroy, 1993; Hanchard, 2003). In the next section I introduce the concepts of *misrecognition* and *racialised social fictions* and explain how understanding these helps to make sense of Britain's racial formation.

2.2.2 Misrecognition and the construction of racialised social fictions

When we apply the idea of misrecognition to social life, we are forced to deeply consider the process of collective misattribution (James, 2015) - myths which are 'universally accepted' as illustrations of reality within a social formation (Bourdieu, 1996 pg. 21). Bourdieu (1996) suggests that people's actions are symbolically interpreted through their existing frames of reference - their dispositions (James, 2015). He suggests such interpretations are underpinned by collective misunderstandings which are embedded into both social structures (e.g. economic and political systems, law, education) and mental structures - in the form of *habitus* - 'an acquired system of generative schemes... [that] makes possible the... production of... thoughts, perceptions and actions' (Bourdieu 1990, p. 55). As mentioned above, 'race' is a well-founded fiction. As 'race' is a social construction it can only be known through a system of misattribution and dispositions. Captured in *doxa* - forms of social arbitrariness made concrete through discourse or other tangible forms - this system is built upon numerous racialised social fictions which inform how people experience and understand processes of racialisation and the extent to which they question the conditions that make it possible (Bourdieu, 1990 pg. 20; Crossley, 2005). Thus 'race' becomes meaningful through a process of racialised misrecognition and sustained through *doxa*. The next section explores the racialised fictions that have shaped British society and highlights that whilst the content of racialised social fictions has changed drastically across history their arbitrary origins remain hidden.

2.2.3 The reproduction of racialised fictions across British history



Figure 4 Taken at Bristol BLM event 07/06/20 and laid at the podium where a statue of Edward Colston once stood

Different racisms are found in different social formations and historical circumstances. To paper over the specifics of each historical conjuncture with a general theory of 'race' or 'race relations situations' is misguided.

(Gilroy, 1981 pg. 208)

It is extremely difficult to document the complexity of Britain's racial formation and the intricacies of the politics of survival that have been developed by Black people in response. Somehow the treatment and status of non-white people in Britain appears to contradict Britannia's self-image as a civil, fair and moral place (Olusoga, 2017). This mythic image is so strong that Britain's racial imperial foundations are forgotten (Olusoga, 2017). This is a great injustice as the racial formation reproduces racism. This must be collectively acknowledged and also debated if it is to be eradicated from British society. However, modern Britain operates from a point of interest convergence⁷, that is, only affording freedoms to Black and Brown peoples when such action meets the material and social interests of its white hegemony (Bell, 1980; Alemán and Alemán, 2010). I will now introduce the concept of racial fictions and illustrate how these produced Britain's 'colour line', creating separate and uneven British citizens. I explore how a racialised system of collective misattribution has been sustained through evolving racialised fictions, enabling the continued oppression

⁷ Interest conversion in this instance suggests change that improves the welfare of Black and Brown people occurs for the purpose of furthering the interest of whites (Alemán and Alemán, 2010).

of people of African descent throughout the rise and recession of the British Empire. I begin by tracing the racial fictions that developed as imperialism⁸ advanced.

Robinson's (1983) theory of racial capitalism highlights that racialisation was a prerequisite of capitalism. It was here that the European practice of establishing power through the exploitation of others began. Robinson (1983) argues that as human life had been recognised as instrumental during British feudal times, it afforded the violence and brutality that capitalism needed to flourish, enabling the modern emergence of slavery, imperialism and genocides (Ignatiev, 2008). Starting at 'home' with the racialisation of regional and cultural differences, this process was applied further during the age of expansion as Britain entered the Americas (Ignatiev, 2008). With the desire to dominate already ingrained into hearts and minds, Atlantic encounters between Europeans and those located in the Americas and Africa appeared solely as opportunities to expand domination, and racialisation became a mechanism through which this was achieved. Shifting from a regional to a global system as mercantile capitalism, plantation economies and settler-colonisation developed, this racialised struggle became centred upon skin tone and physical features, leading to myths of primordial differences between people of European descent and indigenous populations around the world (Ramdin, 1999). The racial terror and subordination that arose from European imperialism laid the foundation of modernity (Gilroy, 1993) and nowhere was this reliance upon this new form of legitimised racialisation more prevalent than in Britain (Carby, 2019). Imperialism became a defining feature of modern British society, and with it racialised differences became exaggerated, systematised and rationalised into a means of political power (Gilroy, 1993).

Racial fictions are the mechanisms through which 'race'-based privilege is constructed and reproduced. A key racial fiction that has underpinned British society since the 17th century is that 'races' should be separate and are uneven (Carby, 2019). The logic underpinning this fiction has shifted drastically over time. When distance between lands and people defined Britain and contact between individuals from the metropole and the colonies was sparse, the myth of separation between people of African and European descent was easily maintained. Two further fictions upheld this illusion: firstly, that there were divisions in human worth; and secondly, that Britain was not dependent upon 'distant' lands but divinely destined to govern 'primitive' societies unable to manage their own resources (Ramdin, 1999). Such logics justified the enslavement and exploitation of Africans between the 16th and 19th centuries⁹. However, as uprising against slavery increased and the morality of the institution was criticised, new racial fictions were required to retain both its reputation as an advanced civilised nation and control over the resources and people within its African and

⁸ A violent process by which one state gains political or economic power and control over another state and the people who live there.

⁹Although low wage labour of the landless and formerly enslaved continued en masse into mid 20th century, leading to 1930s uprisings and into today on a lesser scale - see <http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/slavery/pdf/britain-and-the-trade.pdf>

Caribbean colonies. Abolition of the slave trade (in 1808, followed by intervening decades of ‘amelioration’ and the eventual emancipation of enslaved peoples by 1838) was framed as a moral intervention which appeared to grant increased freedoms to ‘natives’ and maintained the level of exploitation necessary to uphold British imperial extraction (Ramdin, 1999).

‘Race’ science became the dominant racial fiction to make sense of/ justify racialised divisions (Gould, 1981). During the 19th century this politically motivated science legitimised the colonial mission. Observations of ‘racial difference’ became rooted in biology. Whilst the idea of ‘race’ predates its pseudo-scientific legitimisation, the work of grounding racial difference in biology solidified this mode of categorisation, as it reconstructed the outcomes of structural oppression (as lesser intelligence and subservience) and linked these to appearance and genetics, constructing ‘race’ as a permanent and natural limitation (Gould, 1981; for an example see de Gobineau, 1915). The legacy of this misconception is far reaching and still informs common understandings of ‘race’ today. Articles such as *Race Is Real, But It’s Not Genetic* (Goodman, 2020) are still frequently published to ‘bust’ this myth and scientists argue that in recent times ‘the use of race as a biological category has increased’ in genetic research (Youdell *et al.*, 2016 pg. 564). Settler colonialism produced colourism - another racial fiction – as an effect of pigmentocratic arrangements around who owns capital, who is free and who labours/where they labour (field, craftsman, house, *freepersons*, mixed person). Skin shade became a dominant form of categorisation that affected power and status – especially within the Caribbean. Described by Gordon Lewis (1969) as a ‘multi-layered pigmentocracy’, ‘race’ and class combined and was written onto bodies. Those who embodied European qualities (straight hair, light skin, European facial features etc.) were granted higher status, placing those more African in appearance at the bottom of social hierarchy (James, 1992).

As criticism of ‘race’ science increased, its pseudoscientific origins became harder to deny (Gould, 1981). As a result, the maintenance of the separate and uneven myth became more complex as people of African descent’s humanity was acknowledged. As part of this process of acknowledgement, narratives around the metropole and the colony began to shift. That of being ‘British Subjects’ was extended to people in colonised nations (Carby, 2019). In moments of great need – mostly in times of war - racialised fictions have been suspended. This has occurred as far back as the American Revolutionary War (1775–1783) whereby slaves willing to fight Britain were offered freedom (Olusoga, 2017) and during both 20th century World Wars, Black and Asian people were recruited to fight in the British Army and were at least nominally treated as equal British citizens alongside their white counterparts. However, events that brought Black and white bodies into close proximity destabilised the illusion of separate and uneven on either side of the Atlantic.

During the post-WWII period, many people on Caribbean islands like Jamaica felt a sense of being an equal part of imperial Britain, in some cases developing a deep love and respect for the crown, and imagined the British Isles as an accepting ‘motherland’. This fiction, designed to preserve colonial loyalty to Britain and her crown and to avert revolutionary sentiment, was quickly shattered as mass migration to Britain led to increased racial tensions between Caribbean and mainland Brits¹⁰. During the 1950s-70s, as Black and Brown people began to take up more space in the metropole, the illusions of whiteness were unsettled. As all ‘British people’ began to occupy the same land the superiority that had been loaded into whiteness and used to justify Britain’s class relationships was brought into question. Some white working-class people were frightened by the status similarities they shared with Black people, whilst Caribbeans new to Britain were shocked to see poor white people, as whiteness had represented wealth and privilege up until this point (James, 1992). To avoid unsettling the deeply engrained class system of Britain some trade unionists, colonial officials and politicians felt it imperative to treat Black Caribbeans as subordinate citizens (Carby, 2019). There was increasing pressure to revoke the British status many Caribbean people had enjoyed in their homelands as the physical myth of separation was being destabilised. This enabled the myth to be reproduced, and as a result, the complex pigmentocracy developed in Caribbean fell away in Britain, replaced by a simple colour divide that separated Black from white. This forced Caribbean peoples once divided by their different island identities, ethnicities and skin shades to come together, unified by their blackness and subjection to racial hatred. There has always been both compliance with and resistance to racialised social fictions by the agents such fictions subordinate, and Andrews (2018) argues blackness emerged out of collective necessity. He writes,

Blackness was never created by whiteness; it is a rejection of it. I am not racialised into blackness; I am Black. My blackness is a declaration of self and resistance, not a position of victimhood and oppression. The same cannot be said for the white working-class who from the outset have been racialised into whiteness.

(Andrews, 2018 pg. 201)

Andrew (2018) suggests that as racialised hierarchies became indicative of status and freedom, blackness arose as a means of unification and resistance for those racialised as subordinate. The 1950s- 90s were full of racist violence and anti-racist uprisings in Britain – often described unhelpfully as ‘race’ riots¹¹. Black people fought back against how they were treated in multiple ways, through protest, prayer and democracy.

¹⁰ This began in the early 20th century, with racist violence and attacks on Black and non-white people in the port cities of South Wales, Glasgow and Liverpool (see Evans, 1994)

¹¹ So-called ‘race’ riots’ arose in 1919 in South Wales, 1943 in Bristol, 1958 in Nottingham, in 1959 in Notting Hill (London), and in the 1980s in the London boroughs of Lewisham, Tottenham and Brixton as well as Liverpool (Slater and Anderson, 2012)

Through official and unofficial channels, Black people have fought against unprovoked attacks, police brutality, a racist justice system, poor housing, exclusion from the labour market, criminalisation, sexual harassment and much more. Whilst many who benefited from the dominant racial fictions central to their identities fought to uphold them and those who could claim political power did so by sowing division amongst the discontented (e.g. Enoch Powell's 'rivers of blood' speech in 1968).

Despite multiple forms of push back and acts of Black rebellion, and being plagued by postcolonial melancholia, Britain has remained deeply proud of its history. Its attempts to reckon with its past have always fallen short, as it cannot accept the immorality and shamefulness of its actions and instead schisms between its morally upright, 'tolerant' and civil image and the brutal violence and exploitation that empire often entailed (Gilroy, 2008; Sayer, 2005; Andrews, 2018). This is because the risk of doing so is too great. The whole sense of British exceptionalism and identity is built upon its dark and fundamentally racialised history – its ability to control the world's seas, 'Britannia rule the waves' - which enabled such conquering and invasion (Cole, 2004). Britain is plagued by a psychosis of whiteness, as without the celebration of imperialist legacy, and without the ideology of whiteness so closely wedded to it, Britain's sense of greatness perishes (Andrews, 2018). Thus, the voices and stories of Black and Brown people which have tried to expose Britain's unequal racial formation have often been hidden from dominant public consciousness. Racial fictions endure, for they

have configured a deep and persistent cultural formation, a matrix of ideas, images, values, attitudes, and social practices, that do not cease to be implicated in relationships among people, even when colonial political relations have been eradicated.

(Quijano in Grosfoguel, 2004 pg. 326)

Understanding the genealogy of racial fictions helps to understand the continued racial inequality in Britain across health (highlighted by the high numbers of Black British deaths in the current Covid-19 pandemic¹²), education, housing, income and occupation. Recent actions against this injustice in the form of Black Lives Matter protests and the publication of multiple best-selling books have aimed at revealing the taken-for-granted elements of Britain's racial formation in the popular imagination¹³. The next section explores the impact of 'racial mixing' upon racialisation processes and suggests 'mixed race' people have valuable insights and experiences to share on this topic.

¹² see report to for an example of the Conservative Government's resistance to adequately investigate and provide recommendations to stop this:

<https://www.bmj.com/content/369/bmj.m2264> <https://www.bmj.com/content/369/bmj.m2208>

¹³ Akala (2019), *Natives: 'Race' and Class in the Ruins of Empire*; Eddo-Lodge (2017), *Why I'm No Longer Talking to White People*; Hirsh (2018), *Brit(ish)*; Shukla (2017), *The Good Immigrant*.

2.2.4 Racial fictions and 'racial mixing' in Britain

'Mixed race' contradicts the idea of 'race' as a neatly delineated, separate and unequal entity. Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe (2004) highlights the historical processes that underpin the construction and racialisation of 'mixed race' people. Ifekwunigwe (2004) argues that 'European expansion', 'settler-colonisation', 'imperialism' and 'slavery' produced the idea and practice of 'racial mixing' through the displacement and marginalisation of indigenous and African peoples. Through brutal acts of subordination and discourse construction, 'race'/colour hierarchies were established (Ifekwunigwe, 2004) that ensured mixed descendants did not acquire power alongside British ancestry (James, 2012). However, the threat posed by 'mixedness' to the purity of whiteness was not great enough to reverse gender hierarchies, which resulted in the sexual exploitation of Black women by white men (Ifekwunigwe, 2004). Instead, impetus for 'mixed race' offspring to be redefined through racialised fiction increased, to ensure that the illusion of distinct and unequal races could be maintained.

In Britain, fears of 'race' contamination have been documented since the 16th century. In 1604, Elizabeth I appealed for the deportation of Black people. Despite this, the amount of Black people in the British Isles steadily increased during this century and the next as Black slaves, servants and seaman settled upon British shores. A moral panic arose which presented Britain as overcome by Black people. In the 18th century, this fear was fuelled by law - as Black people could not be forced from Britain without their consent - and a belief that relationships between Black men and white women were increasing (Alibhai-Brown, 2001; Carby, 2019). As colonial rule intensified across the 18th and 19th centuries so did fears of miscegenation leading to riotous mulattoes (Alibhai-Brown, 2001). Social Darwinism, dominant at this time, suggested there was a natural hierarchy of 'races' (Ifekwunigwe, 2004). Such thinking underpinned the eugenics movement which dominated scientific thinking in the early 20th century and had a major influence on social policy, especially in education (Gould, 1981; Ifekwunigwe, 2004).

Carby's (2019) extremely detailed exploration of Britain's racial history illustrates that 'mixed race' couples and children were perceived as problems in Britain. Research such as that carried out by Fleming (1927) and Fletcher (1930) reproduced the flawed logics and techniques of the scientific racism that dominated in the previous century, attempting to correlate bodily characteristics, psychological and racial traits (Carby, 2019) and concluding that 'mixed race' children were a growing social problem, incapable of fitting into industrial life with white mothers who regretted them and their relationships with Black men (Carby, 2019). Despite recommendations for Black men to be removed from the navy, WWII brought more Black soldiers to Britain. After the war, a moral panic arose that suggested relationships between white women and Black American men had resulted in fatherless, unwanted Brown babies. Carby (2019) argues that these 'unwanted children' resulted from the dominant racial logic in Britain at the time. Whilst miscegenation was never illegal in Britain, US troops were expected to follow segregation rules whilst on British soil. The need to

maintain distance between races (as discussed in the previous section) led to white mothers being discouraged from marrying their Black partners and encouraged to put their babies up for adoption by their families and communities. Black US soldiers were forbidden from marrying their white partners or taking parental responsibility for their children. Moreover, for those who did keep their children and stayed in relationships, the social pressure and everyday racism they experienced put immense stress upon them:

Mixed intimacies bear the weight of a national fantasy: they either work to demonstrate the overcoming of racism and conflict (a fantasy in which they must work in order to show the healing of the nation) or they do not work and demonstrate the impossibility of that overcoming.

(Ahmed, 2014 pg. 93)

‘Mixed race’ people and relationships continued to be pathologised throughout the 20th century. During the 21st century, there has been a shift in the representation of the ‘mixed race’ family as a symbol of Britain’s multiculturalism and social progress (Aspinall, 2015), although the notion of fatherless unruly children belonging to degenerate working-class white women still persists despite recent celebrations of mixedness (Caballero, 2014).

‘Mixedness’ is a concept rooted in the flawed logic of racial categorisation that arose to justify the brutality of slavery (Andrews, 2018). ‘Mixedness’ is an illusion, a racialised social fiction in its own right. The process, whereby illusion becomes reality is complicated. The construction of racial mixedness has been subjected to a complex imaginative exercise whereby whiteness has been simultaneously imagined, denied and rendered insignificant in a body assumed to be positioned by ‘otherness’. Racialisation is fundamental to this process. Misrepresentations of ‘mixed race’ become legitimised constructions whilst reproducing the flawed racialised binary through which ‘mixed race’ is constructed in Britain (Caballero, 2004). The next section explores how processes of racialisation affects Black ‘mixed race’ people.

2.2.5 Racialisation in the lives of ‘mixed race’ people

As ‘mixed-race’ people defy socially constructed racial boundaries, their experiences of racialisation differ from those from single ethnic groups (Ifekwunigwe, 1999; Paragg, 2015). Differences also exist between ‘mixed race’ people (Rondilla *et al.*, 2017; Song, 2010a). Significantly, through the construction of white supremacy additional hierarchies of ‘mixed race’ have arisen apportioning Brown bodies into subcategories racialising those of mixed Indian or East Asian descent as superior to those of African descent (Ifekwunigwe, 2004). Blackness has remained the most impermeable racial category (Gordon, 1995), being constructed as most resistant to whiteness¹⁴. The positioning of blackness as the antithesis of whiteness informs dominant racial imaginaries and the ‘common sense’ understandings of racial difference they

¹⁴ And in many cases, for those who identify with blackness, cannot be accessed by those who are Black ‘mixed race’ (Campion, 2017, Tate, 2009).

produce (Gines, 2014; Rankin *et al.*, 2015). I have chosen to grapple with the experiences of Black ‘mixed race’ people because those who fall within this category must navigate dominant polarised understandings of ‘race’ in a way that mixed people without white ancestry and those from other mixed non-Black non-white backgrounds do not (Rondilla *et al.*, 2017). This situates them uniquely in relation to issues of racialisation.

Ifekwunigwe (1999) suggests Black ‘mixed race’ people are subject to ‘bi-racialisation’, a ‘substructure of racialisation [that] speaks to specific structural, symbolic and oppositional relationships forged between people socially designated as Black and those deemed white’ (Ifekwunigwe, 1999 pg.12). Whilst bi-racialisation is a useful concept, I believe that such ambivalent experience is not limited solely to Black ‘mixed race’ people but experienced by all those who cross dominant categories of distinction and embody both socially superior and inferior positions be it in relation to class, gender or sexuality. That said, bi-racialisation does highlight how the crossing of hegemonic social classifications makes the processes of racialisation difficult to ignore. Fanon (2008) argued ‘the racial gaze fixes and paralyses the people subjected to it, so much so that they internalise how others read them as well as how they understand themselves’ (Paragg, 2017 pg. 290-291). Black ‘mixed race’ people (and others who cross dominant categories) create a crisis for the onlooker as their bodies are read as ambivalent (William, 1996). Black ‘mixed race’ people often have a heightened sense of how they are racialised because of the multiple forms of racialised misrecognition they are subjected to (Ifekwunigwe, 1999). In this thesis, I explore how Black ‘mixed race’ people consciously deliberate and reflect on the effects of racialisation. Whilst previous generations of ‘mixed race’ studies have focused on biology, or individualised experiences of ‘mixed race’ and identity choice, this study adds to the third wave of ‘mixed race’ studies. Here, I adopt a critical approach - historically, geographically and politically contextualised - and draw attention to the intersectional and structural realities of ‘mixed race’ experience to further our understanding of the effects of positionality upon experiences of and reactions to racialisation.

2.2.6 Misrecognition and ‘mixed race’ studies

Said (1994) argues that the battle against misrecognition is an essential feature of modern life. It has been discussed extensively across ‘mixed race’ studies and has multiple meanings within the field. Ifekwunigwe (2004) divides ‘mixed race’ studies within the UK and the US into three waves: The *Age of Pathology*, *Celebration* and *Critique* (Campion, 2017). Within the first wave (19th century), ‘mixed race’ was misrecognised as biologically and socially deficient and eventually ‘race’ was proven to have no scientific bearing. In response to this denial, the Age of Celebration arose in the late 20th century arguing for the end of the (mis)recognition of ‘mixed race’ and its reclassification as an independent and legitimate official racial category (Water, 1990; Root *et al.*, 1992, Tizard and Phoenix, 1993; Root 1996, Zack, 1995). Whilst in the second wave these discussions were grounded in the logic of individualism and identification choice, third-

wave conversations have become more nuanced. The Age of Critique within ‘mixed race’ studies is defined by its commitment to assessing the role of structure as well as agency within the experiences of ‘mixed race’ people (Parker and Song, 2001; Song, 2010; Caballero, 2014; Aspinall, 2015; Paragg, 2015, Tikley, *et al.*, 2004). This age led to discussion of the impact of ‘racial mismatch’ upon people’s identity and self-esteem which was found to be experienced more painfully by those who were Black ‘mixed race’ (Song and Aspinall, 2013). These studies were also concerned with the psychological effects of one’s own racial identifications not being reciprocated by others.

Thus, questions of racial misrecognition within current ‘mixed race’ studies literature reflect Fraser’s (2007) understanding of the concept as a means through which common humanity or citizenship is denied. Thus, this thesis argues for an exploration of how discourses of ‘race’ enable recognition of equal humanity to be refused (see James, 2015). It explores the individual and collective costs of this, and how misrecognition is negotiated within everyday life. I introduce the concept of *racialised misrecognition*, and offer an ethnographically grounded analysis of its consequences, implications and Black ‘mixed raced’ people’s responses to it. Unlike the scholars above, I am not describing the ways in which ‘mixed race’ people are rejected from particular categories of racial classification. Instead, I emphasise the extent to which misrecognition in a Bourdieusian sense is a racialised process that affects all racialised groups. By rooting my exploration of racialised misrecognition in Black ‘mixed race’ lives, because of the heightened awareness of racialisation they experience, I am able to demonstrate this concept more acutely. In the next section I outline further the theoretical framework that underpins this research.

2.3 Part 2: Uncovering the mechanisms of racialisation through a Bourdieusian framework

In this section, I draw upon a Bourdieusian framework, making explicit the processes of racialisation that affect *misrecognition*, *capital*, *field* and *habitus*. I argue that whilst the depth of the illusion beneath Britain’s racial formation has varied over time, such has thinking remained deeply embedded and misrecognised in the minds and institutions that underpin British culture and society (Lewis, 2007). I begin this section by highlighting how the economic and cultural structures of the *field of power* lead to the reproduction of racialisation processes and go on to discuss how experiences of racialisation impact habitus and consciousness. In the next section I explore how racialisation is embedded into spatial dimensions of Britain and shapes fields, capital exchange and accumulation.

2.3.1 Racialisation and the field of power

Coloniality has not ceased to be the central character of today’s social power.

Quijano (1993 pg. 167 cited in Grosfoguel, 2004)

Racialised misrecognition functions differently across different realms of society. Bourdieu's theory of fields helps us to understand how power works both independently within specific realms and as part of a larger system of power. Bourdieu (1985, pg.724) argues,

The social world can be represented as a space (with several dimensions) constructed on the basis of principles of differentiation or distribution constituted by the set of properties active within the social universe in question, i.e. capable of conferring strength, power within that universe, on their holder.

Bourdieu (1993) uses the term field to refer to the different dimensions of a society and argues that to understand how power works one must focus upon the *space of positions*. That is, the different amounts of power at stake within different fields and the individuals or institutions that occupy these positions (Jenkins, 2002). Fields are spaces of struggle, where people compete for resources and dominance. Britain is a complex and highly differentiated society and therefore has many fields. Each has its own internal logic and specific rules (Bourdieu, 1985)¹⁵. As people play for power by learning or changing the rules within them, fields both shape and are shaped by habitus¹⁶. Fields are also structured by the logic of the field of power (or politics) – the most dominant field - which structures the hierarchy of power across a society (Jenkins 2002 pg. 86). This hierarchy determines the value of the power available within each field. Fields which comply with the logic of the field of power have greater volumes of power at stake. Those who reject it or are unable to conform to its logic have less power. The field of power is a racialised space.

Dating back to the 17th century, racialised discourses were produced to justify the practice of slavery and the oppression of people of African descent. Such discourses became dominant, legitimising racial hierarchies which became embedded in the field of power as well as reproduced within subsidiary fields (in the form of *doxa*). The wealth generated by the industrialisation of slavery enabled those in dominant positions – endowed with power to name, categorise and classify the 'natural order' of social life – to naturalise this brutal and immoral practice (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2004; Harker *et al.*, 1990). The accumulation of economic resources is crucial to the structures of the field of power. Fields that support the greatest possibilities of economic advancement have high levels of power at stake within them. Those able to accumulate the highest volumes of economic capital at the earliest beginnings of capitalism were those who profited most from the industrialisation of slavery, and all its dependent industries from brass

¹⁵ For example, the field of education has a different set of expectations to the field of religion.

¹⁶ For example, when a person enters education their habitus becomes shaped by their participation in that field. People apply different strategies – depending upon their understanding of the rules - to accumulate power which in this field comes in the form of knowledge. Those whose habitus is similar to those in dominant positions are able to accumulate the most power as they are able to play the game most efficiently.

making, to shipbuilding, to cotton mills, to tobacco factories. During the 17th century royals held dominant positions in the most powerful fields. Their dominance in the fields of law and politics enabled the crown's coerced monopoly of slave trading across the Atlantic which in turn reproduced their dominance as it generated high volumes of wealth (Gilroy, 1993; Pruitt, 2018). Koch argues that economic systems can become reflected in 'the minds and bodies of people, which contributes to their becoming 'hegemonic because it appears to be the natural way of steering economy and society' (Koch, 2018 pg. 9).

The legacy of this racialised logic continues to impact the structure of fields in the 21st century. A field may reproduce this logic¹⁷ or reject it¹⁸. In Britain, this logic attributes greater value to those who embody whiteness. In return for compliance, fields are awarded greater volumes of power and so occupy more privileged positions within social space. However, divergent fields – for example those which award greater status to those who embody blackness i.e. Black political movements, Black communities –lack status and power within the dominant realm. This highlights the multi-dimensional relationship between bodies, selves and society (Turner, 2008). As racialised embodiment affects one's ability to 'play the game' power accumulation, like racialisation, is entwined with bodily schemas (Fanon, 2008).

Bourdieu (1986) refers to accumulated power as capital which he breaks down into four types: economic (wealth, property and income), cultural¹⁹ (knowledge and tastes), social (networks) and symbolic (the combination of all capitals in their symbolic form altering ability to conform to or transform dominant principles of social divisions) (Meisenhelder, 2000; Bourdieu, 1986). The highest valued capitals are those which are most frequently collectively (mis)recognised (Bourdieu, 1986). 'Race' is a form of embodied cultural capital (Wallace, 2019) that affects the accumulation of other capitals. Whilst whiteness alone does not guarantee cultural superiority will be accumulated, those racialised as subordinate are hindered further by their inability to embody the most valued forms of racialised cultural capital. Williams (1985) described culture as a system of shared meaning that exists both within the apparatus of a society, its institutions, art, laws and education and in people's minds, which is influenced, whilst not equally, by all members of a society. Extending William's analysis of culture Lewis (2007) situates racialisation as central to *ordinary culture* which is made through everyday interactions on both macro and micro scales. She argues that culture is, at its core, a racialised phenomenon that affects all people:

Cultural practices stand right at the heart of contemporary everyday life and mediate individual experiences and the social relations of 'race', gender, class, sexuality, and age

(Lewis, 2007 pg. 874)

¹⁷ i.e. Law (Crenshaw, 1991), professional occupations (Puwar, 2004) and education (Wallace, 2018)

¹⁸ For example, by awarding greater status to those who embody blackness.

¹⁹ Culture plays a significant role in disconnecting economic capital from its historical and racialised origins.

Mediated by politics, science, law, media, family narratives and education, dominant racialised discourses arose that defined Britishness, and specifically Englishness, as white, civilised, intelligent, free and fair, in opposition to the lot they had assigned to the enslaved (Ifekwunigwe, 2001). This led to the production of the negro (a racialised social fiction) who in contrast was defined as Black, primal, thoughtless and subservient. Andrews (2018 pg. 201) highlights that:

The negro is a product of racism, produced in the image of whiteness. In that sense we are all racialised through the eye, oppression and institutions of western society.

This ‘us’ and ‘them’ belief has remained deeply embedded into the collective psyche of British people and has been perpetuated within British culture (Lewis, 2007). Thus despite drastic shifts in the social conditions of subordinately racialised people, ‘racial folk law’ has remained dominant (Du Bois, 1940). This remains the case as counter discourses are limited by racialised fictions founded within the dominant realm. This practice of fabrication conceals the illusion embedded into racial hierarchies also concealing the processes of racialised misrecognition that make this possible. To make sense of this process we discuss the role of symbolic violence in the enforcement of racialised misrecognition in the next section.

2.3.2 Symbolic violence: complying and resisting racialised social fictions

No power can be exercised in its brutality in an arbitrary manner... it must dissimulate itself, cloak itself, justify itself for being what it is – it must make it self-recognised as legitimate by fostering the misrecognition of the arbitrary that founds it.

(Wacquant, 1993 pg. 25)

Misrecognition is enforced through symbolic violence. Bourdieu (2000) argues that symbolic violence ‘is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant 2002, pg. 167). In some ways, the subservience embedded in the *doxa* that structured the plantation and underpinned ‘race’ and colour hierarchies in the homelands of first-generation Caribbean migrants prepared them for the second-class treatment they received when they reached the motherland. Moreover, *doxa* within the metropole also prepared those who embodied whiteness to feel it was their right to terrorise those who they felt were invading their land, their space and taking their opportunities. Thus, on both side of the ‘colour line’ people acted with ‘the action of practical sense... a kind of necessary coincidence – which gives it the appearance of pre-established harmony between habitus²⁰ and a field (or position in a field)’ (Bourdieu, 2000, pg. 143).

²⁰ Habitus is ‘an acquired system of generative schemes...[that] makes possible the...production of...thoughts, perceptions and actions’ (Bourdieu 1990, p. 55). Habitus is both an individual and collective phenomenon that connects the individual and society. A person’s habitus develops in relation to their social position. Similar to the concept of cultural identity, one’s habitus holds one’s ‘common sense’, that is all one considers ‘normal’. Those who occupy similar fields of origin, share common schemes of perception, dispositions and behaviours (Bourdieu, 1977).

At the same time, despite some compliance, there is a long tradition of racially subordinated people challenging and refusing the dominant racial fictions that fuel their misrecognition. I have provided

Habitus forms through the internalisation of one's objective position, as well as subsequent experiences of different fields and is thought to be affected most significantly by events and experiences in early life and within the family (Wacquant, 1993). But it can also be shaped by subsequent life experiences that occur in different fields. Bourdieu argued that the close relationship between social position and habitus, means people are often unaware of their participation in the production of social fictions, especially how they embody, construct and reproduce them.

empirical examples to support this point in the box below. These examples illustrate how embodying blackness informs the strategies people develop as they navigate social space.

Embodying blackness and navigating racialised fields

Ayling (2015) studied elite Nigerian parents who sent their children to UK-based boarding schools so that they could acquire British dispositions, which they believed were a highly exchangeable form of cultural capital. She discusses the ways in which people attempt to overcome the structural limitations of African heritage through the accumulation of whiteness. Her work demonstrates the global reach of the racialised social fictions that underpin Britishness. Ayling (2015) argues that the parents in her study believe that this type of schooling could help to appropriately cleanse their children of abject blackness, as through the acquisition of whiteness they would become Black persons worthy of enhanced status. She suggests that ‘whiteness and blackness are artefacts or resources, which can be used by individuals with the right kinds of privilege and resources to create profitable identities, allowing [them] to move easily between different social spheres’ (pg. 468). This work highlights the racialised construction of capital (Wallace, 2019) and illustrates how other forms of capital – in this case economic – have to be used to overcome the limitations blackness imposes upon cultural capital. When economic privilege is counteracted by ‘race’, class status is complicated. Strategies that attempt to reframe blackness and maintain class status can be complicit in the processes of misrecognition that give value to whiteness; as the aim is to play rather than change the game (Rollock *et al.*, 2011).

Wallace’s (2019) work on schooling in south London demonstrates the power of Black diasporic knowledge and sense of belonging, illustrating how it changes the ways in which those who embody blackness negotiate fields that privilege whiteness. Distinguishing between non-dominant Black cultural capital (valued in fields positioned lowly within the field of power) and dominant Black cultural capital (knowledge that is valued within more dominant fields) his research illustrates how Black middle-class young people use Black cultural capital within education settings. Wallace (2019) illustrates the ways in which Black pupils and their parents use their agency to combat the ‘limits of their class advantage’ within spaces of racial domination. That is, he identifies moments where pupils use their knowledge of Black history, literature art and processes of racialised misrecognition to re-educate their teachers, who in turn incorporate their insights into lesson planning. This demonstrates how those who feel connected with blackness (Andrews 2018) are empowered both figuratively and literately, which in turn increases the value of their capital within these spaces.

Pennant (2019) also demonstrates how Black girls use their sense of belonging and power within their diasporic connection to maintain a ‘strong sense of self, pride and resilience’ whilst navigating ‘the overwhelming whiteness’ and ‘inequalities embedded into the education system’ (pg.2), making their survival possible¹. Whilst these actions assist the process of capital accumulation within dominant fields, they do not change the rules of the field. Thus, a level of complicity with the system of misrecognition persists. However, rather than

attempting to play the game and overcome the devaluation of blackness through accumulating whiteness in their actions these young people are shifting the game - if only momentarily or within their own direct sphere of influence - as they are changing the value of blackness when opportunities to do so arise. Inhabiting a body that is being negatively transformed by racialised processes of misrecognition raises an awareness of this processes in a way embodying whiteness does not. This has profound existential and material consequences for Black and Black 'mixed raced' people.

Figure 5 Embodying blackness and navigating racialised fields

The next section explores how the alignment between field and habitus is affected by racialisation.

2.4 The ever-evolving habitus: from unconscious to conscious action

Bourdieu uses habitus to discuss the relationship between social and mental structures. Similar to the concept of cultural identity, one's habitus is both individual and collective (Bourdieu, 2000). It holds one's 'common sense' and helps a person to interpret and act in the world. This development of practice is 'an ongoing process of learning which begins in childhood, and through which actors know - without knowing - the right thing to do' (Bourdieu, 2000, pg. 72)

Bourdieu (1977) suggests that those who occupy similar fields of origin share common schemes of perceptions, dispositions and behaviours. When someone is surrounded by others like them and in familiar environments they feel '*at home in the world because the world is also in [them]*' (Bourdieu, 2000 pg. 142-143). Thus, Bourdieu suggests that for the most part we take the world around us for granted. Occupying familiar positions within society means we rarely feel at odds with our surroundings and thus have little incentive to critically consider the objective conditions that underpin our existence. That said, Bourdieu (2002) posits that habitus is fluid and may generate new perceptions in response to new experiences.

Abrahams and Ingram's (2013) empirical work has greatly influenced my thinking in regards to the racialised dimensions of field, capital and habitus. Their study of local students highlights how the habitus of working-class students were 'tugged' - challenged and changed - by their experiences within elite university settings as the logics within this field were very different from those within their working-class homes and communities. Bourdieu (2000) argues that confrontation with new fields is rare but painful when it occurs. Abrahams and Ingram (2013) suggest that such experiences do not always produce suffering. They argue that their participants consciously shift their position within different fields through 'distancing from the university field', 'distancing from the local field' and 'adapting to both fields'. Adopting these strategies enabled their working-class participants to reduce the psychological impact of this confrontation. There is

much to learn about how lived experience is altered by the intersection of ‘race’ and class. Extending the application of such tools in the work of Abrahams and Ingram (2013) to racialisation, I consider the multiple ways in which the alignment between field and habitus is complicated by racialisation. In the next section I explore how racialisation affects experiences within the field of origin.

2.4.1 Habitus is a racialised matter

Racialisation is present within all fields. However, what an individual learns about racialisation within their field of origin affects how they respond to subsequent racialised encounters in both new and familiar fields. Burke et al. (2013) use the term ‘familial habitus’ to analyse the collectively conferred dispositions that develop within one’s kin group. Whilst the family is a field, and thus shapes and is shaped by habitus (Atkinson, 2013). Burke *et al.* (2013, pg. 167) provide a useful language through which we can centre the interactions of different habitus within a field. When considering the racialised dimension of family life, one is forced to think about how different understandings and experiences of ‘race’ within families shape collective practices and the passing of knowledge between generations. When members of a given family are racialised into dominant categories the collective practices that reproduce this membership are easily taken for granted. That is, membership within such a group is unlikely to produce misalignment in the majority of other fields and as such little attention is drawn to these practices. However, those associated with subordinate racial categories are likely to be confronted by their ‘race’ both within and as they move beyond their field of origin from a young age because they are racialised in opposition to the norm. Thus, as Bourdieu and Wacquant argue

When habitus encounters a social world of which it is a product, it is like a ‘fish in water’: it does not feel the weight of the water and it takes the world about itself for granted.

(Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992 p.127)

When the wall behind the fishbowl is painted white, the feeling of being a fish swimming inconspicuously though water is more achievable for the white than the Black fish. Being positioned in opposition to the norm moves the reality of racialisation further into consciousness. Within subordinately racialised fields, in a Black family for instance, each member may be racialised differently. How one is racialised is affected by their embodiment of other forms of distinction - class, gender and sexuality for example. This is complicated further within ‘mixed race’ family fields as differences in experiences of racialisation produce different understanding of ‘race’ (Rockquemore and Laszloffy, 2005). Racialisation can lead to disruptions to dispositional arrangements within families. Such disruptions are likely to be exaggerated when larger disparities between family members’ understandings and experiences of racialisation exist. Thus, for those racialised as subordinate, there is work that occurs within the family that enables multiple understandings of racialisation to co-exist and shared understandings of how to survive racialised encounters to form. In

addition to this, as habitus is ever-evolving, individual family members are continuously adapting to their own racialised experiences beyond their field of origin. Experiences which may conflict with the narratives of survival that dominate at home. In the next section I explore how racialisation effects consciousness of misrecognition.

2.4.2 Conscious racialisation: A habitus divided or a double consciousness

In Britain whiteness prevails, granting those who embody it a form of 'learnt ignorance' (Bourdieu, 2000 pg. 143). However, the reality of racialisation is more consciously navigated by subordinately racialised people. Anderson (2015) describes how white spaces – those where whiteness is privileged - are navigated by Black people.

When navigating the white space—a world in which he typically has limited social standing... the Black person meets on occasion acute, racially-based disrespect—or, as many Black people call it, the “nigger moment” (see Anderson 2011)...Usually, they [Black people] ignore the small incidents, considering them not worthy of the mental work and trouble that confronting them would require. But the large ones cannot be ignored, for typically they are highly disturbing, volatile, occasionally even violent, and capable of fundamentally changing one’s outlook on life.

(Anderson, 2015 pg. 15)

These moments form and reveal fundamental differences in habitus between those who are conscious of (and experience) the processes of racialisation and those who are not. Herein, Black people are pushed out of alignment with a field they inhabit, not solely in response to the volume of economic and cultural capital they possess (e.g. as Abrahams and Ingram’s local students were) but because of the impact their embodied racialised characteristics have upon the value of said capital. The impact of this form of collision is described below:

The injury most often has the same effect: deflation and a sense of marginalisation, regardless of the Black person’s previous negotiations, putative achievements, or claims to status; the person is reminded of her provisional status, that she has much to prove in order to really belong in the white space...The Black person’s realisation of her predicament may be gradual, as awareness often occurs in subtle and ambiguous ways over time, through what may seem to be the deceptively ordinary interactions and negotiations of everyday life.

(Anderson, 2015 pg. 15-16)

This type of ‘dialectical confrontation’ (Bourdieu 2002 pg. 31) occurs within both new fields and familiar fields as ‘racially-based disrespect’ arises between agents. For Bourdieu (1999) confrontations of this kind can lead to the production of

A habitus divided against itself, in constant negotiation with itself and its ambivalences and therefore doomed to a kind of duplication, to a double perception of the self, to successive allegiance and multiple identities.

(Bourdieu, 1999 pg. 511)

Describing a similar phenomenon but centring race in his analysis Du Bois (1968, pg. 2) suggests:

The Negro is a sort of seventh son, born with a veil, and gifted with second-sight in this American world,—a world which yields him no true self-consciousness, but only lets him see himself through the revelation of the other world. It is a peculiar sensation, this double-consciousness, this sense of always looking at one’s self through the eyes of others, of measuring one’s soul by the tape of a world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his ‘two-ness’ — an American, a Negro; two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder.

Whilst for Bourdieu (2000) experiences that contradict and therefore destabilise are rare and painful, Du Bois (1968) highlights the profound gift this second-sight offers to racially subordinated persons as they learn to navigate the social world. This conscious knowledge of the systematic misattribution of inferiority to blackness is an added dimension that shapes the habitus of Black and other non-white peoples. It produces multiple shifts in awareness of how one is situated in the world across one’s life course, which in turns affects the extent to which action or practice arises from conscious deliberation rather than habituated responses (Sayer, 2005). Agentic practice enables Black people to find new ways of strategically moving in the world, playing the game, surviving in white spaces. However, as Anderson (2015) suggests, this process is difficult and gradual.

When Bourdieu talks of unquestioning complicity, arguably, he is universalising the white experience. The racial fictions that are most influential within the field of power, that make whiteness ‘normal’ and ‘invisible’ and underpin all subsequent constructions within other fields, have created a world aligned to its own ideological image. This process reproduces the invisibility of whiteness at each stage. On the other hand, blackness is riddled with deeply conflicting racial fictions and diverges from the norm in a way that whiteness does not. If one cannot consciously comprehend one’s own racialisation it becomes difficult to comprehend the racialisation of others, in the absence of dispositions needed to recognise this process as it unfolds. On the other hand, occupying an oppressed social position makes people question the status

quo (Collins, 1989). The point here is not that all Black people develop a shared consciousness and therefore develop a similar understanding of how they are racially misrecognized. It is that consciousness of racialisation develops to different degrees, in different forms and based upon different beliefs in different people, and that these shift over time with lived experiences of racialisation.

2.4.3 Blackness and misrecognition: thinning the veil

Conscious experiences of misrecognition do not inevitably lead to critical consciousness of oppression and social action against it (Fierre, 2017). One can be at once conscious of the illusion of racialised misrecognition and complicit with it. Fanon (2008) suggests that as a result of colonisation Black people embody internal divisions. Their subjectivity is rooted in ‘performance of self which is scripted by the coloniser’ (p. 112) that accepts the superiority of whiteness alongside the inferiority of the blackness within themselves (Ayling, 2015). Thus, Black people can be only partially aware of the illusion presented by racialised misrecognition as ‘the principal mode of progress and self-elevation open to them is precisely through self-denial... effacement... obliteration of their blackness’ (Goldberg, 1996, pg. 185). This is demonstrated when discourses of subordination are used by Black people to distinguish themselves from those they consider legitimately demonised (see Rollock *et al*’s, 2015 study of Black middle-class parents). Reay *et al.* (2007) highlight in their discussion of the ‘*Darker shade of pale*’ how the value of whiteness is altered by social class. Fanon (2008), a part of the *Négritude* movement which aimed to assert the value of African culture, traditions and people (Césaire, 2001), suggests that for this form of internal division to be overcome,

The Black man should no longer be confronted by the dilemma, turn white or disappear; but he should be able to take cognizance of a possibility of existence. In still other words, if society makes difficulties for him because of his colour, if in his dreams I establish the expression of an unconscious desire to change colour, my objective will not be that of dissuading him from it by advising him to “keep his place”; on the contrary, my objective, once his motivations have been brought into consciousness, will be to put him in a position to choose action (or passivity) with respect to the real source of the conflict—that is, toward the social structures.

(Fanon, 2008, pg. 75)

There are many spaces in-between internalised loathing of blackness and understanding racialisation (in this case the production of a loathed blackness) as a symptom of social structures and inequality. People are located at different places between these positions, moving back and forth as they encounter new racialised experiences and corresponding shifts in consciousness. Shifts which are shaped by the knowledge they acquire within their field of origin and the ways this knowledge is altered by their subsequent life experiences. In the next section I synthesise the multiple arguments made in this literature review so far.

2.4.4 Centring racialisation in Britain

Britain, then, is a deeply racialised and racialising social universe underpinned by dynamic multi-dimensional processes that shape individual and collective thought. As Britain's racial formation is built upon racialised fictions that advocated for separate and uneven 'races', racialised collision is embedded into its social landscape and arise in social interactions. This differentiating system produces opposed worldviews founded in illusion and upheld through collective practices of misattribution that distribute unequal value to different racial categories. This process of racialised misrecognition is deeply rooted in structures and minds and prohibits the compassion for difference required to make racialised systems of power obsolete. The divides it creates means that too often systems of oppression are only visible to those subordinated by them. Leaving behind those who must comprehend their existence and function.

The system's greatest strength lies in its ability to limit consciousness. Consciousness seems only to be raised through moments of collisions, moments whereby existing meaning systems become redundant. Thus, people only appear to look for a new way of understanding the world when they feel unaligned with it. However, similar experiences of dislodgment from the world are not commonly felt by everyone. And so, divisions grow between subordinated people (oppressed by different systems) and those privileged by systems of power. As a result, reproduction appears to flourish over change. Thus, whilst Britain's racialised fictions have shifted and changed over time, its colonial legacy has lived on affecting the distribution of power and privilege. Britain's racial logic remains polarised and simplistic whereby whiteness is constructed in opposition to blackness. It is because of this logic that Black 'mixed race' people offer insightful contributions on the processes of racialisation. That is, as they cross boundaries and continually negotiate racial categories they often develop heightened awareness of their contradictions, collisions and processes.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter I have argued that racialisation is complex and pervasive (Lewis, 2007; Miles, 2003; Barot and Bird, 2001). Through it, agents are connected to global power relations (Grosfoguel, 2004). Racialisation is an inescapable system that affects everyone, and all aspects of social life (Lewis, 2007). As highlighted by Lewis (2007), there is a need for more research focused on racialisation. Critical Race Theory (CRT) tends to begin from a place of accepting the existence of racism and racialisation. In this thesis, I add to CRT through applying a Bourdieusian framework to unpack the micro processes of racialisation at work that uphold macro structures of racism. As this chapter has argued, through the use of Bourdieusian concepts we can surmise that processes of racialisation are experienced in different ways dependent upon position in other fields vis-a-vis social-class and gender. As such, I have chosen to focus upon the lived experiences of Black 'mixed race' people and their families. This is because their very existence crosses racial boundaries. As well as this, these families are made up of individuals that occupy very different

positions in social space in respect to their 'race', class and gender. In this thesis, I will explore how Black 'mixed race' people and their parents learn about 'race' in their everyday lives. I investigate the impact this understanding has upon their subjectivity by focusing on moments where misrecognition and consciousness collide in their everyday life. I explore the consequences these moments have on understandings of social life, social position, consciousness and subsequent interactions and experiences. Furthermore, I investigate how these moments affect people's reactions, exploring how they navigate the racialised misrecognition they encounter and the strategies they develop to survive this.

3 Researching racialisation: methodology, methods and approach to analysis

3.1 Introduction

The allocation of privilege through ‘race’ is deeply embedded into capitalist societies (Robinson, 1983). Racialisation is systematically woven into the social institutions that structure social life (Mardorossian, 2009). This research project was designed to illuminate the centrality of racialisation in public issues through an exploration of the personal troubles of racialised people (Mills, 2000). There is an endless web of connections between individuals and society (Glissant, 1997). This study focused upon the relational intricacies of social position (esp. ‘race’, class and gender), public imagination, family, education and identity, and set out to address the following research questions:

1. What do the experiences of Black ‘mixed race’ people and their families reveal about processes of racialisation?
2. How are understandings of and responses to racialisation shaped by experiences within and beyond the family?
3. How can Bourdieu’s key concepts of field, habitus and capital help to make sense of the impact of social position (and especially ‘race’, class and gender) on participants’ responses to racialisation?
4. How does racialisation impact the making of identities?

My approach to addressing my research questions has been greatly influenced by a mix of methodologies, key thinkers, and concepts. Research principles from Interpretivism, Bourdieu, Black Feminism and intersectionality have been blended to create a coherent yet multidimensional approach to research. Throughout this study, I prioritised building and maintaining close relationships with participants. This decision had the greatest impact on the depth of the data I collected and my ability to answer these research questions. As I was interested in disentangling the navigation of ‘race’ in intimate places (i.e. the self and the family), establishing trust was essential for these discussions. Adopting a qualitative research strategy supported the development of trust and enabled me to assume a racially attentive approach to research that relied upon care and responsiveness. Doing so facilitated access to my participants’ inner worlds. This was further supported through use of case study design and ethnographic methods. Case study research is focused, situated and responsive. It challenges researchers to comprehend participants’ ‘nuanced views of reality’ (Flyvbjerg, 2006 pg. 223). Ethnographic methods facilitate closeness and make the consideration of multiple dimensions of ordinary lives possible (Bayard de Volo and Edward Schatz, 2004). Working with complexity helped me to gain a deep understanding of my participants, resulting in the collection of rich

data that magnified the subtle manifestations of racialisation that occurred in everyday social interactions. These data illustrated how individual lives connected with objective social structures.

The data collected derived from 17 participants across five families. Of these 17, five were CPs (each of which represents a case) and 12 were nominated participants (NPs), family members selected by a CP. Between April 2015 and July 2017, 28 interviews were conducted, 16 with the five CPs with an average 4.5 hours of recorded interview data collected from each, and 12 with NPs averaging an hour each. Approximately 50 hours were spent conducting 'field' visits. I drew on ethnographic methods to generate data with my participants, including: In-depth structured and unstructured interviews; walking and driving interviews; and observant participation (unstructured field visits in homes, including overnight stays, education settings and workplaces).

This chapter begins by outlining my methodological and philosophical approach to research. Secondly, the usefulness of adopting a case study research design is discussed and how this informed the sampling and recruitment of participants. Thirdly, I outline the methods used to collect data and evaluate my use of these research techniques. Fourthly, I examine how the data collected was considered and analysed. This is followed by a consideration of research ethics and ethical dilemmas encountered. The final section is grounded in reflexivity whereby I outline how my own social position and life experiences have influenced this study.

3.2 Research Philosophy

3.2.1 Ontology: Conceptualising the social world

For me, social research must endeavour to expose the social cost of power and its mechanisms²¹ of domination (capitalism, white supremacy and patriarchy) (hooks, 2000). Inter-subjectivity is key to the construction and experience of social life (Schwandt, 1998). By understanding a diverse array of subjectivities one can also understand the objective structures that shape social reality and how these manifest and affect individual and collective experience. This is because subjectivity is formed in relation to material reality (Collins, 1989) which differs substantially between people dependent upon their hierarchically situated positions within social space (Bourdieu, 1990). As the maintenance of inequality is essential to the functioning of most societies (hooks, 2000), understanding the experiences of different people can reveal how social conditions are reproduced or resisted.

This work then is also underpinned by interpretivism as I sought to investigate my participants' subjective experiences of racialisation (a public issue). That is, to understand how they perceived the impact of

²¹ This venture is influenced by critical realism (Fletcher, 2017).

racialisation processes on their private lives and used agency to navigate it. This was achieved through the exploration of critical 'life events that radically alter and shape the meaning people attach to themselves and their experiences' (Denzin, 2002 pg. 1) as these moments make visible the relationship between individuals and society.

3.2.2 Epistemology: understanding participants' subjectivity

Whilst positivist researchers aim to uncover the natural laws that underpin social reality (George Lee, 2012), those inspired by constructionism consider the process through which 'social facts' are made paying close attention to the role of perception (Bourdieu, 1996). Letherby and colleagues (2013) argue that whilst there is a 'reality' 'out there' the process through which researchers 'come to know' is inescapably subjective making the pursuit of absolute objectivity impossible (Letherby *et al.*, 2013). This is not a weakness; all research is subjective. Hollway and Jefferson (2003) argue that the idea of complete objectivity is an expression of male subjectivity. Within this research project I have been inspired by feminist standpoint epistemology. Doing so has ensured I remained critical of the impact my own perception has had upon the design, analysis and writing up of this work, which in turn has strengthened the validity of this research (Reay, 1996; Letherby, 2003; (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). As a Black 'mixed race' woman from a working-class background, I have remained conscious of my own assumptions regarding Black 'mixed race' experiences and how these have shaped my knowledge production process, a point I return to below. I have used my own experiences to build rapport and relationships with participants, to value the uniqueness of their accounts and to further my interpretation of the stories they shared (Guillemin and Gillam, 2004). Taking this approach has helped me access my participants' worldviews and has given me confidence in regard to the authenticity of the claims that I have made throughout this thesis. Moreover, I have applied intersectional reflexivity, to highlight 'the complex interaction between social categories ... rather than identifying...race, social class or gender, as most significantly shaping the research' (Hamilton, 2020 pg. 524).

3.2.3 A Black woman's standpoint

Collins (1989 pg. 758) argues that Black women distinguish between 'knowledge and wisdom' describing them as two distinct ways of knowing essential to 'Afrocentric feminist epistemology'. She argues that 'in the context of race, gender, and class oppression, the distinction is essential since knowledge without wisdom is adequate for the powerful, but wisdom is essential to the survival of the subordinate' (pg. 758-759). As I grew up, I was aware of this type of wisdom expressed by my mother whose parenting decisions (i.e. which school and church we attended and where we lived) were made in conjunction with her mental navigation of oppressive forces and a will to fight their effects. Thus, I have always known that race and gender oppression exist and intersect but also that such oppression must be resisted. It is the inescapable awareness of interlocking oppression that one learns about as a child, paired with the deep commitment to

theorising resistance, no matter how subtle, that has led me to adopt a Black feminist standpoint epistemology.

The Black feminist attention to the interlocking nature of oppression... shifts the entire focus of investigation from one aimed at explicating elements of race or gender or class oppression to one whose goal is to determine what the links are among these systems... Rather than adding to existing theories by inserting previously excluded variables, Black feminists aim to develop new theoretical interpretations of the interaction itself.

(Collins, 1986 Pg. 20)

This does not mean that at each moment every conceivable form of oppression must be analysed at once, only that the research is designed in such a way that it makes possible the recognition of the complex ways in which ‘mutually constitutive oppressions... constrain and inform lived experience’ (Hamilton, 2019 pg. 52). Thus, my commitment to intersectionality underpins my choice of a case study research design.

Intersectionality is a product of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Black feminism which originally developed as a methodology that centred blackness (not just race) in social enquiry (Crenshaw, 1991). I centre blackness in my analysis and in doing so push existing theoretical tools into new territory. I believe collaboration is fundamental to knowledge production (Fallis, 2009). George the Poet (2019) argues that the cross-pollination of ideas strengthens them. In addition to Black feminism, Bourdieu has greatly influenced my thinking. However, ‘race’ is side-lined in his work, discussed explicitly only in footnotes and early work (Wallace, 2016). Despite this his tools - field, habitus and capital - have provided me with a language through which I can express my own interpretations of social life. Thus, I cross-pollinate Bourdieusian tools by applying them from a Black feminist standpoint to investigate the intersections of race, class and gender and to make sense of my Black ‘mixed race’ participants’ experiences of racialisation. This has helped me to partially overcome the reproductive aspects of his theory, as working with an intersectional feminist methodology demands contemplation of the complexities of lived realities and acknowledgment of agency (Hamilton, 2020; Conti and O’Neil, 2007; Rice *et al.*, 2019).

3.2.4 A Bourdieusian approach

As access to subjectivity is essential to understanding the role of racialisation in society, it was important for me to work with theory in a way that did not abstract the lived reality of my participants. Within this thesis, Bourdieusian theory is applied methodologically (Grenfell and James, 2008). It provides ‘a set of thinking tools’ through which to explore the co-production of mental and objective structures (Bourdieu, 1989 pg. 50) that does not hinder an iterative relationship between theory and data. As these tools are flexible, they can be deployed within an inductive rather than deductive framework – thus generating rather

than testing theory (Bryman, 2008). Pairing this approach with ethnographic methods meant that, unlike a grounded theory approach (data-led), these tools ensured power and participants' narratives remained centred throughout this research (Grenfell and James, 2008). This combined approach to research overcame the tension between ethnography and Bourdieusian Sociology as it supported the collection of data that was both guided by and challenging to these 'thinking tools', generating theory grounded in both existing sociological thought and the accounts and experiences of participants.

3.3 Case study research design

Individuals are social selves which is important because a focus on the individual can contribute to the understanding of the general.

(Letherby *et al.*, 2013, pg. 81)

Case study research is aligned to the epistemological foundations of this work. It has supported the pursuit of complexity and subjective accounts of social life and has revealed how these connect to objective structures. Stake (1995) defines a case as 'a specific, complex functioning thing' (pg. 2). He argues, it is difficult to conceptualise an event or process (like racialisation) as a 'case' because these are not integrated bounded systems. People make great 'cases' because they are complex, multifaceted, relational and systemic. Whilst a person is in one sense a complete system, they do not exist in isolation. Thus, a single case can help to understand something greater than itself. Stake (1995) describes this as an instrumental case study. Case study research also supports the use of progressive focusing which grants the flexibility to change the study's direction in response to the data collected (Stake, 2008). I therefore tailored my research activities (interviews/ informal conversations) to learn about unique parts of different participants. Researching in this way has meant that rather than limiting my analysis solely to common themes, I have been able to consider how the common experience of racialisation has affected multiple aspects of participants' lives²² in unique ways. Thus, adopting a case study approach has enabled me to develop an understanding of this phenomenon that is both wide and deep (Hammersley, 1992; Stake, 1995; Flyvbjerg, 1996).

The research presented in this thesis is based upon five individual cases, referred to throughout as core participants (CPs). Each case is a person of Black 'mixed race' Caribbean heritage. The cases were selected using an 'information oriented', purposeful critical-case sampling method which operates on the logic that the researcher will learn more about the phenomena of interest through the inclusion of specific cases (Onwegbuzie and Leech, 2007 pg. 112; Flyvberg, 1996). Cases are usually selected because they are typical, usual (Stake, 1995), extreme or deviant (Flyvberg, 1996). It is hard to say if individually these cases are

²² e.g. their relationships with their parents/ grandparents/ cousins/ siblings, their class backgrounds, neighbourhoods, interests, peer groups, sexuality, politics, the books they read or TV they watched etc.

typical or not. However collectively they represent a marginal atypical experience. That is, I focused upon the experiences of Black ‘mixed race’ people in Britain because they are uniquely positioned at the boundary of racial categories which makes it more difficult for them to take processes of racialisation for granted (Ali, 2003). I worked with those of Caribbean heritage because they occupy a shared racialised subaltern position owing to the post-colonial relationship between Britain and the anglophone Caribbean²³ and thus are often most harshly affected by the limiting effects of processes of racialisation within the British context (Grosfoquel, 2004).

3.3.1 Case selection: Sampling CPs

To achieve my aim of understanding racialised structural inequality through individuals’ experiences, I recruited participants at a pivotal moment in their own explorations of ‘race’. In order to answer my research questions, it was essential I engaged with those who had been consciously subjected to racialisation and/or racism over those who, by exceptional circumstances, escaped such experiences. These participants were selected because they had begun to develop a vocabulary through which to express their experiences. They were already grappling with the meaning of ‘race’ in the world, in their own lives and in themselves. People are not always ready or able to acknowledge or articulate the impact ‘race’ has had upon their lives. One’s awareness of inequality and its consequences changes across a person’s life in response to their experiences (Anderson, 2011; Tashiro, 2016). This research project was designed to explore a part of this journey. Working with people who appeared ready to have such conversations meant I was able to document participants’ sense-making processes.

I recruited participants as follows. 1. Indiya (CP1) was approached after she delivered a poem about the complexities of being a Black ‘mixed race’ woman at an event celebrating local civil rights activists; 2. Theo (CP2) was approached at a community conference in which he asked the speaker discussing the ‘Black experience’ about their consideration of mixedness; 3. Andrew (CP3) was recruited during a university open day in which he had expressed to me his joy in seeing another ‘mixed race’ person at the event; 4. Bibi (CP4) was recruited through an ex-colleague who shared with me some of the ‘race’ related intricacies of a family she knew, And finally; 5. Zara (CP5) was a friend of a friend recruited through Facebook based on the content of her posts and the ‘race’ related questions she posed to her Facebook audience. All participants have been given a pseudonym to protect their anonymity.

²³ In 1662 Saint Kitts became the first British colony in the Caribbean followed shortly by Barbados, Nevis, Montserrat and Antigua, The Bahamas, Anguilla, Jamaica (conquered from the Spanish), Turks and Caicos, the Cayman Islands and Trinidad (Sheridan, 2000). This 500-year relationship built upon enslavement and oppression underpins social relations in today’s neo-colonial society, its legacy evident in the underperformance of those of Caribbean descent in all measures of social outcome: educational qualifications, occupation, housing tenure and income (Grosfoguel, 2004).

Other factors that were considered in the recruitment of participants included location, as spatial politics influence experiences of racialisation (Delany, 2002). Participants were drawn from a mixture of rural, urban, inner city (multi-cultural) and outer-city (mono-cultural) spaces. Moreover, as studies concerned with 'mixed race' are often based upon the experiences of middle-class females (Caballero, 2014a; Joseph-Salisbury, 2018b) class and gender was also considered to ensure a mixed sample was recruited that supported intersectional exploration. To ensure a mix in family ethnic make-up, the maternal and paternal ethnicity of participants' parents was also considered. These decisions were not made to promote generalisability of findings, but to produce variation between cases to help me gain a deeper understanding of the relationship between multiple aspects of social life and processes of racialisation. To ensure there was significant variation between cases I decided to implement a staged approach to recruitment. In the first instance I completed all data collection and analysis from the first CP I recruited (three interviews + three observant participation field visits) and their NPs (one interview each) which also served as a pilot study. The pilot study enabled me to test the viability of this approach. Through it I was reassured that people were willing to let me into the multiple aspects of their lives I had hoped to access (their families, universities, homes, workplaces and inner thoughts). The data collected from the pilot study have been included in this study as no significant changes to data collection procedures were made. Once I had completed the pilot, I ensured that I had conducted at least one interview with a CP and had met or interviewed one of their NPs before recruiting the next CP.

Despite my commitment to variation between participants, the following sampling parameters were put in place so that commonalities between cases could be observed where they existed. Firstly, age of CPs was restricted to those between 18-25 years old. It was important to work with people in this age group as this study was concerned with how CPs came to understand their racialised position across different fields within society and how in turn this affected their sense of self and actions. This stage of life is often labelled youth (Curtis, 2015) and is described as a time of transition and becoming (Worth, 2009) as young people experience a great deal of social and geographical movement between these ages. The experience of leaving secondary school and entering new educational or employment/ unemployment settings forces most young people out of a standardised way of life (being in school) into a differentiated way of being whereby they begin to make themselves in the world in new ways (Ecclestone *et al.*, 2010), that are responsive to both their social position and their ambitions (Hodkinson and Sparks, 1997; Abrahams, 2016). The experience of movement across space and time that underpins transitions is shaped by the past (in both a collective and individual sense) and affects futures and therefore this becomes a time in one's life that greatly impacts identity (Worth, 2009).

I wanted to work with people in this age group because whilst making sense of racialisation is a continuous process that lasts a lifetime and has the power to shift identity at any moment (Tashiro, 2016), people in a

new life stage are likely to have experienced recent and significant shifts in their thinking connected to entering new environments (Ecclestone *et al.*, 2010). Furthermore, as I was interested in how racialisation is mediated by space, and encountering the unfamiliar is often a catalyst for the type of self-analysis and reflexivity I sought to understand, this age group felt most appropriate (Bourdieu, 2008). Also, I selected participants that had attended schools in the UK. Doing this enabled me to weigh up the impact of the system upon their personal experiences and discuss systematic manifestations of racialisation within the education system.

3.3.2 Nominated participants

CP's family members also took part in this study hereafter referred to as NPs. CPs were asked to nominate people that had significantly affected the person they were 'today' (I did not stipulate how many people they could chose). All participants asked me to clarify who they could nominate. I suggested friends, family or other people important to them as examples.

Core Participants' pseudonyms	Age	Nominated participants' pseudonyms	NP relationship to CP	Ethnicity	NP Social class origin
Indiya Anderson	20	Linda	Mother	White British	Middle-class
		Simon	Father	Black Caribbean	Working-class
Theo Turner	25	Claire	Mother	White British	Middle-class
		Robert (Evoked)	Father	Black Caribbean	Working Class
		Amelia	Sibling	Black 'mixed race'	Middle-class
Andrew Jackson	24	Shirley	Mother	Black Caribbean	Working-class
		Peter	Father	White British	Middle-class
		Gemma	Sibling	Black 'mixed race'	Lower middle-class
Bibi Bishop	22	Mary	Mother	White British	Middle-class
		John (Evoked)	Father	Black Caribbean	Working-class
		Reece	Sibling	Black 'mixed race'	Middle-class
Zara Clark	22	Fiona	Mother	White British	Working-class
		Lenard	Father	Black Caribbean	Working-class

Table 1 Participant's Detail

Despite this, CPs only nominated immediate family members (mothers, fathers and siblings) to take part in interviews, although I did interact with friends and extended family members during some field visits. This may illustrate the enduring significance of family in shaping identity. Bibi did not want her father John to take part in the study as he was experiencing mental health issues and said she wanted to spare me from his

“rambling”. Although John did not take part in this study, Bibi, Mary and Reece spoke about him so much that he established an evoked presence in the study.

The decision to enable participants to decide who took part was intended to balance power relations between researcher and the researched by increasing their control over the research structure. My attempts to balance power relations arose from my commitment to Black feminism. Dill and Zamvrana (2009) argue research conducted from this standpoint must resist engaging in unfair research practices instead prioritising the welfare of participants and ensuring that the knowledge produced exposes the lived reality of marginalised people as a means of advancing social justice (Hamilton, 2020). Whilst participants clearly exercised a right to choose who was involved, the fact that they all chose between mothers, fathers and siblings suggests they were influenced by my suggestions and put forward those they thought I wanted to speak with. Therefore, it is not clear if having the chance to choose empowered participants as it was designed to do.

In total 12 NPs were interviewed. The inclusion of NPs enabled me to situate participants’ narratives within a broader relational context. I wanted to trace how CPs worldviews were similar to or different from people they felt significantly shaped their life experiences. Interviews with parents revealed generational similarities and differences and the impact of social class upon relationships and family life. I gained an awareness of parents’ values and how these affected their parenting practices. Sibling interviews enabled me to better understand how family members reacted differently despite growing up in similar conditions and highlighted the role of gender in shaping experience. In addition to this all NPs provided a commentary or analysis of the CP within their own narratives. This provided a deeper understanding of family dynamics and links in CPs’ and NPs’ perception. Moreover, through them I could cross-reference family accounts identifying narratives and turning points that were significant beyond the CP as well as gaining insight into how these moments were understood and described by different people. Thus, interviews with NPs enabled me to better understand my CPs, as CP experiences and selves were intricately connected to the experiences and identities of their parents and siblings.

3.4 Data collection

To access participants’ worldviews, I drew upon ethnographic research methods including interviews and observant participation during field visits. Across an 18-month period, I conducted three interviews with each CP and at least three field visits. I interviewed each NP once. Whilst not a requirement for their participation, I spent additional time with some NPs during field visits as some of these occurred at their homes. In this section I outline the methods I used during field visits and interviews justifying their selection and illustrating how they led to the collection of high-quality data. Firstly, I discuss the location of CP and

NP interviews. I then offer an appraisal of the three CP interviews highlighting their different structure and methods. Finally, I explore NP interviews before outlining my approach to observant participation.

3.4.1 Interview locations

When arranging interviews, I ensured I worked around my participants as much as possible rather than expecting them to work around me. Elwood and Martin (2000) highlight that interview sites affect power dynamics between the researcher and the researched. I attempted to shift power from me to the participants by giving them increased control over how they participated in the study. I asked participants to select the research site, travelled to them and met them at times they found convenient. My commitment to working around participants helped them to better enjoy being part of this study and appeared to reduce feelings of burden that can be associated with taking part in research (Carter *et al.*, 2007).

The majority of interviews and observant participation took place in homes, whilst some interviews took place in cafés, cars and on the street. Discussing researching in homes, Yee and Andrews (2006) found that they ‘felt torn between the professional demands of [their] researcher role and the social obligations of a ‘good guest’” (Pg. 398). I liked the merging of being a ‘good guest’ with being a researcher. Being in participants’ homes helped me to better understand them and helped them relax. Using ‘home’ as a research site must always be a choice made by the participants (Lareau and Rao, 2020). One CP (Indiya) did not invite me in to her home, as she had a difficult relationship with her stepfather. However, the others wanted to show me their own and family members’ homes. It felt as though they were presenting themselves to me so I could better understand the life experiences we discussed. Most NP interviews also took place in NPs or CPs homes with the exception of Indiya’s parents - I interviewed her father (Simon) in a café and mother (Linda) in her workplace - and Andrew’s dad, who I interviewed in a library. When conducting interviews in the home I remained aware that ‘different rooms within homes carry different expectations of privacy’, and thus encouraged participants to decide where in their home interviews took place (Lareau and Rao, 2020, pg. 23).

Meeting in homes allowed us to do different activities whilst we met which reduced the intensity of our interactions. I often offered to wash up or help with chores or in some cases cook for CPs whilst we spoke. I found the contrast of having informal conversations whilst moving around in between conducting ‘formal interviews’ sat in one place helped our conversations to keep flowing and avoided these interactions feeling repetitive and onerous. All NP interviews that occurred in the home were also broken up by eating. Some NPs cooked for me themselves or CPs cooked for all of us either before, during or whilst interviewing. This meant I spent extra time with the NP. Moreover, eating together often produced a relaxed atmosphere and led to really interesting conversations between myself and participants. This increased the quantity and improved the quality of the data I collected whilst helping me build stronger relationships with participants.

Where possible, walking interviews were also conducted during field visits with CPs (Jones *et al.*, 2008; Anderson, 2004; Hall, 2009). During walking interviews participants wore lapel mics. These interviews took place in spaces that held significance for participants (e.g. hometowns, by their schools, during their commute to work, in parks and other quiet spaces). They were unstructured so that they could be responsive to the surrounding environment and attentive to memories the spaces provoked in the participant. Environment shapes discussion and walking interviews enable place/ location to become more significant to what participants say. Whilst walking interviews may reduce the role of other humanistic elements that shape one's narrative this interview style furthered analysis of the role of place in participants' lives (Evans and Jones, 2011). The next section outlines the focus of the interviews.

3.4.2 Interviews with CPs

I set out to conduct semi-structured interviews with CPs as they enable both consistency between interviews but are flexible enough to support participants to discuss issues important to them (Bryman, 2008). Thus, through this method I was able to capture the intricacy of participants' individual experiences and highlight common features between participants. However, over time, as I got to know participants better, interviews became less structured as more specific personalised questions were asked. Interviews were audio recorded and transcribed. Each semi-structured interview had a separate function. Interview one focused on identity, life story and history. Interview two aimed to pinpoint epiphany moments that had greatly impacted participants' perception of themselves and the world. Interview three focused on participants' experiences in different fields and aimed to better understand how racialisation manifested differently across these spaces. In this section I discuss the details of each interview and explain how they were analysed.

3.4.3 Core participant Interview 1: Getting to know you

This interview focused on getting to know participants and building rapport. Its structure was influenced by biographical interviewing techniques which Crow and Andrews (2019 pg. 558) suggest are 'used to prompt interviewees to tell the story of their lives, or particular parts of them'. Life stories can reveal the meaning a person attributes to their own life as well as how their lives connect with 'wider historical, social, environmental, and political context' (Adriansen, 2012 pg. 40). I went into this interview with a desire to learn about how participants' pasts had shaped who they were today. Moreover, as I was concerned with the role of family upon the development of participants' current selves, I focused the interview on this part of their lives by beginning with the question 'Tell me about your upbringing?'. For the majority of this interview, most participants spoke freely and uninterrupted in response (other than with Indiya, who required more direct questions (see Chapter 4). Whilst it is not always necessary to have an interview schedule within biographical interviews, I developed a list of themes to guide me through this interview. I drew upon this schedule after most participants had spoken in depth in response to the first question. Thus,

in practice these interviews were almost unstructured and provided participants the opportunity to speak freely and share what they believed to be important (Hollway and Jefferson, 2003). Where I did intervene in the interview, influenced by biographical-interpretive methods, I asked open questions so that participants could draw upon their own meaning-frames as they shared their stories. I avoided asking them ‘why’ questions so that participants remained connected to their own lives whilst sharing their story rather than encouraging them to use abstract reasoning or dominant discourses to explain their behaviour. I also used participants’ own words and phrasing when asking follow-up questions to avoid imposing my own meaning frames upon their stories (Hollway and Jefferson, 2003).

This interview provided participants the opportunity to tell me who they were and how they came to be whilst discussing experiences that shaped their identities. The interview format helped me to build relationships with participants as the interview felt relaxed and I ensured they left feeling that what they said was of value by explaining that it was their thought and feelings that were of interest. Moreover, participants built upon their initial telling of their stories in the interviews that followed which helped me develop a more holistic understanding of them. These initial tellings of self and experience shifted and changed over time as more information was shared, and greater trust was built between us. This interview revealed moments where participants’ identities were challenged or misrecognised and brought the relationship between a CP’s life experiences and broader social structures into focus²⁴. The data elicited from this interview are referred to heavily in the first analysis chapter, as the interview illustrated CPs’ relationships with family members, their initial thoughts on how ‘race’ impacted upon their upbringing and revealed some instances of racialisation and their consequences. These data are also discussed in the final analysis chapter which focuses on the self and participants’ future ambitions.

3.4.4 Core participant Interview 2: Epiphany moments

During Interview 2 participants were encouraged to reflect on their present selves as they thought about the development of their identities across their life course. This interview was designed to get participants to think beyond the influence of their family and focus on other realms of their lives and experiences that

²⁴ I analysed how participants’ constructions of themselves appeared to relate to dominant racial discourses that informed public cultural narratives. I also focused on how they navigated and managed their effects as this revealed racialised dimensions of habitus. To further this understanding, I listened closely to cultural narratives participants referenced as they described their experiences to me. This was important because central to the Black ‘mixed race’ experience is the process through which one comes to understand the complex multifaceted cultural significance of their ‘race’ and how this often results in a gap between how one sees one’s self and how one is seen by others (Ifekwunigwe, 1999). I was aware that people produce the self they describe within the interview context and that the narration of identity relies upon access to shared cultural narratives that individuals use to communicate the unique character of themselves (Smith and Sparkes, 2008). Paying close attention to how people navigated this gap in different social circumstances over time helped me to learn about the multiple ways in which participants responded to experiences of racialisation.

had shaped them. The interview structure was heavily influenced by Interpretive Interactionism²⁵ (Denzin, 2002). Adopting elements of this approach enabled participants to discuss how their experiences of racialisation affected critical moments in their lives that had shaped them. These events are known as epiphanies or turning points that arise from problematic interactions and ‘alter how individuals define themselves and their relations with others’ (Denzin, 2002, pg. 32). They develop and illustrate a person’s character. In this interview, I explored how critical events connected to experiences that erupted when participants felt the limitations of their social position (based upon their class, race and gender) and how these experiences altered their perceptions of themselves and their place in the world. This process was aided by the use of creative methods which support ‘the building of rapport, enhanced contextualisation of narratives, and non-verbal communication as a way to access “othered” ways of knowing’ (Kolar *et al.*, 2015 pg.).

During this interview participants were given an A3 sheet of paper and colouring pens and asked to map out in pictures or words significant moments and people in their lives that had changed or shaped the person they were today. Sheridan *et al.* (2011) suggests ‘constructing timelines can highlight turning points and epiphanies in people’s lives (p. 565). Whilst I did not explicitly ask participants to construct a timeline, the framing of the question which asked participants to identify moments over time often lead them to map their experiences in relation to time. During this interview people discussed family secrets and revelations, books they had read, holidays they had taken, people they had met, racist experiences they had endured, mistakes they had made, relationships they had had, their failures and successes, moments when they had been instilled with confidence and moments where their confidence was stripped away and most importantly how these moments changed their perspective on social life. Whilst some decided to tell me their story in chronological order, others jumped around in time telling me stories in order of significance or explaining the associations they had made whilst creating the map. One participant began to create a map but decided to explain each point as she went, giving up on the drawing in favour of describing her turning points quite early on.

As Mannay (2016) suggests, it is both the discussion of the maps and the creation itself that helps us to understand our participants’ experiences. The maps themselves revealed less about participants’ experiences than the explanations they offered. Thus, it is mostly narrative from these interviews rather than the images on the map that are analysed and presented in the following chapters. The data from this interview enabled me to analyse how social institutions such as family and the education system shaped the CPs’ lives, as well as how participants drew upon economic, cultural and social capital to navigate intersectional oppression

²⁵ Interpretive interactionism proposes a critical approach to qualitative research. Centring the voices, emotions and actions of participants, it aims to highlight the moments in life that radically shift the meaning frames through which a person understands themselves and their experiences (Denzin, 2002).

resulting from their ‘race’ or gender. The interview also illustrated participants’ belief in and use of their agency through the way they positioned themselves within and in relation to their epiphany moments.

3.4.5 Core participant Interview 3: Plasticine modelling

This interview focused on understanding the link between racialisation and social space. It also attempted to shift participants from discussing their pasts to discussing the present and future by asking them to think of spaces they had experienced recently. Participants were asked to think about times when ‘race’ felt significant within a social encounter and create plasticine models that represented how they felt in this space. Creative methods offer participants more time to think about their responses in interviews (Mannay, 2016; Gauntlett, 2007). It seemed that participants felt less daunted by this activity than by the mapping exercise. This may have been because plasticine modelling is an effective non-threatening method when studying identity as it avoids inducing feelings of inferiority often linked to drawing- and writing-based activities (Abrahams and Ingram, 2013). I wanted participants to situate themselves within a particular interaction because space is an arbitrary concept and therefore difficult to discuss. It thus helped to make the abstract concrete (Mannay, 2010). Participants were prompted to think of a particular area, building or group of people when creating their models. The modelling exercise made the idea of a space more tangible and encouraged storytelling. Thus, not only did plasticine modelling help participants to reflect upon their identity, it helped them to imagine who they were and how they felt within a particular context, at a particular time, thus supporting them to discuss their identities as fluid and contextual. Participants were asked to create two models, one that represented them within a white space and one in a Black space. This activity elicited data about how participants experienced the racialised dimensions of space and the different strategies use to negotiate territories. The data from this interview assisted greatly in my analysis of how navigation across social space was impacted by intersections of ‘race’, class and gender and thus this data and images of the plasticine models are mostly discussed in the second analysis chapter which focuses on spatial expression of ‘race’.

Arguably, some might criticise my decision to frame the world as Black and white and ask participants to make models accordingly. In some ways I also felt as though I was imposing a frame onto participants, because even though I know racism exists and manifests spatially there is a part of me that doesn’t want to assume that this is a universal experience (Gillborn, 2008; Bell 1995; Bonilla-Silva, 1999; Crenshaw, *et al.*, 1996). But the reality is that Britain is inherently racialised and divided into white and non-white zones (Sibley, 1998; Ifekwunigwe, 2002). These zones are embedded with racial logics that maintain boundaries between white and non-white bodies and reproduce racism to different degrees (Delany, 2002 Goldberg, 1994). Moreover, as racialisation operates in response to bodily schema, some spaces are demarcated as Black (Rollock *et al.*, 2012; Delaney, 2002; Puwar, 2004; Inwood and Yarbrough, 2010). I therefore felt it was important to not focus on asking participants ‘if’ space was racialised but on exploring their experiences

within racialised space. When I explained this activity to participants, none of them asked me to define a Black or white space. Instead, they took their time to work out which of the Black and white spaces to focus on. Debatably, this reinforces my point that many people experience space in Britain as divided upon racial lines.

3.4.6 Interviews with nominated participants

Each NP took part in one semi-structured interview. In interviews with parents, I asked about their own upbringings, how they differed/were similar to their parents, their own parenting practices, their perspectives/experiences of racism, their experiences of raising 'mixed race' children and how their children's upbringing differed from their own. Interviews with siblings followed a similar format to CP interview one, beginning with the question 'Tell me about your upbringing?'. However as we were only meeting once I also asked about their experiences of education, awareness of skin colour and similarities and differences between themselves and their siblings.

All NP interviews took place after I had completed CP interview one (see above). This helped me and NPs build a rapport, as we both had a relationship with the CP and also helped CPs explain to NP what I was like and what participating in the study would feel like. Conducting interviews in this order also gave me insight into how CPs and NPs related and how comfortable they were to talk about issues of 'race'. I was then able to use these insights to facilitate difficult conversations within group interviews. Some NPs were interviewed alone and others with CPs present. Theo, Bibi and Andrew did not want to attend NP interviews as they felt they might affect what was said. They thought their parents and siblings would be more open/ informative or less awkward if they were not present. Indiya and Zara were interested in what their parents had to say and so chose to attend the interviews. Group interviews were highly illuminative as they enabled 'common reflective space' a space for CPs to ask their parents questions about their upbringings they had not had the opportunity to ask before, or to listen to stories of becoming told by NPs that they had never heard (Bjørnholt and Farstad, 2012). Unlike individual interviews, group interviews had ethical advantages as they gave participants more control over what I knew about them reducing issues of anonymity and consent (Bjørnholt and Farstad, 2012). CPs told me they really enjoyed these interviews and found them very insightful.

3.4.7 Observant participation during field visits

Unlike participant observation, which is most commonly associated with ethnography, observant participation does not evoke a near-and-far dilemma between the researchers and the researched as there is no expectation to be at once close and distant from participants (Tedlock, 1991). As the exploration of subjectivity is integral to observant participation, building relationships take priority. Thus, this approach assumes that relationships define and shape the knowledge gained from fieldwork interactions (Lassiter,

2000). This way of researching compliments Black feminist epistemology. Patricia Hill Collins (2000) argues that researching subordinate groups requires a unique approach that values ‘connectedness rather than separation’²⁶ (pg. 260) and that fully embraces ‘personal expressiveness, emotions, and empathy’ (pg.264) as a means of validation during research processes.

The main intention of field visits then, was to develop deeper and more trusting relationships between myself and my participants. I described these visits to participants as hang out days – a time where CPs could show me different parts of their lives or we could just ‘hang out’²⁷. Whilst I did write fieldnotes, I went into these encounters without a structured agenda as my intention was for these visits to be participant led. This was difficult at first, as participants felt unsure of what to suggest we do. However, after these visits, when I next met with participants, they appeared to have grown more comfortable around me which meant these visits became more relaxed or ‘normal’ over time. Eventually feeling like enjoyable catch ups. Over time, participants took greater control over what we did and went on to share different parts of their lives, either through conversations or through outings. Supporting participants to decide how this time was spent was intended to reduce power imbalances between us and increased participant’s agency within the study.

I scheduled field visits between interviews. This improved the quality of the data collected as it created an informal space whereby CPs could engage in informal conversations which Swaine and Spire (2020 pg. 1) suggest creates ‘opportunities to add ‘context’ and ‘authenticity’ and ‘unlock otherwise missed opportunities to expand and enrich data’. These visits, relieved CPs from pressure to narrate specific aspects of their lives, providing a space where we could speak about anything, nothing or just get to know each other. Issues related to ‘race’ and identity did dominate our conversations – as it was clear this was my interest - but this space meant that we were also able to speak about lots of topics which helped me gain a more holistic understanding of participants. We discussed romantic relationships, political frustrations, hobbies, friendships, insecurities and current predicaments e.g. where to live, who to love, whether to learn to drive, etc. During these times CPs shared aspects of their lives they were proud of and asked for advice on issues. We had deep conversations about their identities, fears, things that annoyed and upset them. Moreover, observing how participants interacted with friends and family granted me access to another side of them, beyond their ‘narrated self’. I was able to make sense of them through their actions and observe how they presented themselves in social settings. I was aware of the discussions we had had in private they brought up with other people and those they did not mention. Moreover, I was interested in participants’ framing

²⁶ “Belenky, Clinchy, Goldberger, and Tarule point out that two contrasting epistemological orientations characterise knowing-one, an epistemology of separation based on impersonal procedures for establishing truth, and the other, an epistemology of connection in which truth emerges through care. While these ways of knowing are not gender specific, disproportionate numbers of women rely on connected knowing.” (Collins 1989, Pg. 767)

²⁷ Spend time together without an agenda.

of our relationship to others. Some introduced me as a friend and others a researcher. Some felt like they were doing covert research alongside me and using my presence as an excuse to ask new questions to family and friends. Some would demonstrate how the conversations they had with others reflected our own. Some did not talk about the research.

I spent time with participants in a range of settings and can divide field visits into three types. Firstly, there were social life visits. This was always the first type of observant participation CPs participated in. These visits took place mostly in homes and involved us just hanging out either just us or with their friends, at their homes, friends' houses and in public spaces. We also went out for food together; I attended some CPs and NPs birthday parties and family events. These visits were mostly filled with informal unguided conversations. I would speak with CPs, but I was not tied to them. I would hold conversations with their friends or family members which helped me to develop better relations with NPs. Other field visits could be categorised by their formal location. For example, I went to some CPs workplaces or we attended public events they found interesting. I attended university classes. CPs also attended events I was going to or facilitating. These visits led to interesting conversations about the topics discussed at events. For example, I hosted an event at a university about 'race' and the academy and a participant performed a poem there. In our next meeting we talked about the event at length and the different points that had been raised. The final type of visits centred around my own life and bringing participants into parts of my life unconnected to my research. For example, to social gatherings in my home or in one case my wedding.

Across all field visits I found sharing my own experiences with participants helped us to open up to each other. I found our shared background granted me 'epistemological privilege', which helped to generate rich data (Stanley and Wise; 1993 pg., 227; Oakley, 1981). Whilst it is argued that assuming too much commonality with research participants can lessen a researcher's capacity for 'objectivity' I found that drawing on my own experiences when asked or if relevant elicited more conversation, which furthered my understanding of participants' experiences and strengthened our relationships (Shah, 2006). That said, I was always conscious that talking about my experiences lessened my ability to actively listen and thus I did encourage participants to take up space within our informal conversations and interviews. I did this by remaining focused on what they said in my presence, clarifying what they had said throughout our interactions, linking what they said to previous conversations, ensuring to follow up on upcoming events they had shared in previous interactions and making sure they felt valued and listened to during the time we spent together (Talmage, 2012).

3.5 Data Analysis

Analysis was an ongoing process throughout this research project, occurring after each research encounter and at multiple points after all data collection. The first stage of analysis occurred each time I left a

participant. On my phone or in a notebook, I would describe the topics discussed within informal conversation (so I wouldn't forget) and reflect on the research encounter noting awkward moments and developments in relationships. I would then extend these fieldnotes on my laptop, elaborating the points recorded during my journey home and begin to make sense of my time with participants, considering the complexity of their stories as well as how the topics we discussed connected to literature. I built upon these notes further during transcription. Interviews were transcribed sequentially, between research encounters. This ensured what participants had shared with me was always fresh in my mind when we next met. As I transcribed the data, I would document the issues that stood out, write down questions to ask when we next met and note discussion points that needed clarification. In line with grounded theory, my analysis was used to guide further data collection (Bryman, 2008). I would then reread the transcript without writing notes. This enabled me to immerse myself in the data without imposing my own meaning frames on to it (Bryman, 2008).

Once a data set was complete, (three CP interviews, at least three field visits and NP interviews collected) the next stage of analysis commenced. I entered this analysis with a prior commitment to keeping 'the whole in mind' (Hollway and Jefferson, 2003 pg. 70). Hollway and Jefferson (2003, pg. 68) build on Wertheimer's concept *Gestalt* – 'the idea that the whole is greater than the sum of its parts' - suggesting that holistic interpretation of data can be achieved when researchers utilise their 'internal capacity for holding those data together in the mind' (pg. 69). It is important to acknowledge that one can never know participants in their entirety. The analysis process relies upon the interpretation of partial knowledge shared by participants constructed within and shaped by the research encounter (Bryman, 2008). Despite this, I made a conscious effort to retain the form of the data collected by choosing to avoid fragmenting it as much as possible during the early stages of analysis (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). Thus within my analysis, the CP was the whole I kept in mind as I sought to understand how each dataset enabled a holistic interpretation of a CP's experiences.

This stage of analysis began with re-reading CP interview transcripts followed by a re-reading of their NPs transcripts. As I read these transcripts I would be transported back to the interview. I could close my eyes and I would feel like I was there. When I could not transport myself back to the interview, I would re-listen to the parts I couldn't imagine. Throughout this rereading and listening process notes were taken and themes identified.

I decided not to conduct a narrative analysis, as my focus was not on the function and telling of stories but in line with interpretative interactionism, on seeking to understand how participants' stories relayed experiences that shifted the way they made sense of themselves and their worlds (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996; Denzin, 2002; Bryman, 2008). I decided to draw upon techniques inspired by Thematic Analysis

(TA)²⁸ during this stage of analysis. However, TA can result in the fragmentation of data (Bryman, 2008). To avoid breaking up the data I adopted a partial rather than systematic approach to TA altering the systematic coding stage²⁹ of the analysis process. I did not read all transcripts, identify codes and then reread transcripts applying these codes as this would have lost the form and complexity of the data (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). Instead, taking an inductive approach I identified interesting features of the data within each transcript. I then sought interconnections between these points of interest to identify themes within a data set (or case) rather than across all the cases (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). By applying TA in this way (specifically the first data stage of TA - familiarising yourself with the data - and third stage - identifying themes) I was able to maintain a greater sense of the whole. Once I had identified these themes, I wrote analytic memos for each case, also a technique inspired by grounded theory (Bryman, 2008) which helped me to better understand the story that I needed to tell for each participant (Lempert, 2007). However, unlike grounded theorists, at this stage of analysis I ensured my sociological imagination remained active, consciously seeking to understand how participants' experiences were linked to the public issue of racialisation by making connections between the data and my existing theoretical understanding of power (Grenfell and James, 2008).

Analytic memos became case analysis reports. These could have been PhD chapters in their own right. They were similar in length and written in discussion with existing literature. However, they only focused on one CP and their associated NPs. My analysis focused on participants' relationships, sense of selves, movement across social space and manifestations of racialisation. Within these reports I introduced participants, discussed family dynamics, and explored the unique issues that arose for that case, paying close attention to connections within the data. That is, carefully considering how participants' life events/experiences were linked to other participants within the data source and how shared and individual turning points shifted participant's behaviour and perception over time. Once these case analysis reports were complete, I embarked upon systematic cross-case TA. This began with rereading CPs transcripts and identifying patterns between CPs experiences. I then reread NP transcripts repeating this process. The patterns identified became codes, which I then grouped into common themes (displayed below)(See Appendix 10.4).

²⁸ 'a method for identifying, analysing, and interpreting patterns of meaning ('themes') within qualitative data' (Clarke and Braun, 2017 pg. 297).

²⁹ 'Coding interesting features of the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code' (Braun and Clark, 2006 pg. 87).

Definitions and expectation of mixedness	Experiences of racism	Blackness - what it means, how it is embodied and enacted	Colour coded memories/ experiencing space racially
Positive vs negative experiences of racialisation	Parenting	Differences between siblings	Black cultural capital
(Black) professional networks	Work	Schooling	Moments of transitions/ epiphanies
World views – individualistic, meritocratic vs structural/ oppression	The intersection of race, class and gender	Light skin privilege	Media representations
Adaptability	Being 'mixed race' is contingent upon youth (both internally and externally) and linked to transitions	Friends/ social networks	Hair

Figure 6 Coding Framework

Using NVivo I then coded all transcripts in line with these themes. However, in searching for patterns in the data I lost the detail of the connections that existed between participants. My understanding of my data as a whole meant that once the data was broken down into parts, I struggled to make sense of it as I could not unsee the connections I had identified in the previous stage of analysis. A weakness of CAQDAS (Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis) is that it can lead to prioritisation of coding and delay analysis (Richards and Richards, 1994). My experience suggests that in order for CAQDAS to be useful, it is important that in-depth analysis occurs after data coding. As I had already conducted a significant level of analysis, when I attempted to use CAQDAS I felt I was quantifying the data, identifying commonalities at the expense of complexity and therefore losing the whole. Thus, for me the computerisation and compartmentalisation of the data reduced its coherence as it decontextualised it (Richards and Richards, 1994). On reflection this makes sense as this study was designed to capture depth and complexity and thus was at odds with the systematic nature of traditional TA. Despite this, I attempted to reconduct cross-case analysis on paper, using a partial approach to TA re-reading paper transcripts and noting relationships across the data on them and in note form.

Through this process I came to realise that what connected CPs was that they all occupied positions in the field of power – which was shaped not by their mixedness, but by the combined effect of their class, gendered and contextual experiences of racialisation. Thus, as they held different social positions, the strategies they employed to navigate manifestations of racialisation in the world varied. Through this stage of analysis then, I was able to identify three overarching themes - family, space and identity – that were broad enough to encapsulate the differences within this common experience. Thus, by taking this approach I was able to talk about the connections between CPs without losing sight of the complexities of each case within my analysis. As Braun and Clark (2006 pg. 82) suggest ‘a theme captures something important about the data in relation to the research question and represents some level of patterned response or meaning within the data set’. Whilst I was unable to conduct analysis based upon an in-depth and systematic coding process, on reflection, the broad themes I identified reflected the broader parameters of the study design and thus the issues that were predominantly discussed by participants.

Once I had worked out a basic structure for the thesis and finished writing the *race script* and kinscript chapter I took maternity leave. Refamiliarizing myself with the data after my absence was a difficult process. I decided to reread all transcripts and complete case analyses. During this reading of my data, my understanding of it changed. Firstly, I felt I could see much more clearly. The distance helped me remove myself from the web of complexity and interconnectedness in which I had previously become lost. Patel and Davidson (2003) suggest that the more time that passes before analysis begins the harder it is to develop a “living’ relation to one’s material’ (p. 119). I feel that my analysis benefitted from having both the analysis I conducted whilst I was still close to and immersed in my data and by my reacquaintance with it with fresh eyes after my return (Richards, 1998). I found that I had developed a new sense of compassion and a deeper understanding of the parents in this study through becoming a mother myself. I was better able to understand the feelings of a parent. I could better relate to the pressure parents feel to keep their children safe and could understand better why for some parents ‘race’ did not feel like a priority. The structure of the PhD did not change after this second analysis. However, the distance from it helped me to write the thesis.

3.6 Ethics

3.6.1 A note on methodology: Racial attentiveness and care

Black feminist research centres equal participation, connection, caring, and resistance (Collins, (1989). Throughout this study, I have valued and respected the relationships I have built with participants. These relationships have been built upon the principle of care and connection and have helped me to access a deep and valid understanding of my participants (Sörensson and Kalman, 2018). Connected knowing is a practice commonly used by women (Collins 1989). This epistemology accesses ‘truth’ through care. Throughout the course of this research, I developed feelings of responsibility for my participants which

grew as we got to know each other better. Across all methods, I applied what I call *racial attentiveness*. That is, I took a caring approach to participants, remaining attentive to their emotional needs as they worked through their experiences of racialisation during our interactions. Alongside this I remained sociologically attentive to their stories, ensuring that my sociological imagination remained alert and focused whilst I listened (Mills, 2000). I understood that for many participants telling me their stories was a therapeutic experience. They enjoyed sharing things with me and being listened to. I in turn felt compelled to respond to their fears and worries with genuine advice and reassurance. I felt it important to be open and genuine with my participants. I spent a lot of time discussing and reassuring participants in regard to the doubts in self-worth, academic ability or their ambitions.

I also found practical ways to express care. In a sense I felt indebted to participants for giving up their time and helping me to achieve a PhD. Although I still benefit most from their participation in this project, to balance this out, I tried to find ways to reimburse them for the time, openness and kindness by drawing upon my personal resources and networks to assist my participants where possible. For example, I read dissertations and gave feedback, linked participants with my contacts – for example I connected Theo with a contact in a mainstream media channel - I recommended books useful to participants and I gave people lifts where appropriate. This was a tiring way to do research. It did at times deplete my energy. But I do not feel that in research, researchers need to protect themselves so much that they lose nothing. Caring took energy but led to good research and the development of four friendships.

3.6.2 Consent

To recruit participants, I told potential CPs I was researching how ‘mixed race’ people develop their sense of self. I asked them a little bit about themselves in order to gauge if they fitted within the sampling parameters, and if appropriate we exchanged contact details. As I required quite a lot of participants’ time, it was important that they had a long period to think about their involvement. I began by emailing potential participants an information sheet and consent form outlining the project in more detail, what participation in the study would involve (interviews and field visits) as well as participants’ right to withdraw (Appendix 4). After two weeks, I contacted participants again via email inviting them to ask me questions regarding their involvement. We then had an initial conversation about the study which was either conducted face to face or on the phone depending on participants’ location where participants could ask me more questions. This was a standalone engagement that occurred before any interviews took place. These steps were done to ensure that CPs could give informed consent as they were aware of the implications of the study on their lives (Bulmer, 2008). Informed consent was more complicated for NPs as their invitation to take part was mediated through CPs. Moreover, Lareau and Rao (2020) highlight that when researching families there is a need for ongoing consent. Once CPs had selected the NPs, they asked them if they would take part in the study. CPs passed NPs contact details to me and I sent them an information sheet and consent form

via email encouraging them to contact me if they had any questions. Once we met for our first interview, I brought printed copies of the consent form and information sheet which NPs signed before interviews commenced. It is hard to know if NPs felt coerced into participation by CPs as I did not invite them to the study myself. That said, when meeting NPs, they appeared happy to be involved. One NP declined an interview after meeting me a few times and potentially overhearing interviews I had conducted with his wife and daughter whilst he was at the house. This indicated that he understood his right to withdraw as he did so after consenting to take part in the study and highlighted the importance of informed consent within family research (Larossa *et al.*, 1981). To ensure ongoing consent, if I met with NPs during field visits, I would be sure to tell them that I was there for research and would be hanging out and making observations during my visit.

3.6.3 Anonymity

Anonymity is important, as the data collected are deeply personal and only represents a snapshot in time. Participants' stories as they are presented in this thesis have been decontextualised and changed as they have been transformed into data and are discussed alongside my interpretations of them (Bryman, 2008; Vainio, 2012). This transformation is an inevitable part of qualitative research that occurs despite my commitment to magnifying the voices of participants and centring their own interpretations. As part of gaining informed consent, I assured participants they would remain anonymous. Thus, I have allocated pseudonyms to all participants to ensure they cannot be identified and their right to privacy is upheld. However, where this posed no risk to anonymity, I have not anonymised locations as I wanted the reader to be aware of the size, location, culture and ethnic makeup of the places discussed.

3.6.4 Confidentiality

To ensure data collected remained secure and to uphold commitment to keeping confidentiality, transcripts, analytic notes and digital fieldnotes were stored on the university secure network. Maintaining confidentiality when conducting research with family can be difficult (Larossa *et al.*, 1981), not only in terms of risk of an invasion of privacy if anonymity were compromised, but also within family units. All CPs were assured that I would not bring up our previous conversations when interacting with NPs. When CPs attended NP interviews there was cross-over between what we had spoken about in private and what was discussed in the group interview. This cross over was always participant led. NPs were told the same but were informed that CPs would receive a copy of the thesis and thus they would have access to what we had discussed unless NPs specifically stated something was off the record. Despite this warning, throughout this study I have omitted information if I suspected CPs shared something they did not want their NPs to know and vice versa, and also if I thought something would cause harm to a participant or affect their relationships. My judgement in this regard relied heavily on my intuition. Janesick (2012 pg. 531) defines intuition as 'immediate apprehension or cognition... a way of knowing about the world through insight

and exercising one's imagination'. Whilst intuition transcends empiricism, at the same time it has the potential to strengthen qualitative research not only through helping research to 'present a more complete, holistic, and authentic study of our own role as storytellers' (Janesick, 2012 pg. 529) but also as it enables us to acknowledge the multiple senses involved in the research process (Bussey, 2015). Thus, without knowing how, I knew what could cause a potential risk and thus chose to focus on aspects of family life that appeared to already be out in the open.

3.6.5 Capturing family tension: the research process

Conducting research with multiple family members can be challenging (Lareau and Rao, 2020). Family research enables the researcher to make sense of relational dynamics and the processes within families by which these dynamics are negotiated (Ganong and Coleman, 2014). However, in this study, this meant that I had to navigate existing tension between family members as they became visible during the research processes. For example, NPs often offered analysis of CPs and in doing so discussed the 'problems' they believed they had, commenting on how they believed these 'problems' related to difficulties they had experienced within the family and beyond. It was difficult to ask about these dynamics without appearing to take sides. To appear in agreement would have been to betray CPs but at the same time, this was data I wanted to gather and so had to find a way to encourage such conversations to continue if they arose. At the same time, I did not want to judge, or to challenge NPs on their perceptions. To overcome these difficulties, I relied upon questions as I navigated these moments. My goal was to speak as little as possible and enable participants to accurately express themselves by providing opportunities for clarification achieved through asking open questions using the interviewees words to structure these (Hollway and Jefferson, 2003).

A further challenge occurred in group interviews as they became a space for CPs or NPs to challenge other families' members on issues they had felt unable to address in the past. For example, during one family interview, Zara and Fiona engaged in a heated conversation about 'race'. I had to manage this dynamic, intervening when either one of them appeared too uncomfortable or as this disagreement built into an argument whereby people stopped listening to each other. At the same time, I knew it important to let these conversations play out as untouched as possible as they are not only insightful in regards of my research questions, but also because they seemed to be discussions that CPs and NPs needed/ wanted to have (Lareau and Rao, 2020). The balance of enabling participants to do what they needed whilst not 'letting harm come to' them was challenging, especially as I had grown close to CPs and therefore had to ignore feelings of loyalty and concentrate upon my facilitation skills. There were also times when CPs attended interviews with NPs but did not speak, although they had expressed frustrations with NPs over issues or desired to learn about things they didn't know about family members. I then found myself often trying to create opportunities for these conversations or exchanges of information to occur whilst trying to avoid

deceiving NPs. Thus, it was difficult then to be true to all participants when said participants struggled to do the same with each other.

3.6.6 Friendship with participants

In this section I consider the relational ethics of this research as I think through the ethics of connectedness I established with participants (Ellis, 2007). It has been argued that researching those similar to oneself and thus being an insider can increase empathy between researchers and participants (Oakley, 1981). At the same time, the assumption of sameness can also prohibit the exploration of difference between those within a research encounter (Browne, 2003). From the outset, I struggled to remain distant from CPs and uphold standard ideas about researcher professionalism as we grew closer over time (Bryman, 2008). In part this was my intention. I wanted participants to trust me. But we also had a lot in common (sense of humour, love for sociology/ feminism, interest in Black politics, aspirations to have a PhD). To not build friendships would have been unnatural but in doing so I moved beyond the systematic logic that often underpins qualitative research (Browne and Russell, 2003). On the one hand this was difficult as I was not blind to the instrumental roots that underpinned these friendships (that is, my work benefiting from my friendships). At many points in this research process, I felt worried I was being unethical, unprofessional or devious for relating to participants in this way. Moreover, I was afraid participants would think the friendships we were developing were disingenuous.

There is a safety in distance that underlines traditional ethical and positivist discourse suggesting closeness between the researcher and the researched can threaten research objectivity (Glesne, 2006; Bryman, 2008). There are also justified fears about harming participants by pursuing friendships for instrumental gains (Blake, 2007). Thus, in a way, remaining distant from participants makes the development of instrumental relationships easier and removes a sense of indebtedness to participants (Ellis, 2007). However, for me I felt it important to feel indebted to participants for their time and openness. And it was this openness and the trust that we had built between us that bred friendship alongside quality of data. But how realistic is it for researchers to truly be friends with participants when research is temporary, respondents are excluded from the write-up process, findings are shared widely, and the researcher is likely to benefit much more from the work than its participants? Tillmann-Healy (2003) suggests that friendship can be considered an approach to feminist research most appropriate when studying close relationships, implying an ethic of friendship that ‘can solicit fears and concerns, listen closely and respond compassionately, and use such exchanges to refine the study and direct its implications’ (pg. 745).

In order for the relationships I developed with participants to be ethical, I developed a set of obligations to follow. This protected participants and enabled us to develop transparent friendships. Firstly, I frequently reminded participants I was doing research, talking openly about how I was finding the PhD to ensure this

remained clearly understood during our interactions. Secondly, promising to share a copy of the thesis with participants reassured them that they would have access to what I wrote about them and provides an opportunity for them to control the information I publish about them. Thirdly, I did not take notes after interactions with participants that were not arranged for the purpose of research e.g. after a participant attended my wedding. These steps reduced the risk of deception and meant I could build friendships with participants beyond my research. Moreover, once data sets were complete and I continued to meet with participants, I abandoned my position as researcher because the conditions of our relationship had moved beyond the purpose of research (Bryman, 2008). This research embodies the principles of friendship as a method which embodies ‘a level of investment in participants’ lives that puts fieldwork relationships on par with the project’ (Tillmann-Healy, 2003, pg. 735).

3.6.7 Losing Theo

Theo always felt like the most vulnerable person involved in this study. He appeared to be quite lost and had experienced the most violent and frequent instances of racism. Often between meetings it felt as though he had reinvented himself. Reinvention was something he appeared to have always done over his life course through changing his hair, style or hobbies. He really enjoyed being a part of the study. He’d often text me after we met to tell me about how useful the interview had been for him and that he enjoyed having space to talk. At the time of our third interview Theo appeared different. He was hard to follow and deeply contemplating ‘race’ in his life and in the world. In between moments of profound insight, it felt like he had reached a higher level of understanding that I couldn’t quite follow. Shortly after the interview I received a call from his mother saying Theo wanted to talk. When he called, it felt like he was seeking reassurance from me, like he needed to talk through the issues he was feeling with me because he thought I would understand. He was talking about racism and social order and how ‘race’ altered it and what that meant for his life, but he sounded unwell. He reminded me of my own mother who on occasion has elated moments where her world is so vivid and alive that she cannot think or speak fast enough to explain it and so I struggled to follow. I listened to Theo and spoke through his concerns assuring him that he was ok and that he needed to take some time out from thinking about these things and focus on getting himself to a calmer place. I checked in with him a few weeks later and he said he was doing a bit better, but he needed some more time. At which point, I told him that he could contact me when he felt ready to. Theo never did contact me, and because I felt it important to give him power to participate, I have not attempted to contact him.

Arguably, one may question my decision to include Theo in my study at all and if the study itself caused Theo’s pain. However, I do not think this study brought additional harm to Theo. It is important that research can engage with those most affected by racism. To exclude people from research simply because they live with the scars of their experiences would be highly unethical. It is not the point of research to

focus on those who are strong and together, who are most able to function in society and move through it with ease. As Becker (1967) suggests, whose side are we on? Theo's experiences highlight the emotive and psychological challenges researching 'race' can lead to. Whilst I always encouraged Theo to set the agenda and discuss only what he felt comfortable with, he always had a lot to say. He was filled with confusion regarding the way the world had racialised and treated him. On reflection I see that Theo may have benefitted from speaking to someone with therapeutic skills about his experiences to help him cope with his pain. But the reality is that there is no one for him to talk to. There are hardly any therapists that would understand the impact that racism could have on mental health and moreover, who can afford to pay for therapy anyway! I consider myself to be very emotionally intelligent and sensitive to issues related to mental health. Growing up, my mother was always severely unwell and struggled with bipolar, personality and eating disorders³⁰. This experience has taught me to understand and be responsive to others' emotions. I feel I drew on these skills when interacting with Theo and I think maybe my interactions with him and listening to him helped rather than hindered.

3.7 My Research Journey

Researchers are... reflective and reflexive... Reflectivity means that they take a critical stance to their work when they have completed it. Reflexivity is about the researchers' own reactions to the study, their position and location in the study, and the relationships encountered, which are reciprocal.

Finlay, 2002 cited in Hollway and Biley, 2011 pg. 971

Research is never value-free. It is shaped by the perspective of the researcher (Letherby *et al.*, 2013). C. Wright Mills (2000) suggests, 'the most admirable thinkers within the scholarly community... do not split their work from their lives... [but] learn to use [their] life experiences in [their] intellectual work' (pg. 195-196). Bourdieu (2000) identifies three factors that sociologists must critically consider to assess the quality and validity of their work. That is, the effect of social position, field and the 'scholastic point of view' (Schirato and Webb, 2002). In this section I interrogate how my social position (a working-class Black 'mixed race' female), experience of multiple fields and sociological training has impacted this study. Coffey (1999) highlights that 'fieldwork is personal, emotional and identity work' (pg. 2). In this section I discuss the parts of myself that inspired this research, underpinned its design and shaped the data I collected (Hammersley and Atkinson, 1995); how this research process has changed me (Coffey, 1999); and how my retelling of participants' stories is mediated by my own experiences.

³⁰ My mother has granted me consent to discuss her struggle with mental health in this thesis. Living with a mother with an mental illness has greatly impacted how I make sense of the world and interact with others. Because of this, it feels important to mention this part of my life when relevant.

3.7.1 The self I brought to the research: Being 'mixed race', researching 'mixed race'

It was never my intention to study the lives of Black 'mixed race' people. I still feel slightly uncomfortable about this. My discomfort is evident throughout this thesis whereby I write about the experiences of 'mixed race' people from a perspective that places the significance of racialisation over that of mixedness. My motivation for this is guided by feelings of unease with many existing studies of 'mixed race' that centre the individual over the social processes that construct race. Reflecting upon her experience of researching 'mixed race' Caballero (2014a) highlights how often for 'mixed race' people their 'mixed race' can feel like a very ordinary, un-research-worthy part of their lives, especially for those unfamiliar with debates surrounding multicultural identity. I first encountered 'mixed race' literature during my undergraduate degree but felt disconnected from it which I now account to two things. First, at the time I would describe myself as an emerging class theorist. I had not yet found 'mixed race' literature that adopted an intersectional approach and therefore could not see how 'mixed race' scholarship furthered the essentially classed sociological imagination I was developing at the time. Moreover, prior to conducting research in this area during my Masters degree, I had not reflected upon the impact of 'mixed race' in my life. Through reflexivity, I realised I felt a sense of shame when talking about 'mixed race'. Growing up discussions of 'mixed race' occurred mostly outside of my home or family life. In my mostly Black peer group 'mixed race' was used as a code word to describe confused or inauthentically Black people. My peers would say I was not 'normal' 'mixed race' because I had a Black mum and so would spare me from this labelling. Over the years, alongside my pursuit of a whole and authentic self, I learnt to embody the shame socially embedded into objects that crossed racial boundaries. Without thinking, to prove I had no identity issues, I would disassociate myself from my 'mixed race' and relegate this category to a realm of ordinary insignificance. On the one hand, this strategy was a response to the awareness of 'race' as something that was socially significant. On the other hand, relating to 'mixed race' as something that was not important encapsulated my life experiences whereby I had always been un-phased by that fact my parents were from different 'races'. This did not confuse me, yet I remained perplexed by other people's struggles with my 'mixedness'. Throughout my adolescent and young adulthood, I had grappled with why other people felt my ethnicity could reveal something about who I was. This conundrum has hugely impacted this research study. Throughout this project I have investigated if others could relate to this experience and if so, how they have responded to it both emotionally and strategically.

3.7.2 Is this study an auto-ethnography?

Auto-ethnography is a political research method which can be defined as the 'cultural study of one's own people' (Brown, 1991 pg.121) used to correct outsider misconceptions (Pratt, 1996). For those subjectively connected to those they research, it enables the production of relatable work that is easily understood by similar to or different participants (McClaurin, 2001). Thus, this study is auto-ethnographic as whilst my own experiences are not discussed in the analysis, the connections I built with participants were shaped by

our shared experiences of racialisation. These relationships were so intricately linked to the data gathered, affecting the questions I asked - which in the first instance were shaped by my own experiences – and how participants responded to these questions which shaped the subsequent questions I posed.

Auto-ethnography is often misunderstood and heavily criticised for being a ‘lazy’ and ‘analytic light’ way of researching (see Delamont, 2009; Atkinson, 2006). These criticisms overlook the value and validity that comes from knowing first-hand and misrecognises the political need to work in this way. Black feminism teaches us that the personal is political. Rooting this study’s design within my own experience helped me to understand the real-life consequences of racialisation (Deck, 1990). Studying phenomena that closely relates to one’s self is far from lazy, it is hard and it is necessary. Whilst it is naïve and dangerous to share one’s personal experiences as a means of inciting compassion and understanding in others (especially the dominant figures in this world who often do not understand or care about the issues oppressed people face), making yourself vulnerable and putting yourself at risk of being manipulated by this other is brave. This thesis represents my attempt to resist internal oppression and fight against the marginalisation and erasure of voices like mine. I have chosen to believe that despite the hostile experience of academia or racialised people (Arday and Mirza, 2018) our knowledge and presence are needed. I have embarked upon this emotional and at times painful journey as a means of academic contribution and empowerment for others who share experiences similar to my own.

3.7.3 How this study has changed me: Becoming an intersectional researcher

At the start of my PhD journey, I was a class theorist with an interest in how ‘race’ impacted the experience of class. Over the course of this research I have grown into an intersectional researcher. This journey is evident in the data presented. The intersectional framing of this thesis began by prioritising the relationship between ‘race’ and class, however, in response to the data collected I began to better understand how these dynamics were impacted by gender. Making sense of social life through an intersectional lens is hard work. I still have a lot to learn. Over time, I will master these skills. For now, this work reflects my attempts at intersectional sociology.

3.7.3.1 My Story

Here is a short description of some of the experiences that have directly impacted this research. My conscious understanding of ‘race’ became more sophisticated during secondary school. I first attended a small, segregated school. The middle-class kids (all but two of whom were white) hung out in a small and triangular space in the school playground. These kids were in the top sets, wore flowery backpacks and skater trainers and had parents who owned homes. Everywhere else in the school, other than the library, was dominated by working-class, mostly Black and Asian children. In this school, I tried to participate across these different spaces, but it felt I was not middle-class enough to hang out in the triangle or naughty

enough to enjoy hanging out with the working-class kids. As a studious, well behaved, working-class girl I stood out in both spaces. This was when my thoughts on blackness began to develop. I began to see how in my school blackness was often associated with misbehaviour, deviance, cheekiness and deprivation. Blackness connected the working-class peers. It was a desirable asset. The white kids wanted to embody it, those who appeared to lack it were challenged and labelled as inauthentic. And the blackness I embodied felt unlike everybody else's. Here I learnt that racial categories really meant something.

I left this school and attended 3 other secondary schools. blackness meant something in these schools too. Each time I moved school I was placed in the bottom sets; I also remember each year in primary school working my way up through these sets. I used to think this was because of my 'story'. I grew up with a mentally ill mother and lived between 3 households. So, I could understand why schools assumed I was not that intelligent. However, after studying sociology at A level I gained tools to further interrogate my experiences of education and understand how my 'race' and class background resulted in collisions with objective structures and their limits within the field of education. I learned to manage instances of racialised misrecognition by self-excluding from places where I did not feel comfortable. For this reason, my attendance in school was always very low, my participation in university life was always limited and I have only worked in jobs where I have not felt hugely misrecognised (a huge privilege). Even during this PhD process, I have excluded myself from most aspects of the university in order to cope with the discomfort I experience that arises from how I am racialised in this space.

3.7.3.2 Writing up: My impact on the stories retold and the analysis presented

This study's focus on understanding how participants develop their racialised selfhood over time and across different fields is grounded in my own experiences of my racialisation. My decision to not centre mixedness in my analysis is a product of my inability to conceive racial mixing as anything more than ordinary. I am therefore drawn to investigating the social processes that cause this ordinary part of life to stand out. My decision to focus upon how experiences of education alter understanding of racialisation also relates to my own experience of education as a space where 'race' held great significance. The discussions of strategy and countering racialised misrecognition presented in this thesis arose from reading participants' actions in relation to my own. When I try to recount how my current understanding of 'race' came to be, moments that shifted my perception stand out - hence my decision to map participants' own *epiphany moments*.

3.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, in this thesis I draw upon a mix of methodologies (Interpretivism, Black feminism, Bourdieu and Intersectionality) and research methods (interviews, map drawing, plasticine modelling and observant participations) to elicit the data presented in the following chapters. Throughout data collection I have focused on exploring the subjectivity and lived experiences of my participants and through my analysis I

have sought to discuss the connections between these experiences and broader social structures. This was facilitated by my adoption of a case study research design which has enabled me to capture the complexities within participants' experiences as well as to explore relational dimensions which crosscut their experiences. I have also reflected upon the ethical issues that arose during this research project, especially those that related to working with families, and offered a reflexive discussion of my own positionality and how this has impacted on this work. Before presenting my analysis, in the next chapter I introduce the participants in this study in greater depth.

4 Introducing participants

In this chapter I introduce the core and nominated participants of the study. For each family, I firstly, provide a brief description of my interlocutors. I illustrate how each core participant developed a conscious awareness of processes of racialisation and briefly describe nominated participants' experiences of racialisation (which will be elaborated upon in the analysis chapter). Secondly, I outline participants' family histories and discuss their social class background. Thirdly, I explore the relationships CPs and NPs had with each other. Fourthly, I reflect upon my own relationships with CPs. Finally, I outline distinctive elements of the interviews carried out with different CPs and NPs.

The information presented in this chapter is drawn from field notes and interview data. I have summarised much of what participants told me, in order to provide useful background information that will aid those reading this thesis to better understand the analysis presented. Many of the points made and issues introduced in this chapter are evidenced through direct quotes and discussed in more detail in the following three analysis chapters. I have assigned related participants a shared surname, even though often their surnames differed in real life. In doing this, my intention is not to overlook the significance of *embodied named identity* (Pilcher, 2016). However, as I have worked with multiple members of families, it can be difficult to follow the connections between participants. Because of this, I have allocated a shared (pseudonym) surname to improve the coherence of this thesis.

4.1 The Jacksons

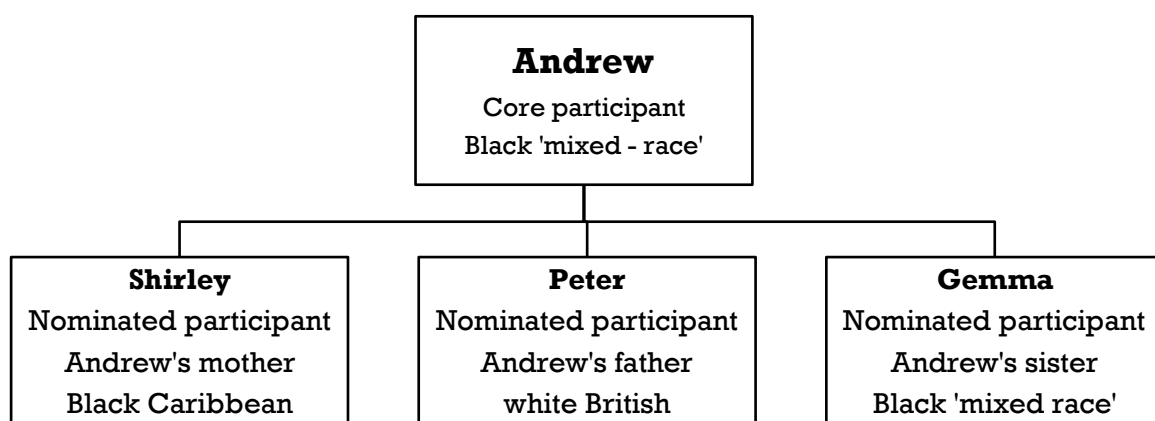


Figure 7 Andrew Jackson's Family Tree

4.1.1 Core Participant: Andrew Jackson

Andrew was 24 years old when we met in 2015. He grew up in the Midlands and moved to the South West to study. Both Andrew's job and his reflection on his own university experience fuelled his interest in 'race'. When I met Andrew, he had recently completed a psychology degree and was working for a post-1992 university in the 'widening participation' department. His role focused on the attainment and university experience of BME students. Andrew's understanding and perception of 'race' shifted immensely across the course of this research project. This was partly because his job meant that he spent a lot of time researching how race operated and manifested in higher education. This in turn helped him to make sense of his own experiences of university. Before university, he had had positive experiences of education, achieving high grades and feeling confident within educational spaces. However, in university he struggled, achieving a lower-class degree than he had expected. He attributed this partly to feeling out of place in university, having to work in paid employment a lot alongside his studies and also to finding out he was dyslexic near the end of his degree programme and so was unaware of support services that were available to him. Through his job in widening participation he learnt that his experience was common amongst BME students. Throughout this research project Andrew's relationship to his job shifted drastically. When we first met, he was really enthusiastic and optimistic and believed change and equality were achievable. However, over time he became more sceptical, and felt his job tokenistic and frustrating. The majority of interviews with Andrew took place during his time of optimism and whilst he was really enjoying his job. Andrew worked in this role for three years, before a restructure took place. After reapplying for his job and being unsuccessful, Andrew went on to carry out a similar role in a Russell group university in a different city. He has recently left this role to pursue a Masters degree with the hope of securing PhD funding alongside working in student services in a post-1992 university in London.

Andrew is a very inquisitive person; he is ambitious and very good at social networking. When we first met, our interactions were formal. He asked thought-provoking questions related to my study and 'race' in general and listened attentively to my answers. Over time, our conversations became more mutual. He slowly moved from seeing me as an 'expert' to seeing me as a friend which made him more confident to take the lead in our conversations and engage in more explorative discussions rather than him trying to access knowledge from me. I conducted the pilot study with Andrew and his family. This meant that data collection was completed very early in my fieldwork period. For the remainder of the time I collected data, however, Andrew and I remained in touch meeting up often. As our friendship grew, I no longer inhabited a researcher role when with Andrew (see Chapter 3). Andrew and his family have remained close friends of mine. He attended my wedding and he and his family came to my daughter's christening. Whilst data collection had an end point, our continued friendship is likely to have impacted my analysis of Andrew.

4.1.2 Nominated participants: Shirley, Peter and Gemma

In addition to Andrew, his mother (Shirley), father (Peter) and sister (Gemma) also took part in this study. Gemma was 19 years old when we met and was studying sociology at a university in the South West. Gemma is a very fashionable and social person. She was confident but around me she was always a little bit shy. Gemma was very open about her admiration for me and often said she looked up to me. Once she had completed her undergraduate degree, Gemma decided to undertake a Masters degree. During her first term, she came to stay with me. This was a short-term arrangement and as a result of poor management of her course Gemma left the Masters and moved home to Birmingham. She has recently got a job in London.

Andrew and Gemma were very close, and both invested a lot of time and energy into their relationship. Andrew told me that a time came in his life where he realised that he and Gemma were “stronger together” than they were apart and described a deep commitment to their sibling relationship. He cares immensely for his sister and puts a lot of work into ensuring she had the easiest time at university possible by encouraging his parents to support her financially whilst at university. Gemma describes her brother as her “best friend”. She told me that if she had it her way they would live together, Andrew was less keen. They both feel that as siblings they understand each other more than most people. Andrew and Gemma described their upbringing as ‘stable’ and appear to be greatly loved by and to love their parents. They believe they have good relationships with their parents and enjoy their family and home life.

Their mother Shirley is an executive personal assistant and has worked for the same private company since she was eighteen years of age (over thirty years). She is a very friendly person who is a great cook and loves to host. Every time we met; she made a huge effort to make me feel welcomed in her home. She is the one of two of her seven siblings who did not attend university. As one of the eldest Shirley helped care for her younger siblings whilst her mother worked as a nurse. Whilst this limited her own chance of pursuing education it made it possible for the eldest and younger siblings to gain degrees. Shirley’s mother moved to England from Jamaica shortly after Shirley was born, leaving Shirley as a baby in Jamaica. Shirley was then ‘sent for’ by her mother in England when she was four years old. Shirley and her mother are very close.

Peter has one sister and was born in the UK. His parents live in Spain and they are in regular contact but are not very close. He became a social worker in his 20s but has recently taken voluntary severance and is currently working as a postman. Peter and Shirley married shortly after Andrew was born but divorced when Andrew was nineteen and Gemma was thirteen. Both Andrew and Gemma described their parents’ marriage as unhappy and both agree that their parents are a lot happier now they have separated, and that they get on with their parents a lot better now than when they lived together.

Shirley and Peter do not talk much; they are civil with each other but far from friends. I witnessed this first-hand during Gemma's graduation dinner (attended by Peter, Shirley, Andrew, Gemma and me). During this meal Shirley and Peter said no words to each other but both spoke to me a lot. After the dinner I was thanked by Gemma and Andrew for reducing the awkwardness of the situation.

Andrew and Gemma's extended paternal and maternal families are very different. Andrew and Gemma's mum's side of the family is very big and spend a lot of time together. They regularly get together for Sunday dinner, birthday parties, Christmas and other special occasions. Their dad's side of the family is the opposite. They refer to their dad's family as 'his' as opposed to 'their' family. Peter's extended family consists of about eight members that live mostly in Scotland and Spain. Gemma and Andrew are not that close to their dad's side of their family and have not spent much time with them over their lives. They have been to Spain about five times to see their grandparents but consider them to be 'grandparents by name' more than feeling.

Both sides of Andrew and Gemma's family can be described as middle-class but in different ways. Migration always complicates class and 'race' affects how a person remakes themselves in a new place. Peter's family appears to be more traditionally middle-class. They have wealthy Greek origins; Peter's granddad pretended to be British and ran away from Greece with the British Navy. As an immigrant in the UK, he had to remake himself when he arrived in Britain. Gemma described her dad's father as well off which she qualified by telling me they owned land and horses. Shirley's family migrated to the UK a generation later than Peter's. As is often the case with Caribbean families, Andrew's grandmother occupied a middle-class position in the Caribbean but her class status shifted on arrival to the UK (James, 2012). Andrew's maternal family possess high levels of cultural capital and place a heavy emphasis on the importance of education. For example, Shirley, Gemma and Andrew all discuss how higher education is a built-in expectation of the family that need not really be talked about as everyone knows they will be going. Shirley and Peter jointly owned a home but after the divorce, Shirley stayed in the family home and has recently bought Peter out. Peter has not gone on to buy any new property. Andrew's class position, then, is complicated; however for theoretical and analytical purposes I consider him to be lower-middle-class.

Shirley did not speak much about personal experiences of racism but said that she always told her children they would have to work harder due to racial barriers within the UK. Peter was also aware of how his children may have been disadvantaged by their 'race' and felt it his role to provide information regarding this in the form of books and through engaging his children in race centred events (see Chapter 6).

Andrew did not attend any of the interviews with nominated participants. I think he felt it important that each individual was able to share their perspectives and stories without his influence. He never asked me about what was said by anyone else or about my findings more generally. Even within our friendship.

4.2 The Clarks

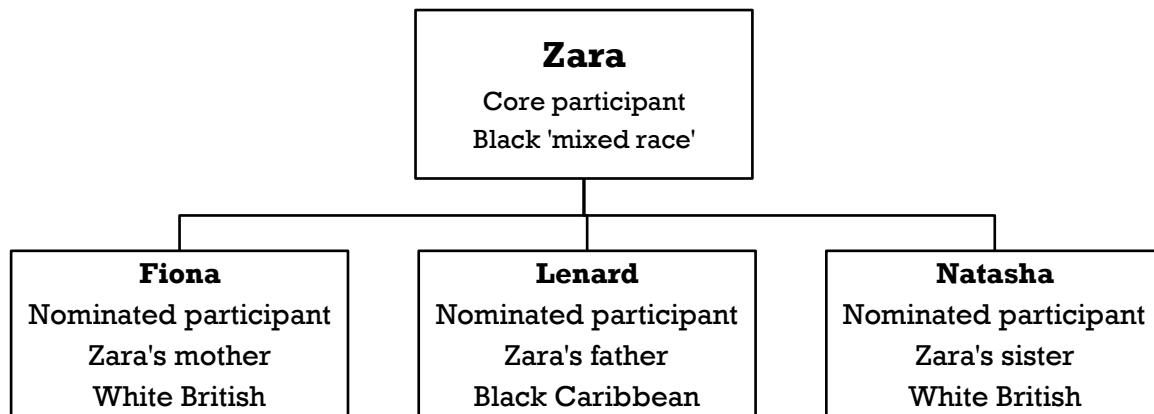


Figure 8 Zara Clark's Family Tree

4.2.1 Core Participant: Zara Clark

Zara was 22 years old when we met. At the time of data collection, she was living with her boyfriend of four years Chris. Zara grew up in a white working-class area of Bristol. After school, she studied media at college and went straight into full time work. She gained employment in a media company through their diversity employment scheme. Her boyfriend works in the same company and was employed through the same diversity scheme (he is also 'mixed race'). Zara likes her job and feels that she grew up quickly as a result of going into full time work instead of university. Zara has an interest in racial politics (I often see her at events in the community that discuss these topics). She says that she has always known that Black people have a harder time but says she has never experienced overt racism. She says that it is only recently that she has become more independently interested in issues of race relations and injustices, despite her always having known about these things as a result of her dad's teachings.

Zara always appeared happy and came across as someone confident in their own skin. She was very funny and made me laugh a lot when we were together. However, during this study, I discovered she held a lot of insecurities in regard to her appearance and weight. She also felt insecure about her hair. Hair was discussed a lot by Zara, especially within conversations about racialisation. Until 2016 Zara's naturally curly hair was

always straightened out, however she decided to stop this so her hair could recover from heat damage. She says she is trying to get herself to love her hair but that she struggles with this (see Chapter 6). Zara and I have remained close. She also attended my daughter's christening and my 30th birthday party. We do not speak very often but when we do, we are very comfortable and open with each other. Throughout this study I have considered Zara to be working-class.

4.2.2 The nominated participants: Lenard, Fiona and Natasha

Zara's mother (Fiona) and father (Lenard) also took part in this study. Lenard is Zara's father. He was born in Bristol in the late 60s. His parents and grandparents migrated to the UK from Jamaica during the Windrush era. His grandmother was employed as a nurse, his mother worked in catering at a Bristol Hospital. His parents had two children (Lenard and his older sister) however they separated whilst his mum was pregnant with him. His dad left his mum for another woman, who he went on to have two more children with. Growing up, his paternal grandmother took him to see his father and younger siblings once a year around Christmas.

Lenard grew up in a multicultural deprived area in Bristol. Growing up he experienced racism in and outside of school. At the time, he said this did not affect him too much as his mother had warned him about racism. After school Lenard worked at a large department store where he experienced racial discrimination. It was at this time in his life, Lenard began to pursue a career in music. He was a prominent figure in the Bristol Music Scene. During his interview, Lenard spoke at length about his experience in the music industry. He was very comfortable discussing this topic. He also discussed how being introduced to Louis Farrakhan – an American activist – transformed his outlook and marked the start of his journey in becoming “race aware”. He says that his racial consciousness is one of the biggest differences between him and his parents. He talks about how his parents' generation were less critical of the “social order” they lived in – telling me that they did not have the time to care as they were focused on making enough money to survive and providing opportunities for their children. He said that as a result, they did not think much about challenging racism and racial injustice but instead chose to keep their heads down and get on with things. Lenard on the other hand said his generation had more freedom growing up to explore these things. He talked about how he came to learn that he lived in a world where white people are privileged. He talks about his journey to seeing both micro- and macro-aggressions Black people are subjected to. He feels that his knowledge of this is central to his role as a father (see Chapter 5).

Lenard became noticeably more uncomfortable when we began to speak about fatherhood and especially about becoming a father. He told me that he struggled with the transition to fatherhood and that it was not straightforward. He said he struggled at first with giving up his time and that his relationship with Zara's mum Fiona began to deteriorate after Zara was born. Him and Fiona broke up when Zara was two.

Although he doesn't mention this Fiona informed me that this was because of an incident that involved violence after which Fiona left and Lenard didn't see Zara for 18 months. Fiona says that Lenard however had always wanted to be in Zara's life and after this 18-month period Zara spent most weekends with him. Fiona and Lenard now get on very well and often spend Christmas together but have not been romantically connected since their breakup.

Fiona is white British. Her mum was a housewife, and her dad was a wheeler dealer/ property developer. Growing up her family travelled around the UK. She said that until she was about 11, she had never lived in a house for longer than a year. Fiona told me her dad would buy a cheap house, they would all move into it whilst he 'did it up', and then move once it had sold. She has a fractured relationship with her mum, and despite being close with her father when Zara was young, they no longer speak. Fiona has one full sister who is a few years younger than her and two half siblings, on her mother's side, one who is the same age as Zara and one who is a few years younger than Zara. Fiona described herself as very different to her parents as her mother wasn't very maternal. According to Fiona, her parents took no interest in her schooling and after they had her they split up (as a result of her dad having an affair) her mum was more interested in going out with her friends than looking after her children. Fiona went off the rails in her late teens and did a lot of partying. She became pregnant at 19 which she said led her to settle down. She had her second child when she was 26 with a different partner who she is no longer with. Shortly, before her second child was born Fiona was diagnosed with epilepsy and had to have brain surgery to remove a tumour. This vastly affected her memory and she is now very forgetful. It became clear during Fiona's interview that she thinks she is 'not that clever' as she put herself down in this respect quite a few times. She currently works as a cleaner and dinner lady at a local school. Fiona really enjoys being a mum. She was a stay-at-home mum when her children were younger and spent a lot of time during the interview talking about how much she loves mothering. She and her children are very close. They are also very open with each other. Both her children say they talk to their mum about almost everything.

Zara attended all interviews. She was very interested in what her parents would say and told me before that she was looking forward to attending them. She was very active in guiding and questioning her parents in both interviews but in very different ways. She did a lot of reminiscing and reminding her dad of things they had discussed previously and offered illustrative examples to clarify the points he made or commented on the success of his strategies. In contrast to this, the interview with her mother created an opportunity for her to talk with and listen to her mum talk about 'race', an issue that they do not usually discuss. In this interview it felt as though Zara asked questions she had thought about for a while but until now had not had the opportunity to ask. Zara's sister also attended this interview. Natasha is white and was 16 at the time of the interview. Throughout the interview she listened attentively but did not actively engage in the conversation. Zara told me that her and Natasha have had conversations about race in the past. However,

as 'race' is not frequently talked about collectively within their family, this may have affected Natasha's contribution within the interview.

4.3 The Bishops

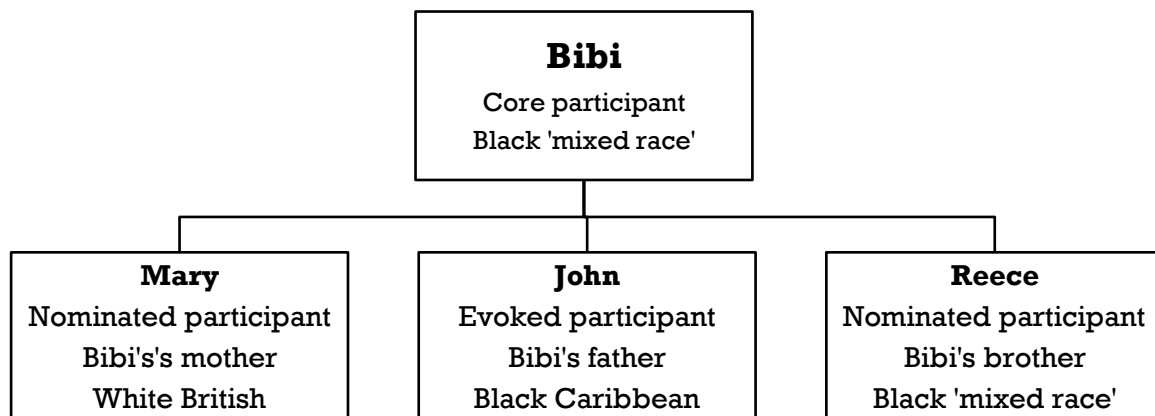


Figure 9 Bibi Bishop's Family Tree

4.3.1 Core participant: Bibi

Bibi is 22 years old. She was born in Scotland and has fond memories of living and going to school there. She moved to a predominantly white working-class area of Bristol aged seven. Bibi describes her heritage as Scottish and Grenadian and identifies as Black, telling me that she often forgot she was as much white as she was Black. She told me she identified in this way as this is how she is seen by others. Bibi said she had rarely encountered overt racism but had been racialised in lots of different ways over her life – often dependent on her hair style. She did very well in school and stayed on at her secondary school 6th form where she also excelled. Despite wanting to go to university in Edinburgh, where her aunt lives, she attended Warwick university instead, following her mother's advice, as it had 'the best creative writing department in the UK'. She really enjoyed her time at university, making lots of friends and learning lots of interesting things. During her time at university, she engaged with a lot of texts about the experiences of Black people across the globe. After university, she moved to London where she did a year's journalism course alongside working for one of the largest newspapers in the UK where she mainly edited online content. Bibi told me often that her ability to adapt to her surroundings was one of her strengths. Bibi came across as a very sensible, kind and understanding person. She was very confident in herself and her ability. She said that she had always strove to be independent and says her mother has always allowed her the space to make her

own decision. She describes herself as “very grown up” and feels she has always been that way. Bibi’s mother (Mary) and brother (Reece) also took part in this study.

4.3.2 Nominated participants: Mary, Reece and John (evoked)

Mary was born in Scotland. She lived in a small village near Glasgow with her mother, father and younger sister. Her mother was a secretary, housewife and “socialite” and her father was a secondary school physics teacher. She describes her family as being relatively well off. Her parents were from working-class families, but she describes her upbringing as middle-class because of her mother’s aspirations and her father’s job. She tells me that whilst growing up they went to the south of France every summer. Mary studied Physics at university, like her father. Mary met Bibi and Reece’s father during a VSO scheme in Grenada where she was based for two years. They later married and moved to the UK. On their return to Scotland Mary began working for the Race Equality Council. She continued to work in the field of equalities for many years. At the time of this study Mary was working in strategic management for a local authority. Mary and her husband decided to move to Bristol as they believed Bristol would be more diverse. Mary and John (her children’s father) divorced when Bibi was 10. Bibi is very close with her mother Mary and says sometimes she feels like she is Mary’s parent.

At the time of his interview Reece was 17 years old and in his second year of sixth form studying for his A levels – Physics, Maths and Product Design. He says he really enjoyed the social side of college but did not enjoy studying much. Whilst he described his GCSE’s as “easy” and said he got good grades, he added that he was struggling in his A levels and is unsure whether he will get the grades he needs to get into university. Reece was two when he and his family moved to Bristol and he identified much more as being from Bristol than Scotland, although he does describe his heritage as Scottish-Grenadian. He and his sister Bibi are close, and he has been to stay with her a few times in London.

Mary has always tried to educate her children about ‘race’ through books, holidays and conversation. She and her brother have visited Grenada on a number of occasions to visit family. Mary has put a lot of effort into keeping in touch with Bibi and Reece’s paternal grandmother and other family members on their paternal side. They have also visited other Black majority countries such as Papua New Guinea. Their home is full of ethnic artefacts and Mary listens to lots of world music. Bibi’s upbringing can be described as middle-class due to her mother’s income, social class origin, education and volume of cultural capital.

Bibi was introduced to me through her mother as an aunt of mine had recommended Mary’s family for the study. On the first day we met Mary brought Bibi to meet me in a café and then quickly disappeared so that we could speak. Mary felt it important that Bibi speak with me alone in case there were things she wanted to share that she did not want her mother to hear. This approach is reflected in Mary’s parenting style

generally. I conducted all interviews with nominated participants without Bibi mostly due to logistics as Bibi lives in London and the remainder of her family in Bristol.

4.4 The Turners

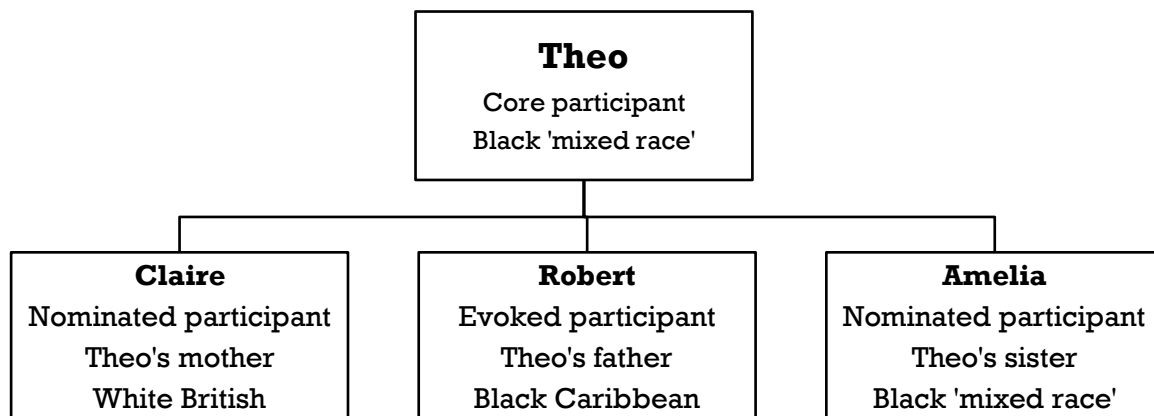


Figure 10 Theo Turner's Family Tree

4.4.1 Core Participant: Theo Turner

Theo was 25 when we met at a community event in Birmingham. Theo was subjected to high levels of racism after moving from London age five to a suburban village in the Midlands. The racism he experienced had deeply affected him. He told me he never felt at home in his town and said that he spent a lot of his adolescent striving for acceptance. He also said that these experiences made him feel uncomfortable around white people and in predominantly white spaces. Theo is a film/ documentary maker and has a huge interest in how 'race' operates in the UK which is what most of his creative work centres around. Before developing his interest in film Theo's main ambition was to become a basketball player. He started playing basketball aged twelve and soon began to play for the national team. As professional basketball is limited in the UK, during his teenage years Theo played for up to five teams at a time, training 2-3 times a day in order to develop his skills to a level that would enable him to play in the US. At 16 he moved to the US on a basketball scholarship and attended High School. He was accepted onto a university scholarship but due to a visa issue he returned to the UK aged 18 with a plan of reapplying for the scholarship a year later. However, during his time in the UK Theo injured himself and could no longer play basketball. This was very difficult for him and he became very depressed as a result. He enrolled himself in college but struggled as he was on pain medication for his injuries and experiencing very low moods. Also, on his return to the UK Theo went to live with his paternal grandmother. Prior to moving to the US tensions between him and

his mother were high. They frequently argued and he felt that Claire often took out her frustrations on him. He mentioned that during his upbringing his mother Claire drank often which affected their relationship and the scale and severity of their arguments. However, at the time of this study they were getting on well.

After leaving college Theo worked in retail. He told me that it was not until he began pursuing a career in film that he felt he fully recovered from his depression. I really enjoyed spending time with Theo. He always had a lot to say and he often told me how much he enjoyed our interviews, conversations and the time we spent together. He said that being a part of this study had helped him to process his life experiences in a new way. At the time of our third interview Theo appeared different. I believe Theo had become overwhelmed in his life and in our last conversation I suggested he take some time out from the study and get back in contact with me when he felt up to it. We have not spoken again (as discussed in the ethics section).

4.4.2 Nominated participants: Claire, Amelia and Roger (evoked)

In addition to Theo, I interviewed his mother (Claire) and sister (Amelia). His father (Roger) contributed briefly to an interview but did not want to be interviewed alone³¹. Whilst not considered nominated participants, Theo did introduce me to his paternal grandmother (Kylie) who I spent a couple of hours with and also to his maternal grandparents who I met briefly twice. I also spent a day with Theo's housemate as on one occasion he was really late to meet me during a field visit. I also met his girlfriend a few times.

Claire and Roger have been married for more than 25 years and are both originally from the Midlands. Claire is white British and grew up in a working-class family. Her mother was a housewife and her father worked for Her Majesty's Prison Service in various roles but mainly as a dog trainer. Growing up Claire moved around a lot with her parents living mostly in prison accommodation. Claire is an only child. She says growing up she did not really get on with her parents, especially her father – who she is still 'not that fond of' – despite both her parents living with her. Claire met Roger when she was very young whilst working as a secretary in the prison where Roger also worked as a prison officer. Roger is nine years older than Claire and shortly after they met, Claire fell pregnant with their eldest son Theo (25). They were married whilst Claire was pregnant and soon moved to London from Birmingham as Roger was promoted. They went on to have two more children – Amelia (22) and Kylie (19)³². Whilst her children were young Claire qualified as a midwife. Roger continued to climb ranks within the prison service and is currently a prison governor. Roger also came from a working-class background. His parents are a part of the Windrush generation migrating to the UK from Jamaican in the 1960s. His mother worked in a factory and his father had multiple occupations. He is one of 6 children.

³¹ This data was omitted once he withdrew consent.

³² I was not able to interview Kylie as she was going through a difficult time whilst I was collecting fieldwork.

Claire and Roger moved to a small suburban village after living in London for five years because Roger took a job in the Midlands. Claire told me they prefer rural to city living and were drawn to the village because of its high-quality state education. They found it hard to move into the village as residents did not want to sell to Roger because he was Black. After multiple rejections, Claire decided to search for properties alone. Doing this, her offers on properties were accepted more frequently however they fell through multiple times once Roger was introduced. Eventually as a family they went to the local newspaper. Their story made the front page. Shortly after their story was published, Claire and Roger brought a house in the village and they still live there today. Whilst Claire, Roger and Amelia really enjoy living in the village and speak about it fondly, Theo has really struggled living there and has now moved to a nearby city which says he prefers because it is more diverse.

Amelia had recently moved-in with her long-term boyfriend who she met in the village before she left for university. Amelia studied History and Anthropology at a university in the South East. She had begun teacher training but did not enjoy it and so left before completing. At the time of our interview Amelia was working as a teaching assistant in a local Pupil Referral Unit but had recently quit. Unlike her brother, Amelia said she did not really think about 'race' and had not experienced much racism in her village. Amelia and Theo do not consider themselves to be close and describe themselves as opposites.

4.5 The Andersons

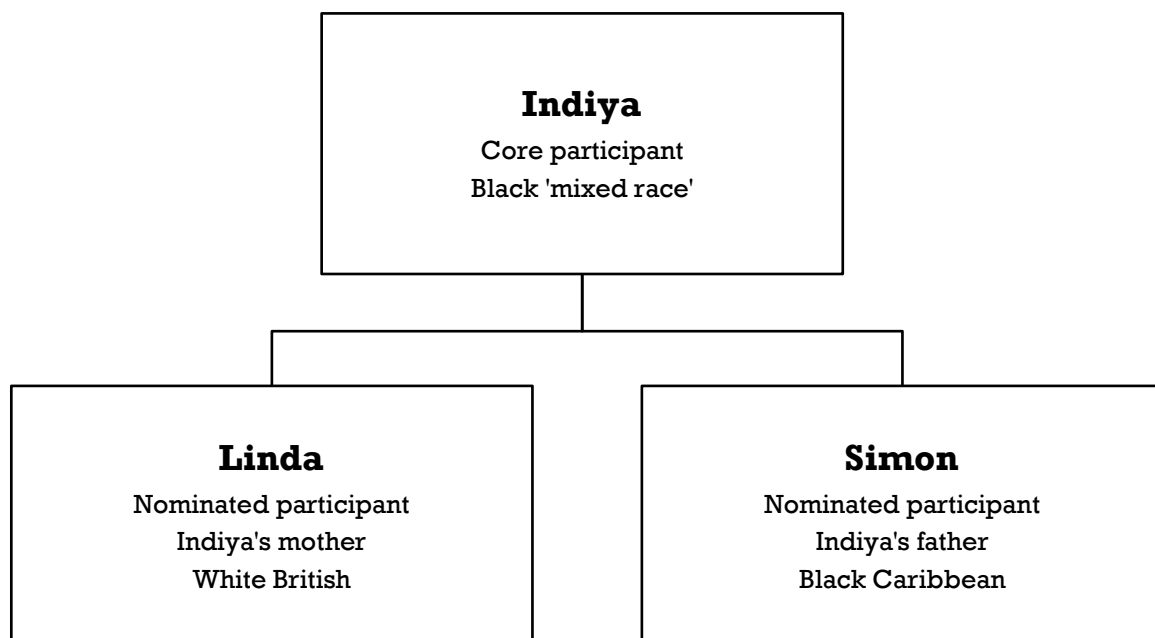


Figure 11 Indiya Anderson's Family Tree

4.5.1 Core participant: Indiya

Indiya was 20 when we met at an event paying tribute to local civil rights activists. During this study, Indiya lived with her mother, mother's husband and little brother in Bristol. From the age of 11 Indiya has been interested in Black literature, 'race' politics and Black feminism. She began reading university-level texts throughout her secondary school years. Whilst at secondary school she was subjected to high levels of racism and 'race' related bullying. As a result, she spent a lot of time in the library. Indiya's has always been active in standing up against racism in her school and in her community most often through writing reports, complaints or poems. She has also volunteered for race equality agencies since she was fifteen.

Indiya is very intelligent. She has received consistently high marks throughout her education and during this study completed an undergraduate and Masters degree in Sociology. Indiya described herself as an introvert. She has a quiet nature and is a bit socially awkward. When we first met, it was hard for me to gauge how she felt about me and the study. Over time we became more comfortable around each other as Indiya relaxed in my presence. Whilst, with other participants I felt we had developed a friendship during the research project Indiya and grew closer once I had completed data collection. A few months after we had completed Indiya messaged me asking how I was. I have since met up with her and her mum and been to her new flat where she lives alone.

4.5.2 Nominated participants: Linda and Simon

Indiya nominated her mother Linda and father Simon to take part in this study. Linda and Simon split up when Indiya was around two years old. Linda is white British and Simon Black Caribbean. Linda described her upbringing as "normalistic white middle-class". Linda's father was a meteorologist. Linda's mother was a secondary school teacher who occasionally taught in a university and went on to study for a PhD. Linda described her mother as alternative, spiritual and very feminist. Linda's mum and dad split when she was young, and he moved to South Africa. Linda was 14 years old when she met Simon. He was a few years older than her. They became very close very quickly and spent most of their time outside of school together. Simon's grandparents moved to England from Jamaica. His parents were both born in Jamaica but moved to England once their parents had settled and could afford to send for them. Simon's mother was a nurse, and his father was in the army and later worked in a chocolate factory. Simon told me he was an overachiever in primary school and was moved up a year but struggled in secondary school. He said that because he always stood up for himself, he stood out. As a result, Simon was stereotyped as delinquent and felt his teachers had very low expectations of him. He became very depressed during this time and took an overdose. Simon's parents struggled at first to understand his discontent with his schooling, however after his attempted suicide they moved him to a different school.

Both Simon and Linda were very close with each other's family. When Linda was 18, just after she completed her A levels her mother moved to Ireland and she moved in with Simon. Simon's family looked out for her during this time. Linda's mother was a big influence in Simon's life. She introduced him to Sociology which Simon went on to study at university. Whilst at university, he began to explore his sexuality eventually coming out as gay. Linda describes this moment as a relief. Within their relationship Simon was controlling and at times abusive. Linda said that Simon coming out gave her an opportunity to leave the relationship. Simon told Indiya he was gay when she was 13. Simon disappeared from Indiya and Linda's life for a few years after coming out to Linda. Simon described becoming a father as the best thing to have happened. He also suggested that at times when he has struggled with his depression, he has felt like he had little to give to Indiya. However, he says he has always been grateful to Linda as she has always kept in touch with him and encouraged his involvement in Indiya's life. Linda later remarried. Shortly after this, Simon began to take a more active role in Indiya's life, and she began staying with him on weekends. After completing his degree Simon went on to work for the local authority gaining employment through a 'Tory positive action initiative'. However, he left this role during the 2008 recession and is now a carer for his mother and grandmother.

Linda went on to complete a PhD in media and is now a lecturer. After separating from Simon she got married to another man, although they divorced after seven years. In 2008 she met her current husband. They had a long-distance relationship for six years. Linda felt it important that she did not introduce anyone new to Indiya. However, she became pregnant in 2014 and her now-husband came from Ghana to live with Indiya and her mum on the day Indiya's little brother was born. Indiya and her mother's husband have a conflicted relationship. He has very traditional gendered expectations which conflict with Indiya's own feminist worldview.

Simon and Linda get on well and often communicate about Indiya. Indiya told me she is much closer with her mother than father. Growing up Indiya struggled to express herself and was described as an elective mute in nursery school. Despite this Indiya has always spoken a lot to her mum. Indiya told me that she would save all her talking until she got home. Indiya has struggled to communicate freely with her dad and so whenever there have been issues, she has relied on her mother to mediate these on her behalf. This was reflected in the interview setting. Indiya chose to attend both her mother and father's interview. Whilst with her mum Indiya was very talkative finishing her mum's sentences, directing her thoughts, challenging the information presented as well as being very shocked if her mother mentioned anything she had not heard previously. During her dad's interview she remained quiet. She did not correct him when he said contradictory things to what she had told me previously or any misunderstandings he narrated relating to her own life experiences.

Indiya was difficult to interview. Unlike other participants, who during interviews appeared to share their thoughts, feelings and experiences quite freely, Indiya was more guarded and very literal in her answers to my questions. Open questions would often elicit very short answers. She would rarely elaborate on her points without probing and seemed to prefer more direct questions. Our conversations have always felt much more natural during informal conversations and hang outs.

4.5.3 Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided a brief overview of each participant, briefly describing both core and nominated participants' experiences of racialisation, their relationships with each other and their family history. Firstly, within my discussion of participants' experiences of racialisation I highlighted moments that participants appeared to attach great significance to. As well as this I have summarised how experiences of racialisation shifted over time. Secondly, I have outlined current relationships between participants as well as illustrated how these have changed across the family life course. This foundational knowledge will help the family dynamics discussed in the following chapter be better understood by the reader. Thirdly, I presented some information about the family histories in order to situate CPs' class backgrounds whilst remaining attentive to the complexity differences in class location between parents and across generations. Lastly, I have offered further insights into the interview process by describing how interviews occurred with different members from each family.

In the following chapters I build upon the information presented here in the following ways. In Chapter 5 I focus on how 'race' manifests and is negotiated in the family by different members. Within this I explore different understandings of 'race' within families and suggest each family member has a *race script* which develops in relation to their own understanding of 'race', an understanding which is informed by their experiences of racialisation and that of those closest to them. As part of this discussion I explore racialised kinscription within families, or how collective understandings of 'race' form within families despite the different perspectives of individual members. In Chapter 6, I explore how CPs' *race scripts* and racialised kinscripts inform their understanding of racialisation in the world by exploring their reactions to and understanding of racialised encounters they have experienced beyond the family. In Chapter 7 I explore participants' awareness of themselves as racialised subjects and integrates how their racialised selfhood develops and informs their social action. This considers how participants navigate different fields and use their social agency and resources to develop strategies that help them to respond to racialised misrecognition.

5 Race Scripts and Racialised Kinscription: Exploring the effects of racialisation on perception, parenting and relationships

5.1 Introduction

How does ‘race’ affect family life? Do family members share similar understandings of ‘race’? And how do perceptions of ‘race’ impact parenting practices? ‘Race’ is a classification system that invades all segments of life and operates in all social settings. ‘Race’ can seep through the cracks and everyday stresses of family life and ‘when things break, race comes up’ (Ahmed, 2014 pg. 93). In this chapter, I introduce the concept of *race scripts*³³, which refers to a person’s understanding of ‘race’ and its consequences, and use it to reveal how different members of a family negotiate racialisation in their everyday lives. I argue that *race scripts* are a part of one’s habitus as they affect how one perceives the world. Like habitus, *race scripts* form in relation to collective histories, life experiences and positionality. I demonstrate how *race scripts* shift over time and between generations, affect parenting practices and produce conflict within family life. Moreover, I suggest that like familial habitus (see Chapter 2), families develop a shared *racialised kinscript*, formed from the negotiation and integration of individual *race scripts*³⁴. Racialised kinscripts produce ‘pedagogic packages’ which inform how ‘race’ is read when it comes up within the family and beyond. I examine the formation of racialised kinscripts by making sense of conversations parents and their adult children have about ‘race’, paying close attention to what is said and what remains unspoken. Additionally, I look at how what is done differs from what is said, and how particular family members develop ways to adhere to, challenge or adapt the racial ‘pedagogic packages’ they inherit. In short, this chapter takes a deeper look at how broader understandings of one’s self, surroundings and racialisation impact family life, and vice versa.

The chapter is structured as follows: firstly, to illuminate the concept of *race scripts* I explore how parents’ perceptions of their children’s ‘mixed race’ differ between families. Secondly, I highlight epistemological differences between participants who understand ‘race’ from racially subordinate positions and those who learn to understand ‘race’ through racially privileged positions. I explore how differing life experiences impact on *race script* development and how *race scripts* shift over time. Thirdly, I discuss the impact of *race*

³³ Molina (2010 pg. 157) uses the term ‘racial scripts’ to highlight how the construction of subordinately racialised people are linked to each other across time and space. She explores how existing racialised logics which inform perceptions of specific racialised groups (e.g. the ‘negro’) are extracted and used to other racialised group (e.g. Mexicans) as outsiders. I extend this concept in the next chapter where I discuss *public race scripts* – dominant discourses that inform ‘common sense’ understanding of ‘race’. However, in this chapter, I focus upon internal processes through which ‘race’ is understood in intimate relations with those racialised similarly or differently to oneself.

³⁴ I have chosen to focus on kinscripts rather than family habitus as the former term is more able to encapsulate the diversity of the family networks I discuss.

scripts on parenting practices. And lastly, I explore how multiple *race scripts* are connected and negotiated within families.

5.2 Race scripts

It is very important to understand how ‘race’ manifests in families and the impact that it has on family life (Caballero *et al.*, 2012; Reynolds, 2005; Lareau, 2011). In their study of Black ‘mixed race’ children, Tizard and Phoenix (1993) argue that children's responses to experiences of colourism and racism were informed by their parents’ attitudes towards these issues. Drawing on my participants’ experiences, I extend this argument and suggest that as well as affecting reactions to racism, parental attitudes also affect the next generation’s understanding of racialisation processes. Thus, rather than take parental attitudes to ‘race’ as a starting point, I explore what lies beneath them, focusing on how these attitudes developed and the extent to which they differed between members of the same family.

Gaining an insight into people’s thoughts on ‘race’ is a difficult task. Asked directly, individuals often appropriate dominant discourses, saying what they believe others want to hear or react guided by their defences³⁵ (Myers and Williamson, 2001; Walsh, 2007; Eddo-Lodge, 2017). In this study, participants’ attitudes and beliefs regarding ‘race’ were revealed through conversations about ‘mixed race’. ‘Mixed race’ is a category on the margins; it intensifies ‘race’ by opening a space where people are invited to think about the complexity that underpins dominant binary understandings (Ifekwunigwe, 2004). Through this process, participants began to reveal elements of their *race scripts*. For example, Shirley Jackson (Black lower middle-class mother of Andrew and Gemma) told me:

I think ‘mixed race’ people is always perceived as Black, if you’re non-Caucasian, you’re Black basically, I told Andrew that growing up, you’re not going to be perceived as white even though your dad is, everyone is going to see you as Black.

Shirley Jackson

Ingrained into Shirley’s *race script* then, is the belief that proximity to blackness increases the likelihood of disadvantage, which is something her children must understand if they are going to successfully navigate the world. Claire Turner (white lower-middle-class mother of Theo and Amelia) on the other hand appears to place less emphasis on other people’s reactions to the visibility of children’s ‘race’:

³⁵ ‘Race’ can be an issue that triggers emotional defences which may result in a visible display of anger, fear or guilt that can invoke confrontation, sadness, silence or withdrawal. Such responses can occur within people insulated from racialisation processes (mostly white people) who lack the psychosocial stamina required to engage with issues of ‘race’ (Diangelo, 2011). As well as for those who have experienced racial trauma – also a form of ‘race’ induced stress experienced by people of colour in response to experiences of racism (Comas-Díaz, 2019).

One time [Theo] went missing when he was a young teen... I stopped a kid who was roughly the same age and I asked have you seen a kid about your age... and he said “what the half caste one?” and I was like oh yea he is isn’t he (laughs)... and I was like I wouldn’t have thought to describe his skin colour first...so it was always a surprise.

Claire Turner

‘Race’ is not a subject Claire or her children remember speaking to each other about often and it is not something that she felt her children needed to consider as they moved through social space. This belief represents a part of her *race script*. Lenard Clark (Black working-class father of Zara), on the other hand, like Shirley (Black lower middle-class mother of Andrew and Gemma) has always been aware of how his daughter’s ‘mixed race’ may impact her identity and lived experience:

When I was growing up you had the odd ‘mixed race’ children in school... I would notice... they didn’t seem to know... where they fit in, so... they wouldn’t talk very good of Black people... They seemed very... mixed-up in their views of the world... when it came to race or culture, they seemed a bit confused.

Lenard Clark

Within Lenard’s *race script*, is a belief that there is a connection between being ‘mixed race’ and confused³⁶. Moreover, his *race script* also foresees an impact of racialisation on lived experience. The illustrations above reveal aspects of each parents’ racialised dispositions, and their differing understandings of ‘race’ and its consequences. However, in order to better comprehend the depth and multiplicity of *race scripts*, we must consider how their development over time is impacted by social position.

5.2.1 Epistemological differences in *race scripts*

This section looks at how *race scripts* differ between family members by exploring the ways in which *race scripts* are shaped by social position - that is, ‘race’, class and gender - life experiences and generation. Firstly, it considers how people come to know ‘race’. Secondly, it explores how *race scripts* change over time and respond to specific life events. Finally, it explores how structural racism and collective experiences shape *race scripts*.

³⁶ This reflects discourses produced during first generation of ‘mixed race’ studies - the age of pathology – whereby ‘mixed race’ people were believed to be unable to cope with everyday demands of social life as a result of internal confusion (Ifekwunigwe, 2004; Campion, 2017; Rockquemore and Laszlo, 2005).

5.2.1.1 Knowing 'race'

Peter Jackson (white middle-class father of Andrew and Gemma), like Shirley (their mother), believes his children's 'mixed race' may disadvantage them as they navigate the social world. Whilst there are similarities between their understandings of 'race', there are epistemological differences between how their perceptions formed. Below, Peter reflects upon his own position as a white man and how this has affected dynamics in the family:

I think in that sense, having Shirley it makes it easier, for Andrew and Gemma to talk to her and to talk about those sorts of issues. I'd like to think I was aware of a certain element of it. But it's not the same, you know. I think it's interesting within the family, I think [Andrew's extended maternal family] are not always a political family in some senses of the word, they will have discussions about ethnicity and politics to a certain extent, but I don't know if it's always acknowledged in the same way.

Peter Jackson

Peter's *race script* has been hugely influenced by books, his experience as a social worker and his observations of and interactions with Black people (especially those within Shirley's family) and other people of colour. Developing 'race' literacy and a political commitment to anti-racist struggles appears central to many of the white middle-class parents' *race scripts* in this study³⁷. Peter suggests that Shirley and her family lack this type of political consciousness. Whilst Shirley has not studied the impact of 'race' upon social life in the way that Peter has, as a subordinately racialised person she has learnt about the effects of 'race' through her own experiences and in a way that those who are not racialised cannot. This difference in social position impacts their *race scripts* and as a result Peter and Shirley engage with issues of 'race' in different ways (Edwards, 2017). The epistemological differences through which people know 'race' can also be explored through considering how proximity to blackness or whiteness affects those socially positioned into racially subordinated or dominant locations.

At 24, Mary Bishop (white middle-class mother of Bibi and Reece) embarked upon a two-year Voluntary Service Overseas (VSO)³⁸ programme in the "idyllic Caribbean island" of Grenada where she met the father of her children John Bishop (Black working-class father of Bibi and Reece). Before this she had had little

³⁷ This is an illustrative example of how the white middle-class parents in this study felt it important to accumulate a significant amount of 'race' literacy via books as parents of Black 'mixed race' children. Twine (2004) illustrates the ways in which some parents of 'mixed race' children possess high levels of 'race literacy' reflected in their understanding of how 'race' operates structurally within society which supported them to assist their children's navigation of racialisation in the world.

³⁸ is an international development organisation that aims to support people and communities in developing countries via Volunteers.

contact with Black people but had always been “intrigued” by them, thinking they were “beautiful” and wanting to know more about their life experiences. However, she had little knowledge about racism and its effects. Below Mary describes her attraction to John.

Unlike... Western men, his physical abilities and confidence and his ability to adlib... he so impressed me. We are at the beach, we need a drink, he'd scamper up a coconut palm and get some coconuts and hack it off and drink that. I remember saying to him 'oh I'd love a toasted cheese sandwich, but we don't have a toasty maker', and he was like 'what?!' Get two slices of bread, cheese (claps), put it in a frying pan, press it down - things like that. The irons broken. No sweat, cut the cord, heat it up on the cooker - this guy is just wonderful, he just makes do. He makes something out of nothing. I was so impressed because the men I was used to were like, 'oh, I'm not doing that, I'm not doing this', and they weren't physically that capable...I mean it's probably highly predictable looking back, every woman in VSO that went over to the Caribbean came back with somebody, it was just like magnets attracting.

Mary Bishop

This notion of white Western women and Black Caribbean men attracting “like magnets” has been researched by Pruitt and LaFont (1995). They observe that *romantic tourism* is a common occurrence in the Caribbean and suggest ‘these women often express a frustration with the men from their own cultures’. As gender scripts are culturally specific, the differences between those found in Caribbean and in the Northern Atlantic mean that Caribbean men – “the exotic other” – come to represent an archetypal form of masculinity (Drummond, 2011). Pruitt and LaFont (1995) go on to argue that in the Caribbean ‘the local man is not merely a sexual object, but rather the woman’s personal cultural broker. He serves to ease her experience in the society and provide her with increased access to the local culture’ (p. 426). Thus, Mary’s experiences of forming a relationship with John in his home enabled her to better understand his way of life, which in turn granted her a deeper insight into Caribbean culture. This affected the way Mary came to conceptualise the experience of Black Caribbean people in the UK as well as her understanding of ‘race’ as a social category. Her *race script* continued to develop as she returned home to rural Scotland with John and began to observe racism in action for the first time:

There were a couple of times we were stopped by the police. Anytime I've been stopped in a car by the police, anywhere has always been when I've been with a Black man... my friends would say... the police aren't racist, but you wouldn't know would you, I didn't, wouldn't of known... John had a white friend who had never passed his test, didn't have a license or anything, drove around for about five years... no sweat,

police never stopped him... Where we got stopped two or three times... so it's having that consciousness which you wouldn't if you hadn't witnessed it or experienced it.

Mary Bishop

Mary admits that there were some things she may not have believed or thought about regarding 'race' until she met John, an example of how *race scripts* shift in response to observations of racism³⁹. Whilst John did not take part in this study, from Mary, Bibi and Reece's accounts it appears as though these experiences of racism also influenced John's *race script*. Mary and Bibi say John came to the UK with high hopes of building a better life but was met with disappointment. In addition to being routinely stopped by police, John struggled to gain employment, instead doing the odd manual job here and there. He became the primary carer for his children. As time went on, Mary and Bibi felt he became increasingly angry and frustrated with his circumstances. Thus, whilst in the Caribbean having a white girlfriend may confer status to Caribbean men (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995), this is complicated in a UK context where white women have higher social status than Black immigrant men causing a 'greater dependency on the woman' (Pruitt and LaFont, 1995 p. 434). This dynamic appeared to have contributed to Mary and John's relationship break down. Mary to this day feels a sense of guilt for her role in bringing John to the UK, given the racism he experienced once he arrived and how this affected his life.

Bibi suggests John's understanding of 'race' changed dramatically once settling in the UK as his life was structured through racism. But although moving to the UK with Mary appears to have led to the deterioration of John's mental health, Mary benefitted from her new proximity to blackness. Living with John, Mary developed a more sophisticated understanding of 'race' that enabled her to gain employment as a 'race' equality officer. Over time Mary's *race script* became related to her understanding of multiple forms of oppression resulting from the knowledge she developed through her job:

I applied for about 60 jobs and I got...this racial equality council job. So, it was just kind of coincidence...I didn't know there was a 'race' relations act or anything. But I suppose I had more of an interest in it because of John. [My job interviewer] must have thought, cringe, what a numpty this woman is. 'Cus I remember saying so what's the terminologies, Caucasian and African and she said "I can see I'm going to have to give you a lot of training".

Mary Bishop

³⁹ Those who occupy dominant 'racial' positions who live lives sheltered from 'racial injustices' can develop 'fixed' *race scripts* grounded in their own experience as they are not exposed to events that shift their understandings of 'race'. A privilege that those who occupy subordinate positions do not have.

This is an example of how broader racial hierarchies operate within society and become present within intimate family dynamics. Moreover, it suggests that as *race scripts* form part of one's habitus, they change over time and are shaped by wider social structures. As this extract demonstrates, it was not Mary's knowledge of 'race' relations policy or professional experience that got her this job but her intimate proximity to, and observations of, the life of a Black man. Mary was able to convert her experience into a valuable form of cultural capital and avoid being looked down upon (in this instance at least). This is much harder for white working-class mothers whose lack of access to legible forms of symbolic capital are, in contrast, exacerbated by their proximity to blackness⁴⁰. At the same time, John was forced to accept the limitations his blackness imposed upon his own ambitions and experience within the UK (and rural Scotland, no less), a predominantly white space where whiteness is privileged. This difference in subjection to racialisation that arose from Mary and John's social locations produced an extremely difficult dynamic to manage within their relationship (See Carby, 2019; Ahmed, 2014). Such comparisons make visible the effects of positionality on *race scripts* and suggest that whilst possessing 'race' literacy is helpful, especially for parents (see section 5.3), it does not lessen the impact of structural manifestations of 'race' for either racialised parent or child. To further investigate the *race scripts* of those who occupy subordinately racialised positions it is worth examining the experiences of the Black men in this study.

Central to the development of *race scripts* of subordinately racialised people are moments where they were made to feel the social significance of their 'race', as well as what they learnt about themselves and others from these experiences (Anderson, 2015). Lenard Clark and Simon Anderson (Black lower middle-class father of Indiya) both grew up in 1970s-80s Britain. Their parents migrated to the UK from Jamaica before they were born. Whilst growing up, racial tensions in the UK were high. Black people, especially Black men, were racially abused frequently and disproportionately harassed by the police (Spencer and Scott, 2013). This eventually led to the 1981 riots which spread across the UK (Waddington and King, 2009). Uprisings occurred in many locations including Bristol, Birmingham, London and Liverpool (Gilroy, 2002). Tension between sections of the 'English' (white) population and those presumed 'non-English' (people of colour) were high (Coard, 1971). For Lenard and Simon – both of whom grew up in a city where riots had occurred – racism shaped their school experiences. Each entered school with a *race script* developed in their homes and communities. Whilst their families taught them being Black meant you had to work twice as hard, and their neighbourhoods either exposed to or protected them from racism - school was a space without protection where their *race scripts* were significantly moulded.

⁴⁰ These women experience greater stigmatisation as the devaluing affects racial subordination have upon capital is extended to these women because of their sexual relationships with Black men, which are signified by their 'mixed race' children (McKenzie, 2013).

For these men, school significantly shifted how they understood themselves in ‘race’ terms. They went to school at a time when African Caribbean children, and Black boys in particular, were commonly conceived of as ‘educationally subnormal’ (Coard, 1971; Gillborn, 2008), a perception that rendered the importance of mainstream schooling within Caribbean families irrelevant (Evans and Davies, 1997; Andrews, 2013; Mirza and Reay, 2000). Simon talked about entering school and seeing himself as equal to his white classmates, an assumption he described as ‘naïve’:

Unfortunately, when you’re Black in a predominantly white school and you put your head above the parapet and start sticking up for yourself, well at 12 you don’t know the social niceties, because you just think you’re like everyone else. But actually, you don’t do that in a big white establishment where you’re a minority. You keep your head under the table, and you keep your profile low. But I didn’t realize that at the time...I would say the majority of the teachers...expect the worst of you.

Simon Anderson

During his school years Simon attempted to kill himself. The pressure racism and bullying placed upon him, along with other issues he was facing at the time, were too much. Simon attended a predominantly white school and lived in a predominantly white working-class neighbourhood. In comparison, Lenard attended a very diverse school and lived in a diverse area. Whilst this appears to have protected Lenard from some racist abuse in his community, and meant he was not isolated in his experiences at school, he too spoke of his teacher’s low academic expectations and encouragement to focus on sports and other ‘non-academic’ activities⁴¹. He also discussed the harassment him and his friends experienced at the hand of the National Front, in the area where his school was located. Thus, Simon and Lenard began to understand their subordinate social position at school and how this related to their blackness. School experiences, then, may account for some of the differences in *race scripts* across generations. Lenard and Simon’s *race scripts* are quite different from their parents who they suggest desired to “assimilate”⁴² once in the UK:

My mum...worked up in the catering at the hospital. Both of my nans... were nurses, so they were just busy... I don’t think they even had time to check out their history and their Black selves... being quite poor and being Black in a white society they had to just get on with things. I think my generation... became Black conscious... getting into Rastafarism which our Jamaican parents... didn’t like... because they just wanted us to assimilate a white lifestyle and fit in.

⁴¹ Such perceptions of Black boys still posit within mainstream education settings (Wright *et al.*, 1998; Dumangane; 2016, Gillborn, 2008).

⁴² Lenard’s words.

Lenard Clark

This explosion of Black consciousness meant educating others about white supremacy, challenging it and valuing blackness - themes that became central to Lenard's *race script*. Lenard's generation were determined to pave a new way of life for themselves and their future generations by standing up to racism. They did not want to keep their head down like their parents, but strove to make their own spaces in the UK where they were empowered and in control, and blackness was celebrated. Spaces where white supremacy felt remote and alien. To draw upon Bourdieu's (1985) concept of 'field', these were spaces where rules underpinning ethnic capital and status were reversed, whereby blackness had greater exchange value than whiteness. This was not a racially exclusive space. Both Simon and Lenard met their white partners in this space. However, blackness and Caribbean culture was valued by all in attendance. Blackness itself became a powerful identifier for many people during this time, as they reclaimed a part of themselves that other sectors of society marginalised. Simon quit his job at an insurance company (a space where whiteness was privileged) in order to be a part of this Black space:

Back in those days... [inner-city St. Paul's and Easton⁴³] was the place to be. As a Black person trying to find...where your place was in the world - and for me working at [the insurance company] wasn't it...I want to embrace the whole St. Paul's culture...It was lawless. The police didn't go there. They did a raid once or twice a year because they had to - the Black and White café. You used to have two gambling houses on Grosvenor Road, a licensed casino, gambling, drug dealing...only cannabis and hash really low-level soft stuff. I sort of wanted to go and get all immersed in that sort of culture. I sort of slipped into it because my sister, she got pregnant for, again, a [local] taxi driver. And at the time these people, they were almost...celebrities or heroes. These were the guys that played the sound systems they drove the taxis and they were like the 'in' crowd. At the time and I wanted to be in that circle.... I got a job, being a controller on the taxi office...I don't think my parents, or my grandmother were best pleased with me at the time cus I started growing dreadlocks. From their point of view, they were like 'oh, he's on the slippery slope. He's chucked away a great job in an office, now he is slumming it in St. Paul's and he's growing dreadlocks what's happening to him?'. I just felt I was coming more socially aware.

Simon Anderson

⁴³ Heavily racialised urban spaces in the city of Bristol. After WWII Caribbean migrants settled in St Pauls leading to existing white residents moving out of the area, after which it was stigmatised as a Black Ghetto (Slater and Anderson, 2011). Today, St Pauls is a beacon of Caribbean Heritage, and St. Pauls and Easton, although currently being gentrified, are two of the few multicultural spaces in Bristol.

The effects of participation in these Black spaces upon Simon's and Lenard's current *race scripts* varies. As Lenard tells his story, little appears to have changed between what he thought then and what he thinks now regarding issues of 'race'. His views on 'race' are closely linked to a belief in the power and positivity of blackness. Simon's understanding of 'race' appears to have shifted more drastically across his lifetime. Whilst he still relates to struggles that Black people face, the discrimination Simon has felt from Black people, and his witnessing of racial divides between Caribbeans and Africans across Black 'communities', has led him to develop a more distrusting relationship:

The more racism I got, was when I was a teenager, and started hanging out in Easton and St. Paul's and my Black peers saying you're not talking Black enough. You're not dressing Black enough. You come from the white people's area. You're whitewashed. You're a coconut. You're a bounty. I had more difficulties getting acceptance amongst my own community than I did the wider white community that I lived in. And I say that's to Black people's detriment, they are not an easy set of people.

Simon Anderson

Moreover, Simon also explained that the more open he became about being gay, the more of an outsider he became within the Black community, as homophobia was rife (see McKeown *et al.*, 2010). Thus, the taken for granted certainty of diasporic blackness that Lenard relates to gives him a firm sense of place, but this is not an option for Simon and led him to develop a more complex race script. This highlights how collective dimensions of habitus are complicated by *race scripts*, as these arise from experiences of racialisation which shift, in response to intersections of sexuality, as well as class and gender.

Unlike Simon and Lenard, Shirley's *race script* appears to have been more greatly influenced by issues of 'colourism'⁴⁴. She often described the lightness of her children's complexation synonymously with their beauty when we were together and explained that those of her siblings with lighter skin have gone on to gain the highest qualifications and professional occupations. The presence of colourism within her *race script* may be influenced by Caribbean racial logics whereby 'race' is disaggregated into sub-categories (e.g. 'red', 'brown', 'fair', 'clear') that correlate social class and skin shade (Hall and Schwarz, 2018). Shirley was born in Jamaica but came to England at the age of four. A preference for lighter skin was highlighted by many members of Shirley's family with whom I spoke. As Shirley is dark skinned and the only one of all six siblings not to attend university, colourism may also be a useful prism through which she makes sense of this. Moreover, as women are more harshly affected by perceptions of beauty than men, this may also

⁴⁴ a skin tone-based system of distinction that exists everywhere but is most visible in the Caribbean and other majority 'Black' countries (discussed further in Chapter 3). Skin tone can incite special treatment between siblings as well as impact the opportunities different individuals can access (McCree, 2015).

account for why colourism appears to impact her understanding of ‘race’ more than Simon or Lenard. Thus, *race scripts* are shaped by a mix of broader ‘racialised’ interactions, discourses, collective social consciousness and individual life experience. Whilst those who embody whiteness (those who are non-racialised⁴⁵) have the privilege of not having to think about ‘race’ and its consequences until much later in their life, if at all; and at which point they confront their own *race scripts*. The subordinately racialised are too often forced to become conscious of their racialised position from an early age and so begin to interrogate ‘race’ as a concept much earlier.

5.3 Impact of *race scripts* on Racialised Kin-work and Kinscription

In the last section I discussed how *race scripts* are shaped by experiences of racism and social position. In this section I unpack the racialised dimension of family life and explore how *race scripts* impact the collective practices and knowledge exchanges within the family. I do this by asking the following questions: How do individual’s *race scripts* impact family life? How do they affect relationships and roles within families? And how do they inform the ‘pedagogical packages’ parents pass to their children to help them to navigate racialisation in the world? To answer these questions, I draw upon Gail Lewis’ (2005 pg. 133) concept of ‘pedagogical packages’ and Carol Stack and Linda Burton’s (1993) concept of ‘kinscripts’.

In her discussion of Audrey Lorde as a Black feminist lesbian foremother, Lewis (2005, pg. 133) deliberates on the meanings of motherhood. She posits that mothers:

bear the awesome responsibility of gathering the past into a pedagogical package, not as a means of controlling but rather as a gift from which their children may fashion their own visions, their own selves.

As do those who may not be mothers but:

whose political and life experience is older, and maybe wider, to both recognize our responsibility to analyse and pass on the lessons of that experience, and yet to work with and learn from those who follow us.

(Lewis, 2005 pg. 133)

In the remainder of this chapter, I think with Lewis to discuss the ‘pedagogical packages’ parents pass on to their children and consider the extent to which these prepared them for navigating processes of racialisation within and beyond the family⁴⁶. To do so I focus on racialised kin-work and racialised

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⁴⁶ Joseph-Salisbury (2018an) argues that Black ‘mixed race’ families have the potential to cultivate effective strategies that support Black ‘mixed race’ men to navigate racialised encounters. In this chapter I extend this discussion to include women and highlight the barriers that prevent the cultivation of ‘post-racial’ resilience within some families.

kinscripts. These concepts (minus the racialised dimension) originate from Stack and Burton's (1993) methodological framework which outlines an approach to observing families that is attentive to: change over time; the assignment and navigation of roles; the transmission of collective expectations and how families engage in negotiations; and exchanges and conflict as they co-construct their family life course. Building upon this framework, I explore the challenges and effects that processes of racialisation produce within kinscripts specifically in relation to family expectations and reactions when race come up in families and beyond. Thus, I focus on how conflicted and collective understanding of racialisation are negotiated and exchanged within a family.

Coe (2016) highlights the cultural specificity of kinscripts, suggesting that kinscripts developed in one context can be misunderstood in another. Thus, the context in which a family is located both geographically and socially affects its kinscript. Kinscripts are shaped by culture, class, race and gender dimensions as well as individual and generational life experiences. I would argue that the effect of 'race' on the transmission of family norms across generations is more apparent within 'mixed race' families, as greater differences in experiences of racialisation are brought together within a kin-network or family field. Traditionally, scholars used the kinscripts analytic to elucidate three dimensions of family life: 'kin-work' (labour that ensures familial reproduction across generations), 'kin-time' (how time is conceived of in relation to family traditions) and 'kinscription' (the assignment of kin-work) (Stack and Burton, 1993; Forsythe-Brown, 2007; Coe, 2016). In this section, I examine racialised kin-work (what and how parents teach their children about 'race'), racialised kinscripts (how this kin-work is assigned within families), and how the different *race scripts* of parents impact on how their children are prepared to read racialised encounters. To begin, I highlight how different parents in this study approach racialised kin-work and how this is shaped by their own *race scripts*.

5.3.1 Racialised kin-work

Like all parents in this study, Shirley and Peter's understanding of 'race' has affected how they parent. For Peter, his racialised kin-work has been informed by a conscious commitment to anti-racist politics. Peter recalls:

I always said to myself that my children will always be considered as Black, because that's the way society will see them, and I always felt...as a father part of my job should be to encourage them with a positive Black identity and try and develop that to a certain extent. Just by having a few books around, and...when Andrew...and Gemma was growing up I got them one or two little books that had Black characters in there...because again when you look at children's stories, they tend to be Eurocentric.

Peter Jackson

In addition to children's books that centred Black characters, Peter also shared non-fiction literature such as *The Autobiography of Malcom X*⁴⁷ with his children. Shirley also read books that featured children from various ethnic backgrounds to ensure Andrew and Gemma could see people like them reflected. This is an example of parents beginning to raise their children's awareness of processes of racialisation and pass on pedagogical packages that prepare their children to read and navigate race as they encountered its macro and micro manifestations in their day-to-day lives. Most parents in this study had an awareness of the difficulties collective misunderstandings of blackness would impose upon their children (Twine, 2004; Twine 2010). Thus, they consciously develop a pedagogy through which they felt they could protect their children from the consequences of structural racism (Joseph-Salisbury, 2018a; Twine, 2004; Rockquemore and Laszlo, 2005). This involved teaching them to think critically about the misattribution that underpins dominant prejudices within society (Joseph-Salisbury, 2018a). For many, doing this became an everyday part of family life essential to the survival and wellbeing of its members. School was a site of deep concern for some parents who feared that their child's 'race' would disadvantage them (Joseph-Salisbury, 2018a). In addition to books, both Peter and Shirley practiced protective parenting as means of countering racism within education (Rollock *et al.*, 2015; Wallace, 2019). Shirley, for example, ensured that she was on a first-name basis with the head teacher at her son's secondary school, a strategy to ensure familiarity should he encounter prejudicial teachers or experience racism from students. Moreover, with any inclination of unfair treatment, both parents would directly challenge school staff to respond to issues raised. This is a popular strategy adopted by many participants' parents and other middle-class parents (Rollock, 2015). For Linda Anderson (Indiya's white middle-class mother), developing a proactive body of knowledge through which Indiya could make sense of 'race' was also important kin-work:

I guess I knew that society would be challenging...when I was with her dad before we had Indiya, times hadn't changed all together...you could go to parts to of Bristol where if you were a 'mixed race' couple you would get abuse...I was aware of kind of the issues, at that time, sort of you know, contemporary social issues and I was aware of the potential and what might happen...I knew that it would be challenging but I knew that the challenge came from outside not inside...I knew that I had the kind of resources to be able to try and counteract it.

Linda Anderson

⁴⁷ Malcom X has made a superlative contribution to understandings the systematic nature of racism. He argues that the systems that underpin society are inherently racist and therefore cannot be reformed. He suggested that embracing one's blackness and refusing to accept society in its current form was the only way racism could be overcome. Thus, his thought was grounded in a radical approach as he understood that Black communities must fight for liberation by any means necessary (Andrews, 2020; X, Haley and Younge, 2007).

Like Shirley and Peter, Linda feels that ‘counteracting’ the impact of racism was central to her parenting role. Linda talked about the resources that enabled her to do this. Central to Linda’s *race script* was an understanding of white privilege and how it operates. This was something she developed alongside her daughter’s exploration of ‘race’ through academic literature. Much of Linda’s racialised kin-work relied on her understanding of white privilege, as well as leveraging her ‘race’ and class advantage to combat issues of racial discrimination Indiya faced at school and institutions. Protecting children from structural racism is a difficult job, complicated by one’s own understanding of ‘race’ and life experiences. One must hold a certain level of racial literacy in order to do this successfully (Twine, 2004). In contrast to Linda, central to Fiona Clark’s (White working-class mother of Zara and Natasha) *race script* is the belief that focusing on ‘race’ amplifies its effects:

I didn’t wanna make it a big thing, it wasn’t a big thing to me, and I didn’t wanna make it a big thing to her, make her feel like...I am different because if she wasn’t being made to feel different at school by peers or teachers why am I going to start making an issue of your colour...I’m not gunna make it stand out any more than it has to.

Fiona Clark

Unlike parents who felt a responsibility to prepare their children for unequal treatment, Fiona believed bringing attention to the colour of her child’s skin was a greater risk than not talking about it. Fiona does acknowledge that racism exists, she has herself experienced name calling as a white woman with a ‘mixed race’ child. However, she thinks that avowing ‘race’ invests it with power. By not acknowledging it she is acting out her belief that ‘race’ does not matter. This form of avoidance is common within a British context where ‘race’ remains largely an unspoken or awkward topic (Hirsch, 2018; Rollock, 2012). Whilst this may have some validity, not acknowledging ‘race’ does not change how it manifests structurally (Bonilla-Silva, 2015; Omi and Winant, 1986; Andrews, 2018). However, Fiona’s strategy of ignoring racism has at times been difficult for Zara, as this has meant ‘race’ becomes a taboo subject she is unable to speak with her mother about. Zara’s dad, Lenard, has a very different understanding of ‘race’. His understanding of ‘mixed race’ appears to reflect the dominant discourse of the 80s and 90s which often drew a link between ‘mixed race’ people and internal confusion (Zack, 1993; Ifekwunigwe, 2004). Lenard feels that it is his role as a father to ensure that his daughter Zara learns to love and value her ‘Black self’:

I thought it was important for me to play a part in letting her ... identify with her Black self, knowing that she had a Black father and that he was present, you know... Appreciation for yourself! I used to say to her mum... she mustn’t just have white dolls to play with... they don’t make no ‘mixed race’ dolls but get some Black dolls or get her some books with Black people in there, school books with Black faces, you know, because I recognised that we were growing up within a white society now I had no

need to teach or to encourage anything to do with white to a ‘mixed race’ child ... I would strategically, I don’t know if Zara knows this, before she came round, I would go out and buy Black beauty magazine and place them around the house.

Lenard Clark

Lenard believed that this would help his daughter escape the fate of confusion he says he has witnessed other ‘mixed race’ people fall victim to. This illustrates that *race scripts* are distinctive to each life. It also demonstrates that not all parents believe it is their role to equip their children with specific skills or knowledge to enable them to navigate the racialised dynamics of society. This can produce a division of labour within kinship networks between those who undertake racialised kin-work and those who prefer not to; or lead to an absence of such preparatory work altogether. Thus, young people are likely to be equipped to different degrees to manage the racialised encounters they confront in other fields (beyond the family, e.g. education). Furthermore, *race scripts* play an active role in shaping how structural racism is reproduced or resisted, depending on an individuals’ dispositions and the impact this has upon their consciousness of racialised misrecognition.

The next section explores how racialised kin-work is divided within families and how this relates to a family’s racialised kinscript. Taking each family in turn I: a) examine parent’s relationships and how each parent responds to the other’s race script; b) explore how this impacts the racialised kin-work they carry out; and c) discuss how parents avoid or develop ways of guiding their children through forms of racialisation they have or have not experienced themselves.

5.3.2 The Anderson family’s racialised kinscript: Motherwork across colour lines

Simon and Linda separated when Indiya was two years old but have remained friends. Despite the epistemological differences between how Linda and Simon have come to know race⁴⁸, their *race scripts* are similar, which has impacted the racialised kinscript that exists in their family. Linda’s *race script* was heavily influenced by Simon during their relationship, through conversations about ‘race’ and shared experiences of racist encounters. However, within the Anderson family, Linda has carried out most racialised kin-work. Simon thinks highly of Linda and respects how she has raised their daughter. Simon’s trust in Linda’s ability to prepare Indiya for racialised encounters that occur outside of the family is central to why he has taken a ‘back seat’ from this role. Additionally, over the years Simon has struggled with depression, which has led him to isolate himself and withdraw from parenting at times. Often, girls reserve talking to their mothers about intimate topics (Way and Gillman, 2000), and Indiya shared with me that Simon’s role in her life has

⁴⁸ Linda being a white woman who became subjected to different form of racialisation as a result of her relationship with Simon, a Black man.

related more to “fun stuff” and her mother has dealt with more difficult aspects of her life. ‘Race’ is an intimate topic, so closely linked with identity and too often trauma (Comas-Díaz, 2019; Jernigan and Daniel, 2011; Saleem *et al.*, 2020). When ‘race’ has come up in the Anderson family, Indiya has turned to her mother for support, and it is her mother who has helped her prepare appropriate responses. When interviewing Simon (with Indiya present) I asked Simon if he and Indiya had spoken much about ‘race’:

I think Indiya has always been...painfully aware of being Black. And I don’t know if that is necessarily a negative thing, but it is always something I know Indiya has been aware of. I don’t know if you’ve [speaking to Indiya directly] encountered racism directly or indirectly in anyway. Quite possibly.

Simon Anderson

Indiya has been racially abused many times. Whilst ‘race’ is not an unspoken topic between Simon and Indiya, it does not feature as actively in conversation as it does between Linda and Indiya. Linda has always been very aware of the impact of ‘race’ on her parenting practice and has thoughtfully considered her racialised kin-work:

I was more interested in you being able to feel positive about your Black identity than necessarily thinking about how whiteness would be part of your identity. I kind of realised that society would see you as Black.

Linda Anderson

Once again, negative perceptions of blackness are understood as something that must be counteracted. During Indiya’s childhood Linda made life choices that have subtly created a world in which Indiya did not feel like a minority, such as choosing to live in a multicultural area or send Indiya to an ethnically diverse school. Linda felt that it was important for Indiya to see herself reflected in the world around her so that she did not feel isolated. At age 11 Indiya moved to a predominantly white area where she attended a predominantly white school, which Linda and Indiya described as a culture shock. This was because Linda finished her PhD, became a university lecturer and brought a property in an affordable area located on the outskirts of Bristol. Moreover, the school in this area had a reputation of academic excellence. During this time ‘race’ came up a lot for the Andersons and Linda’s subtle techniques were replaced by more overt and strategic forms of racialised kin-work. At this time Indiya’s interest in ‘race’ began to grow and her grandmother brought her *Black Feminist Thought* by Patricia Hill Collins. As Linda was an academic, she fed Indiya’s interest by providing her access to the university library. The acts of talking about ‘race’, cultivating

Black cultural capital⁴⁹ (e.g. knowledge of Black history and access to Black social networks) and using this knowledge to challenge racial injustice Indiya has encountered are the product of the Anderson's shared racialised kinscripts. Indeed, Linda has embedded this proactive praxis into the 'pedagogical package' she has passed to her daughter:

Linda: We would just always talk about it wouldn't we? Like if it [racism] happened, you'd ring me; if you came home, we would extensively talk it out, talk about what happened and the possible options.

Indiya: But you're also quite proactive in terms of, "okay, what are we going to do about it" ... not just like wallowing for too long even though you said it was okay to be upset.

Linda: But yeah exactly, but also trying to be like "I'm not going to force like what I think we should do", it was like "let's decide together what the approach would be, because it's going to affect you" ...but yea we just talked things through which we still do don't we? No matter what the issue is.

When 'race' has come up in this family Linda has not approached the issue as an expert but as an assistant, someone to sit, listen and think with Indiya. She values Indiya's knowledge and first-hand experience and has coached her through each racialised encounter in such a way that Indiya has achieved a sense of power over social circumstances far beyond her control. Linda's dedication to listening to Indiya discuss issues of 'race', the knowledge she holds about the systematic workings of racism and the cultural resources she has access to (cultural capital in the form of literature and knowledge of 'the rules of the game', i.e., the symbolic functioning of race, class and gender in society) have been a central part of their family life. This approach has made her daughter very vigilant when it comes to seeing and feeling 'race' in society, which is hard and exhausting. But Indiya has also learned how to read and respond to these experiences. Embedded in Indiya's *race script* is a sense of the importance of challenging racism, understanding of racialisation as an external process and knowledge that, despite the story told in dominant racial discourse, she can inhabit both middle-class privileges and blackness⁵⁰ (see Chapter 7). This grants her access to a form of 'political agency' that assists her as she navigates oppressive racialised structures (O'Malley, 2020 pg. 15). Indiya has used these skills mostly within mainstream education settings. This demonstrates the collectively conferred dispositions that develop within one's kin group and thus the ways in which Indiya's habitus has been

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⁵⁰ This is similar to what Twine (2010) describes a 'micro political project' whereby parents and their children develop strategies through which to respond to racialisation.

shaped by her family field (Burke *et al.*, 2013; Atkinson, 2013). Moreover, Linda's racialised kin-work is an example of mothering across colour lines. Patricia Hill Collins suggests:

Racial ethnic women's motherwork reflects the tensions inherent in trying to foster a meaningful racial identity in children within a society that denigrates people of colour. The racial privilege enjoyed by white, middle-class women makes unnecessary this complicated dimension of the mothering tradition of women of colour. While white children can be prepared to fight racial oppression, their survival does not depend on gaining these skills. Their racial identity is validated by their schools, the media, and other social institutions. White children are socialised into their rightful place in systems of racial privilege. Racial ethnic women have no such guarantees for their children; their children must first be taught to survive in systems that oppress them. Moreover, this survival must not come at the expense of self-esteem.

(Collins, 2007, Kindle edition)

Collins (2007) juxtaposes the issues women of colour face with that of white middle-class women illustrating how the oppressive conditions within which women of colour exist means their experience of 'motherwork' are differ. The experiences of white mothers of 'mixed race' children, like Linda, mothers who also prepare their children to survive and navigate unequal racialised terrain, complicates this binary (O'Malley, 2020; Twine, 2004; Edwards, *et al.*, 2010). How they do this differs from the 'motherwork' carried out by women of colour, epistemologically and in terms of the resources white middle-class mothers have available to them. They have the privilege of not having to deal with their own experiences of racism alongside their children's. Moreover, in experiencing new forms of racialisation vis-à-vis motherhood they can draw upon their increased awareness of their white privilege (Twine, 2010). Not all white mothers respond in this way, transgressing the dominant social norms that promote mono-racial relationships (Britton, 2013; Benson 1981; Katz 1996), or feel as confident in 'negotiating complicated relationships preparing children to fit into, yet resist, systems of racial domination' (Collins 2007, Kindle edition). Thus, knowledge of macro and micro processes of racialisation has the potential to instigate this form of 'motherwork' for all women. Twine (2010) describes this as anti-racist parental labour. However, it is important to also consider how these dimensions of 'motherwork' differ depending on not only a mother's own experiences of racialisations but also the resources they have access to.

5.3.3 The Bishops' racial kinscript: How class and 'race' privilege support the construction of instrumental racialised kin-work

The Bishop family appear to have a divided racial kinscript. Like Linda, Mary's own *race script* has been influenced by her children's father, John. Yet, Bibi and Reece perceive substantial differences in how their parents understand issues of 'race'. Mary and John have not been in communication for a long time. As

such, they have not undertaken racialised kin-work together. Unlike Simon - who admires Linda and appreciates her taking full parental responsibility when he could not and values her communication skills, according to Mary and Bibi - John by contrast remains angry at Mary and blames her for much of the hardship he has faced in his life. John has neither praised nor disapproved of Mary's efforts to teach their children about 'race'.

As a white middle-class woman Mary has devised a method of understanding 'race' through observation, whilst John is more likely to have drawn upon a combination of experiential knowledge and observation. These differences affect the parenting practices of John and Mary. According to Bibi, John is less able to provide her a narrative that helps her to navigate racialised encounters. As an insider battling with the everyday experience of racism John offers Bibi warnings, informing her that things are hard and the odds are against her. Mary on the other hand appears to have channelled Maya Angelou's (2014) wish into her parenting pedagogy: 'it is time for parents to teach young people early on that in diversity there is beauty and there is strength' (pg. 6). Mary's racialised kin-work, then, is instrumental. From a young age both Bibi and Reece were taught to interpret prejudice as a fault of others and resulting from ignorance and miseducation. This, in turn, has structured all subsequent learning from racialised encounters. Their conviction in their own sophisticated understanding of racism has meant they are able to resist internalising negative racial discourses that confront them. This is a very useful strategy that helps them to navigate fields where processes of racialisation are felt heavily. Yet a flip side to this is that there exists a playing-down of the usefulness of their father's perspective on 'race' within their 'racial' kinscript as it is not deemed beneficial. This seems to unintentionally enact a kind of symbolic violence towards those, like their father, who have experienced a significant amount of racism:

I think interestingly enough if my dad had been present throughout me growing up, or if I'd interacted with him more than my mum, then I would be much more prejudiced than I am. Particularly towards Black people, my dad's views are completely ignorant and simplistic, and I don't actually think he is a very smart man. Whereas, my mum, is the complete opposite, luckily for me. But, yeah, that is funny isn't it, I would probably be so much more racist if I was raised by a Black man than a white woman.

Bibi Bishop

Bibi and Reece say they associate their understanding of 'race' and their Grenadian heritage with their mother and not their father. Bibi interprets her father's understanding of 'race' as "simplistic", attaching more value to her mother's more theoretical understanding. Bibi respects her mother much more than her father. She says he has had affairs, been careless with money and not been around much, and so, she has less trust in what he says. However, her mother's class privilege and proximity to whiteness appear to have

also affected Bibi's interpretation of her mother and father's understandings. Mary can confidently instill in her children the idea that 'race' will not hold them back, whilst providing material resources that can help this belief become a reality. Furthermore, Mary can carry out 'motherwork' across coloured lines, doing so from a privileged position, without needing to battle with her own experiences of racism, and the full emotional implications of this, as John might. However, discounting John's feelings of helplessness does enable Bibi to feel more in control of 'racism' and the potential harm it can cause, which enables her embodiment of a confidence others cannot easily diminish (see Chapter 7). And yet, this strategy seems to reflect a wider societal trend, whereby the structural impacts of racism are commonly mistaken for an individualised problem (Bryan, 2012).

5.3.4 The Jacksons' racial kinscript: parental expectations and strategies for survival through the unspoken

Peter and Shirley have been separated for seven years and try to limit contact between themselves as much as possible, only making exceptions for the children's key life events such as university graduations. Peter's racialised kin work is visible (such as sharing books and taking his children to cultural events). Shirley and her extended family network⁵¹ appear to have developed a common racialised kinscript that resides in an embodied realm. It is almost invisible – or at least so embedded within their day-to-day life that it seems uncultivated. Unlike other parents who have carried out deliberate and observable forms of racialised kin-work, the Jackson's (maternal-side) kinscript is communicated most often in silence, through action. For example, unlike Linda who had to make a concerted effort to ensure her daughter felt the world around her reflected the person she was, this was achieved in the Jackson family through internal family members rather than through an external community. During my fieldtrip to Shirley's house my own mother was unwell. During my interview with her, Shirley made reference to my mother to illustrate how her family works and how this has helped her children's sense of themselves to develop:

I think though, [Andrew and Gemma] are who they are because they've had a secure upbringing... Well, you know yourself, with your mum, you got to rely on your network, so it means you don't have to be defined by what happening with your mum. You don't have to rush back, you feel confident and free enough to go off for a weekend or however long knowing 'yes, if my mum has an episode there is a network in place'. It's the same for them, if anything happens there is a network in place and no one judges them, and so I think that's what makes them who they are. But then I would

⁵¹ Andrew's maternal family is a lower middle-class Black family. His white family is very small in comparison and there is little contact with family members besides his father.

say that would be the same for any family group as long as you go that type of security, that's all I've ever wanted for them.

Shirley Jackson

Most of the Jackson's extended family have stable professional jobs. They are living examples of the types of futures younger members can access. Racism is understood as a given. It is something each member knows they must fight against when the need arises, and there is an expectation that all members will band together if needed. Being confronted by racism is not something they appear to fret about or dwell on for too long, for them it's just a part of life. In attending family gatherings and conversations during fieldwork, I observed that these fights and strategies are at times communicated through humour, and at other times through advice given between family members on how best to respond to any incident. For example, when Shirley recounts stories of times she has had to challenge the children's school, she tells the story in a playful way. Her narratives posited her as being in control, conveying that the school knew 'not to mess with her' and that her wrath was mighty (see Chapter 4). Whilst Shirley cannot single headedly reduce the impact of racism on the education system, she felt confident in her ability to reduce the risks it posed to her children.

Many extended family members have had to battle with schools to ensure their children are not being wrongfully overlooked, under-estimated or misjudged because of their skin colour. However, within the family space the shared 'minority' experiences between the majority of family members enables much of the overt preparation other parents carry out (to ensure their children are fully equipped to deal with the racialisation they may face) can be done without words and explicit action plans. Instead, this is achieved through defiantly being (on the part of parents, aunts or uncles) and observation, including listening observation on the part of younger generations, to allegorical storytelling of times when family members playfully describe overcoming prejudice. Shirley and other Jackson family members hold a strong belief that 'race' will not hold them back, an unspoken mantra that is embedded into their family kinscript. Within the 'pedagogic package' Shirley has passed to her children is the notion that:

You know that not everyone's going to like you, you don't like everyone, so it doesn't matter. So, you're never going to be the brightest, the richest, the prettiest *but you are at a level* and you just accept that; and then, I don't know if it's tough love, but I think just you know that's life, and that's reality. I don't say reach for the stars but aim for what's going to make you happy and that's it. That's all I've ever wanted from them.

Shirley Jackson

Therefore, Shirley does not place expectations on her children to be doctors, lawyers and engineers. But she does expect them to learn their strength and pursue their dreams with the understanding that they are

equal to those around them. Within Andrew's own *race script*, it is evident that he experiences a deep sense of comfort within Black spaces as he feels they most reflect his everyday life at 'home'. There is also a habituated understanding of 'the game' one has to play to succeed and participate within white middle-class spaces (see Chapter 6). Andrew and Gemma then, like, Bibi and Reece, have inherited a proactive frame through which to make sense of 'race' as it is encountered. The collectively conferred dispositions through which they understand 'race' have taught them it can be a barrier but conceive this limitation as something they have the power to overcome (n, 2000). All the families discussed above have access to symbolically recognised capital that they draw upon within this process of overcoming (see Chapter 7). The racialised kinscripts in the Clark family are very different.

5.3.5 The Clark's racial kinscript: colour-blind parenting and white fragility

Lenard and Fiona split up when Zara was three. After a couple of years of distance, they became good friends and have maintained this friendship ever since. Lenard has a 4-year-old 'mixed race' son and girlfriend who he lives with. Fiona also has a 15-year-old white daughter. Fiona and Zara have rarely spoken about 'race', it is not a topic Fiona has not spoken about much with anyone. The differences between Fiona and Lenard's *race scripts* has led to the development of a division of labour within their racialised kinscript which is built upon the assumption that one parent (Lenard) is carrying out all necessary racialised kin-work⁵² as one parent (Fiona) believes 'race' should remain unspoken and the other (Lenard) sees discussions of 'race' as central to their role (Childs and Dalmage, 2010). This division is not unique to the Clarke family. As discussed above, of the families who participated, mothers appear to be responsible for the majority of racialised kin-work, regardless of their ethnicity (Edwards *et al.*, 2010; Twine 2011). The Clark family's experience suggests that this type of work may be an important part of motherhood, as when a mother is unable to engage in this work, it appears to have a great impact upon their children (Zara and Theo are examples of this as I shall go on to outline). However, both Lenard and Peter demonstrate that some fathers do in different ways take an active role in racialised kin-work, complicating the assumption that underpin gendered child rearing practices (Edwards, 2017).

Lenard discussed the strategies he put in place to ensure his daughter grew to love her Black self at length (as discussed above). Whilst for Zara 'race' is freely explored in one realm of family life, it is met with awkwardness in the other. During Fiona's interview, Zara and Fiona had a very uncomfortable and defensive conversation about 'race'. Zara asked her mother why she avoids these conversations:

But [your father] knows that side of things and I'm not in the position to cover it, cus I

⁵² Rockquemore and Laszloffy's (2005 pg. 64) work on 'mixed race' families suggested that Black parents carry out 'active racial socialisation' within 'mixed race' families. Whilst this is affirmed by Lenard's experience, Simon's reliance on Linda to conduct racialised kin-work complicates this assumption.

haven't got the knowledge on it. I haven't grown up as a... [pause] as any other colour, do you know what I mean? I don't, I can't, I'd be a bit, I think a bit hypocritical... How would I know how you feel, because I don't. But obviously you know you can talk to me about anything, whether I'm wrong, or right?

Fiona Clark

Fiona's *race script* positions 'race' as taboo and as something that she cannot fully understand as a white person. Fiona's own 'racial' positioning is her main justification for why she does not discuss her daughter's experiences of racialisation. This leaves Zara feeling unable to speak to Fiona about a core part of herself, as Zara expressed to Fiona:

You just don't talk about it. So, I always wonder if you would feel uncomfortable talking about it, like you personally. I don't mind talking to you about it really, it's just, I don't know... what your response might be... I've always wondered whether you'd feel guilty or whether you'd be defensive or whether you'd... just not know what to say.

Zara Clark

Fiona's reluctance to talk about 'race' may arise from feelings of white guilt⁵³ and fragility⁵⁴ which produces a fear of saying the wrong thing and it being mistaken for racist. However, by attempting to avoid accidental racism Fiona is complicit in a colour-blind racism⁵⁵. This produces a dynamic whereby Zara represses her own desires and needs (expressed below) to make her mother feel better. This pattern represents a critical part of this family's racialised kinscript. Zara told me about the first time her and her mum discussed 'race':

I recently actually had a really intense conversation with my mum about 'race'... We were talking about how it's different for me than it is for her and that she doesn't see certain things, and she can't, because she's white and my mum can be quite ignorant to that sometimes. That annoys me because I think as a parent of a 'mixed race' child you should be more aware of it... [My little brother's] mum is very aware; she is very pro Black. She shares unjust things on Facebook all the time, always talks about things and is always

⁵³ Leonardo (2009) argues 'white guilt can be a paralyzing sentiment that helps neither whites nor people of colour. White guilt blocks critical reflection because whites end up feeling individually blameworthy for racism. In fact, they become over concerned with whether or not they 'look racist' and forsake the more central project of understanding the contours of structural racism' (p. 40).

⁵⁴ "White Fragility is a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These moves include the outward display of emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, and behaviors such as argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation. These behaviors, in turn, function to reinstate white racial equilibrium." (DiAngelo, 2011 pg. 54)

⁵⁵ An ideology that positions 'race' as unimportant and criticises those who talk about it (Bonilla-Silva, 2013).

supportive of the Black community and movements and...always empathises with things when she sees it. Whereas my mum I feel sometimes turns a blind eye to it, she doesn't always want to see it and I raised that once... and it just got really heated. I ended up getting really emotional. I think that's the only time I have felt like 'race' was a thing with me and my mum, and it had ever been mentioned or ever been brought up. And I thought, 'wow that was deep' ...it's just never been a thing and it was a thing all of a sudden, and I'll tell you what, it was like the first time I felt disconnected from my mum.

Zara Clark

This is an example of a time when unspoken boundaries were crossed. When 'race' transcended the silent realm and became spoken, it ended up causing feelings of disconnection between Zara and her mother. Perhaps this fear was also true for Fiona, who may have felt that by raising the significance of 'race' she in turn was magnifying the difference between herself and her daughter. Thus, although on the one hand Zara's *race script* is characterised by feelings of pride in her ethnic heritage, at times she also attempts to make her 'race' go away. When she is made to feel uncomfortable within racialised encounters, she doesn't say anything but instead wonders if her experience was imagined or tries to find ways to make her 'race' stand out less (a habit she may have inherited from the 'pedagogical package' passed to her from Fiona) (see Chapter 7). Zara then does hold a proactive frame through which she interprets racialised encounters, which she has inherited from her father. However, the differing messages about 'race' her parents have communicated disrupts the formation of shared dispositions within this kin network, which has in turn made it difficult for Zara to read 'race' without a sense of doubt (see Chapter 7). Fiona's experience is not unique. There appeared to be similar features within the Turner family's racialised kinscript.

5.3.6 The Turners' racial kinscript: Navigating dominant forms of racialised misrecognition in the family

Claire and Robert got married 18 months before Theo was born. 'Race' was a point of contention in the Turner family. Of the two Turner children I met, one identifies themselves more closely with blackness and the other with whiteness. Robert (their father) refuses to talk about 'race' or acknowledge Theo's experiences of racism. Claire (their mother) is passionate about racial injustice but holds stereotypical views about the racial categories Black and white. The binary understanding of 'race' that is inscribed within this family's racialised kinscript has led to feelings of racialised displacement which have been difficult for Theo and Amelia to navigate (Campion, 2019). This has been complicated further as Theo and Amelia have had to interpret racialised encounters through what I call a reactive rather than a proactive frame.

Claire carries out most of the racialised kin-work. For Claire, like Fiona, 'race' shouldn't matter and so its significance is ignored whenever possible. She has tried to cultivate a neutral feeling about 'race' in her

children. She did not position ‘race’ as a defining feature of their life as Lenard (Zara’s father) did and did not strive to equip her children with Black cultural capital or discourses for them to make sense of racialised encounters or racism as Linda and Mary (also white mothers) did. In our interview Claire claimed to have not really given much thought to the colour of her children’s skin. Theo, on the other hand, suggests that since his mother never really acknowledged that he had brown skin she found it hard to accept when he explored what she considered to be culturally Black things:

She’d explain that she always sees me as her child. And I was born with blonde hair and really pale blue eyes, so she always sees me as that little baby.

Theo Turner

Claire appears here to have imagined Theo as a white child. The distinction Theo suggests his mother makes between him being her child and him being Black suggests that she may (like Fiona) have a fear of disconnection or even experience feelings of maternal erasure if her son’s racial difference is acknowledged, especially if others perceive him as Black. Lewis (2009) in her deeply personal, brave and insightful paper ‘Birthing Racial Difference’, explores the significance differences in skin can have in families. Addressing her own mother, she writes:

I think Mum that so much of our relationship was choreographed through the social and familial and psychic meanings accorded to the differences in our skin...

(Lewis 2009, p. 7)

Drawing upon Anzieu’s (1989) concept of the ‘Skin Ego’⁵⁶, Lewis illustrates here how her own relationship with her mother was deeply affected by the social value inscribed upon their differences in skin⁵⁷. She goes on to say to her mother that they could tell Anzieu so much about how they have been affected by “the skin’s language and social valorisation, about its invisible traces” (Lewis 2009, p. 7). Anzieu (1989) argues that the skin provides a child with its first glimpse of social reality. To the outside world it reveals a person’s social group membership. In Lewis’ experience, it was the undervaluing of the significance of her skin colour that fed a painful racial dynamic between herself and her mother. Similar dynamics appeared to present themselves in the Turner family. The meaning attached to Theo and his siblings by outsiders’

⁵⁶ ‘The Skin Ego is the original parchment which preserves, like a palimpsest, the erased, scratched-out, written-over first outlines of an ‘original’ pre-verbal writing made up of ‘race’ upon the skin.’ Anzieu (1989) cited in Lewis, 2009, pg. 7)

⁵⁷ ‘The human skin presents a considerable range of differences as regards grain, colour, texture and smell. These may be narcissistically, or even socially, overvalued. They allow one to identify others as objects of attachment and love.’ (Anzieu 1989 cited in Lewis, 2009, Pg. 7)

responses to their 'social skin' (see Chapter 7) is reflected in Claire's own projections onto their skin – an object - which has impacted the way she relates to it and by default to her children. Thus Amelia (Theo's sister) denial of her blackness is seen as more acceptable to Claire than Theo's desire to embody and relate to blackness.

The complex and conflicted relationship with 'race' felt by members of the Turner family (Claire, Theo and Amelia), paired with their father's avoidance of talking about the topic altogether, has led to the development of a racial kinscript that on the one hand played down the significance of 'race' and on the other exaggerated it. This dissonance emerged from an inconsistency in responses, and the attempted denial of Theo's identification with blackness. Unlike Linda and Mary whose own parents never vocalised any specific prejudices, Claire's parents, ex-boyfriend and her peer group growing up were overtly racist. When Claire married a Black man, 'race' was transformed from a topic that was spoken in racist terms to a mostly silenced one. During an interview Claire shared the story of how she and Robert met whilst working in the prison service:

So [my mum] worked in the prison. I've worked in the prison. Robert works in the prison. That's how I kind of knew him because he worked with her. And she used to come and talk about 'this boy, such a lovely boy. You wouldn't think he was Black; he was so nice; you forget he's Black you know because he's really nice'. Really mum and [my dad] was terribly racist. OMG, 'coon this' and 'nigger that'...I was a bit nervous of telling them. Not so much her, but him...[My dad] knew him, he knew he was a decent guy or what have you. I think if I had just turned up with this random Black bloke it wouldn't of gone down well at all. But he knew him, and he liked him, so we have never had a discussion about it. He still calls him *Paul*. He called him *Paul* last night.

Claire Turner

Paul was the first Black person Claire's father met. After 30 years of knowing Robert, many of which they have lived in the same house, Claire's father still refers to him by the name of some other Black man Robert does not know, a man the father has not seen in years. Claire, in turn, has attempted to completely re-write the *race script* she inherited for her parents. However, parts of their attitudes to 'race' remain present in Claire's own⁵⁸. For example, Claire often conflates whiteness with positivity and blackness with negativity

⁵⁸ Like family scripts, across a generation *race scripts* can become either replicative (one adopts a very similar one's own parents) or corrective (one changes their own script in response to negative perceptions they hold towards their parents) (Byng-Hall, 1985).

and thus reproduces dominant forms of racialised misrecognition within her family field. For example, during a conversation with myself, Amelia (her daughter) and Claire, Amelia tells me that she was allowed to go out drinking and to parties when she was quite young. To clarify the appropriateness of decisions to allow this, Claire describes the types of people in the parties that Amelia attended as “quite posh, umm, just you know white middle-class people”.

Thus, Claire appears to suggest a link between white middle-class people and the provision of safe spaces. By locating her justification of her actions in whiteness and middle-classness she appears to suggest that the opposite, blackness and working-classness, might put her children at a risk. Theo felt this dynamic growing up:

I went through exploring rock and roll, punk... and also exploring reggae, rap and all the Black cultural stuff, musically, fashion wise and all that stuff. And I would never claim one or the other, I felt like I couldn't because my parents were together, if they were separated maybe I would associate myself strongly one way or the other... I loved my dad and my mum equally so I would just explore things freely and I liked the fact that I could do that within my own home and stuff. But what really used to annoy me was-, what used to really upset me was there would-be times where my mum would be like, 'you're trying to be Black'... If you play basketball, if you're into rap like umm doing those kinds of things you get my mum saying, 'you're trying to be Black', so it's like bad connotations.

Theo Turner

Theo tells me that he felt his mother did not mind when he explored “culturally white things like punk”, but that she took issue when he explored things she considered to be culturally Black; and in doing so reproduces dominant discourses which position Black ‘mixed race’ as representative of a ‘clash of cultures’ (Joseph-Salisbury, 2018a). As a result of this Theo’s *race scripts* contain conflicted understandings of ‘race’. Later in his life these contradicted *race scripts* made it very hard for Theo to interpret the forms of racialisation he would be exposed to beyond the family. On the one hand, he has understood blackness as something lesser than whiteness, yet he knows he is positioned in relation to both, a fact that within his family is overlooked, but the outside world will not let him forget. Theo has struggled to make sense of his place in the world. The racialised kinscript he has inherited has left him vulnerable to dominant racial discourses as he was not provided a consistent and critical foundation from which to begin to interpret and protect himself from these. His lack of overt preparation for responding to processes of racialisation, has meant external influences have great power over how he sees himself (e.g. his mother’s discouragement of forming a connection to and embodiment of blackness and his father’s denial that racism exists in his generation). The encapsulation of dominant forms of racialised misrecognition within the pedagogical package he has

inherited has led Theo to develop a longing to ‘fit in’ and an inability to find a place to be in the world (see Chapter 7).

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter I have introduced the concept of *race scripts* suggesting that they are a part of one’s habitus. *Race scripts* are the product of cumulative knowledge, gained through first-hand experience, observation, books, training or social interactions and underpin people’s understanding of racialisation processes. *Race scripts* are complex and often contradictory, evolving and changing between generations. At times these shifts are the product of correcting family scripts, as ‘old’ values and beliefs come to be understood as inappropriate (Byng-Hall, 1985). *Race scripts* differ significantly between people who occupy socially racialised subordinate positions and those who occupy socially dominant ones. They also impact parenting practices (Twine, 2004; Wilson, 1981; Lazarre, 2016).

I have extended Burton and Stack’s (1993) concept of ‘kinscription’ to make sense of racialised dynamics within families. I have suggested that families share a racialised kinscript that arises from a shared understanding of what ‘race’ means for each family member. Contradictory perceptions of ‘race’ can be encapsulated with a racialised kinscript as, like a collective family habitus, these kinscripts are both structured by and structure individual *race scripts*. Racialised kinscripts impact how family members are expected to (re)act when ‘race’ comes up in the family and beyond (see Chapter 6). Whilst some participants developed a proactive frame through which to make sense of ‘race’ as it manifested around them, others were unprepared and thus developed reactive responses to racialised encounters. Racialised kinscripts are developed in relation to the pedagogical packages parents pass to their children which aid their understanding of ‘race’ in the world. Like *race scripts*, racialised kinscripts remain in constant flux, reforming themselves continuously in response to the racialised encounters that occur within the family field and by individual members’ experiences beyond it. Racialised kinscripts are formed through conversations, silences, emotional intelligence/exchanges and racialised kin-work which includes exchanges of knowledge via shared encounters, teaching, listening and researching.

This chapter has demonstrated that whilst racialised kinscripts are often inspired by all family members, the labour underpinning racialised kin-work is not equally distributed. In most families, mothers appear to be responsible for the majority of racialised kin-work, regardless of how they themselves are racialised. White mothers learn to mother across coloured lines. Confirming earlier work by Twine (2004), some mothers find ways to use their own privileges (e.g. whiteness and middle-classness) to protect their children from the damage processes of racialisation can have upon their self-esteem, self-worth, ambition, drive and happiness. White mothers, whilst greatly affected emotionally by their children’s encounters with racial injustice, benefit from the racialised distance that exists between themselves and their children. Although

they can experience racism as their proximity to blackness shifts how they are racialised, they do not have to carry the full psychological and emotional burden as those who occupy racially subordinate positions do, as escape from this form of racialisation is an option. This lessened psychological burden can act as advantageous to their division of instrumental strategies to help their children – help which is often needed to respond to racialised encounters within the field of education (see Chapter 6). At the same time, this distance can lead them to develop contradictory *race scripts* and racialised kinscripts that lead to conflict in the family. Whilst at the heart of all parents' motivation is a need to protect their children, some strategies do not dispel the myths of dominant racialised categories but confirm and reproduce them, leaving their children vulnerable to psychological harm. Moreover, so much of what happens within families regarding 'race' is done in silence. Coping strategies can be communicated through actions and silence – such as Shirley's use of an unspoken presence of a supportive Black support family network to affirm blackness alongside indirect speech and humour - or words, as in Mary and Linda's use of racial literacy to develop 'political projects' within their families (Twine, 2004). Awkwardness, fear of distance, guilt and fragility are emotions that surround the topic and can cause it to be pushed into an unspoken realm. Racialised differences in families is an emotive presence that may affect how family members connect with each other and the expectations they have of each other. This chapter then has explored the relationship between 'race' in the family and 'race' in the world through demonstrating the ways in which *race scripts* and racialised kinscripts are developed and guide individuals as they navigate the structural manifestations and consequences of 'race'.

The next chapter focuses on the presence or absence of proactive strategies for navigating racialisation. I explore the extent to which inherited 'pedagogical packages' produced in the family shape participants' subsequent learning about 'race', by exploring *epiphany moments* arising from specific racialised encounters that occurred beyond the family field.

6 Epiphany moments: Exploring how racialised encounters shape race scripts through movement, mobility and belonging

6.1 Introduction

This chapter explores how the relationship between habitus and field is mediated by ‘race’ by examining how participants’ *race scripts* are shaped by experiences beyond the family. In the previous chapter I argued, *race scripts* are a fundamental part of one’s habitus. In this chapter I consider the extent to which, ‘once acquired [a *race script*] underlines and conditions all subsequent learning’ (Jenkins, 2002 pg. 79). That is, how the understanding of ‘race’ that participants developed within their families impact further encounters with ‘race’ in other fields. Whilst parents try to prepare their children for life in a racialised world, there is still much they must learn from their own experiences. But how is what participants learn from racialised encounters brought to bear on the ‘pedagogical packages’ they have inherited from their racialised kinscript? This central problematic prompts further questions: How do dominant racial discourses structure specific social ‘fields’? What impact does this have on my participants’ lived experiences? And what do they learn about ‘race’ and themselves in the process of navigating a racialised society?

Through exploring how ‘race’ manifests in space and affects social interactions, I highlight how participants are confronted by the social significance of their racialised existence and how this gives rise to epiphany moments (Denzin, 2002). This chapter focuses on these *epiphany moments*; experiential episodes when racial logics were revealed to participants with stark clarity. These epiphanies related to three kinds of experience: *movement* – the transition from one field to the next; *mobility* – the extent to which they move freely and unburdened within and between fields; and *belonging* – how experiences of movement and mobility affected the messages they internalised about their place in the world. By exploring issues of movement, mobility and belonging specifically within the context of education (with school often being the first field children navigate independently) I centre the effects experiences of fields have on participants’ subjectivity. That is, by uncovering how experiences in the field of education contributed to participants’ understanding of the world as a racialised place and themselves as racialised subjects. This chapter concludes that whilst those who embody whiteness have the privilege of taking themselves and the world around them for granted, the Black ‘mixed race’ participants in this study do not as for them movement through social space is a consciously racialised experience that unsettles their presence in the world. As a result, such experience furthers the development of their *race scripts* either building upon knowledge acquired within the family or challenging it.

This chapter is structured as follows: firstly, I discuss the relationship between dominant racial discourse and fields, and how this gives rise to a *public race script* that transcends social fields. Whilst many racial

discourses exist, this chapter centres discourses of blackness, whiteness and colourism as these appeared to have the greatest impact upon the lives of my Black ‘mixed race’ participants. Secondly, the process by which racialised encounters result in *race script* development is analysed. Thirdly, movement between fields is discussed as a racialised phenomenon by exploring participants’ experiences of moving between Black and white spaces. Fourthly, how the participants’ mobility is affected by their racialised social position is explored through an analysis of their journeys within the field of education. Finally, how participants experience of racialised dimensions of social fields impacts their sense of belonging is considered through participants’ reflections on their experiences of education.

6.2 Centring ‘race’ in ‘field’ analysis

Bourdieu (1985), conceptualises society as a space divided into multiple arenas, or ‘fields’, within which power can be accumulated by agents at variable rates dependent upon their social position. Whilst space appears neutral, it is coded along class and colour lines. Whilst Bourdieu offers a deft analytic of the geography of class-based power, he fails to adequately explore the racialised dimensions of power embedded into space⁵⁹. Delaney (2002 pg. 7) argues ‘race’ is spatially expressed, affecting how different spaces are experienced. He suggests,

Spaces may be produced in accordance with ideologies of colour-blindness⁶⁰ or race consciousness⁶¹, of integrationism⁶², assimilationism⁶³, separatism⁶⁴, or nativism⁶⁵... [E]lements of the social (race, gender, and so on) are not simply reflected in spatial arrangements; rather, spatialities are regarded as constituting and/or reinforcing aspects of the social...[R]ace — in all of its complexity and ambiguity, as ideology and identity — is what it is and does precisely because of how it is given spatial expression.

Social space is consistently figured as a tool through which difference between ‘equals’ has been constructed, maintained and enforced. As access to particular spaces may be limited or denied, boundaries can be constructed that indicate where different people belong dependent upon certain characteristics. For example, across the North Atlantic whiteness - alongside middle-classness - grants the privilege of

⁵⁹ Bourdieu (1985b) argued a field of ethnicity intersects with all others.

⁶⁰ Neville *et al*, (2013 pg. 455) argues colour blindness racial ideology consists ‘of two interrelated domains: colour-evasion (i.e., denial of racial differences by emphasising sameness) and power-evasion (i.e. denial of racism by emphasising equal opportunities)’.

⁶¹ ‘a fundamental prism through which to organise social analysis’ (Peller, 1990 pg. 760) so as to take account of its deeply embedded racialised dimensions of social life.

⁶² Based upon the belief that racism can only be surpassed when racial consciousness has been eradicated (Peller, 1990) as societies must be socially cohesive in order to function which relies upon cultural homogeneity (Schneider and Crul, 2012 pg. 2)

⁶³ The process by which immigrants and their kin across future generations become similar to those they encounter in their new country home and less like those in their country of origin (Schneider and Crul, 2010)

⁶⁴ The belief that ‘race’ should be kept separate within societies.

⁶⁵ The belief that the social world should put the rights of ‘native’ members of a society before those of immigrants.

unquestioned access within many elite spaces such as universities, luxury hotels and airports in a way blackness cannot (Anderson, 2015; Rollock *et al.*, 2011; Puwar, 2004). Blackness, in fact, does the opposite; it raises questions regarding access and imposes limits upon how a person can move through space (Neely and Samura, 2011; Anderson, 2015; Delany, 2002, Goldberg, 1994). Simply put, blackness is taken to symbolise a subordinated position and tarnishes the credibility of those perceived to embody it (Lewis, 2007). Edward Enninful, editor-in-chief of British vogue, offers a recent example of this: he was instructed to leave the main entrance hall of his place of work and re-enter via the loading bay by a security guard who mistook him for a service employee.

The discourse that underpins racial categories (in this case ‘blackness’ and its constructed opposite ‘whiteness’) form a public *race script* similar to Molina’s (2010) notion of ‘racial scripts’, that impacts on how social space is built and organised (e.g. via segregation, ghettoisation, gentrification, notions of entitlement); the selves people embody and perform across different social settings; how people move (freely or forcibly, feeling placed or displaced); and the social relationships created between individuals and groups (Knowle, 2003). These categorisations, whilst originating as social fictions, have ‘real’ effects on the freedom, opportunity and status afforded to different classes of people along colour lines (Bourdieu, 1996; Miles and Brown, 2003; Bonilla-Silva, 2015). Whilst racial categories are embedded within structural processes, people’s everyday actions also give such categories power and meaning (Lewis, 2007; Saperstein *et al.*, 2013; Bashi, 1998). It is, therefore, important to understand how racial categories are brought into being through everyday interactions (Lewis, 2007).

6.2.1 Public race scripts, social interaction and distance

As blackness and whiteness are constructed as oppositional categories there is a commonsense myth that ‘mixed race’ people embody immiscible parts or ‘races’ inscribed with culturally distinct practices. In the following quote, Indiya describes how her boyfriend separates her mixedness:

He says that ‘you are half white’...if I do something he thinks is white it would be like hilarious, like if I had salad for lunch. Something like that...He is like ‘that is a white people thing’. He is like, ‘Your whiteness is coming in again’ or something like that, or if something he thinks is Black, like if we have chicken, he is like, ‘Oh there it is’.

Indiya Anderson

This light-hearted playful exchange between Indiya and her boyfriend is underpinned and influenced by dominant racial discourses embedded into a *public race script* through which objects, actions and choices become racialised. As Molina’s (2010 pg. 157) concept of racial scripts highlights, ‘we think, talk about and act toward one racialised group based on our experiences with other groups whose race differs from our own’. For Black ‘mixed race’ people the pervasiveness of racialised categories within society’s collective

consciousness can lead to the erasure of their mixedness which for some, can be traumatic and have lasting consequences upon their sense of self (Campion, 2019; Ifekwunigwe, 2004; Ifekwunigwe, 1999) (see Chapter 7). The racialisation of people, behaviour and things has political and social consequences that are felt within everyday interactions. Bibi frames this exchange between herself and a white peer at university as an example of subtle ways racial bifurcation operates in society:

I definitely think as much as people go on about how we are such a multicultural society, and that everything is fine, and everything is great clearly, as we know that's not true, it's all just a lot more subconscious or below the surface... someone actually said to me at uni your braids make you look more Black and I knew what they meant, like you're not trying to be white basically... it was a white person. I think there is a weird thing... amongst Black people as well, you know, the whole natural hair movement... where it's like, 'I've got my natural hair and you're wearing weave, you are part of the problem'... a lot of Black people treated me differently and it was like 'ok, you've got on board, now you get it'.

Bibi Bishop

Bibi described her transition from having weave⁶⁶ to braids⁶⁷ and how socially this signalled a change in her racial identifications. Her university counterpart's reactions to her change in hair style illustrates the everyday ways 'race' comes up - moments whereby binary racial thinking manifests itself in social interactions - especially for 'mixed race' females⁶⁸ - as well as how such exchanges and investment in racial categories create distance between people (Lorde, 1984; Baldwin, 1965). Bibi states that to some of her Black counterparts wearing a weave signified that she was "part of the problem" but that her change in hair style represented that she had finally "got on board". Champion's (2019, pg. 196) research suggests that Black 'mixed race' people sometimes 'encounter discourses of Black (in)authenticity in interactions with their Black counterparts and as a consequence, feel rejected from a collective Black identity'. Bibi then, is being included and excluded through perceptions mediated by both pro-Black/anti-racist and Eurocentric beauty standards (whereby straightened European hair is of more value than natural afro hair) (Tate, 2009; Tate, 2018).

The beliefs of Bibi's Black peers respond to racial discourses that characterise 'blackness' as abject (Lewis, 2007), and by investing beauty and strength in blackness they seek to strengthen the power of this non-

⁶⁶ Free-flowing hair straight, curly or afro, that is sewn in one's own hair covering it

⁶⁷ Long hair that is braided with one's own hair that extends its length

⁶⁸ Often 'mixed race' females are racialised as ambiguous and/or exotic meaning their bodies (appearance in particular) is often publicly questioned, politicked and sexualised within racialised encounters (Ifekwunigwe, 2004), as opposed to 'mixed race' men whose mixedness is often erased within racialised encounters whilst their connection to blackness is exaggerated (Sims and Joseph-Salisbury, 2019).

dominant category of being. The reframing of blackness (through interactions or social movements such as ‘Why is my Curriculum White’) demonstrates how those who occupy subordinate social positions contest and seek to dismantle dominant constructions of ‘race’ (Lewis, 2007 pg. 879). At the same time, it illustrates how complicity with pervasive racial thinking can be hard to avoid. Andrews (2018 pg. 170) argues that ‘Blackness is a political rather than cultural essentialism’. However in practice this distinction is complicated. For example, Bibi’s peers on the one hand want to shift the symbolism of blackness but on the other hand by racialising Bibi’s appearance and inferring her politics from it unintentionally reproduce a narrow frame for Black being (Campion, 2019). Thus, in the very act of reclaiming the category of blackness there is the lure of essentialist labels, stereotypes and the erasure of nuance and complexity from individual lives (Campion, 2019). This highlights the problematic nature of investment in racialised categories (Rustin, 1991).

Dominant racial categories are policed and constructed through dialectical processes affected by everyone (Lewis, 2007). However, the processes through which dominant racial discourses are constructed are not equally affected by those in dominant and subordinate positions. For, despite pushback, blackness remains positioned as inferior within the dominant *public race script*, and whiteness remains a social illusion, blessed with the power of invisibility and normality; whilst the processes of racialisation that give rise to this remain concealed (Lewis, 2007). Whilst *public race scripts* are commonly understood, they are neither fixed nor uniformly related to by members of a given society (Wallace, 2019; Ayling, 2015). In fact, such discourses manifest as different logics across different fields. That is, through *doxa*⁶⁹(a pre-discursive, taken-for-granted order-of-things), racialised hierarchies are embedded into fields and impact how status is assigned, as well as the ease with which people readily comply with the rules of a field (Olufemi’s *et al.*, 2019). In the next section I discuss participants’ earliest memories of encounters with *public race scripts* and how these shifted their awareness of racialisation.

6.3 Early encounters matter: Consciousness shifting and internalising racialised discourses

One’s first public encounter with racialisation is not easily forgotten. When ‘race’ first comes up beyond the private space of the family, a lifelong journey of learning how to read ‘race’ within the social world begins. Each racialised encounter conveys a lesson about how ‘race’ works in society by exposing a small glimpse of the social structures that situate individuals’ lives. These encounters represent moments where

⁶⁹ *Doxa* is a form of social arbitrariness - encapsulated in discourse or any other concrete form - recognised and internalised by individuals. It is taken-for-granted in that it represents what is unspoken but commonly understood (Crossley, 2005). Formed through forgotten historical struggles (Bourdieu, 1998). *Doxa* manifests in unquestionable pre-reflexive and pre-discursive compliance to the outcome of such struggles. Racial *doxa* serves dominant groups interests, concealing the relations which grant those in dominant positions the power to produce a racial hierarchy that appears natural (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 2004).

objective structures and individual subjectivities collide. Often, such moments ripple through the lives of individuals and result in a shift in their perspective (Denzin, 2002). In this section I suggest an individual's response to such an encounter is shaped by several factors; the field in which the encounter occurs (Ingram, 2011), the reactions of others present (Jenkins, 1996; Townsend, Markus, and Bergsieker 2009), the repercussions of the encounter, the pre-existing knowledge one possesses regarding 'race' that is stored within their *race script* / racialised kinscript, and the stories told by those closest to the subject to make sense of the experience. Here I analyse the encounters in which participants come to know the social significance of their skin and how they are changed by this. That is, through a discussion of participants' earliest racialised encounters I outline the processes by which this experience was affected by their racialised kinscripts and impacted their own *race script* by discussing the learning generated by such encounters.

Indiya's first racialised encounter (around age 10) changed her perception of 'race'. 'Race' was not always visible to Indiya. As 'race' is brought into being relationally (Glissant, 1997), it was only once her 'race' had been reflected back to her, through the eyes of another and she acquired the tools to interpret this, that Indiya became conscious of the racialised dimensions of an encounter with some people in a public park:

We had an incident at the park...it was quite a white area and even though I didn't see it as a race thing...it turns out that it was a race thing. They were saying like you should go home and stuff, which I didn't actually understand, I thought they meant like go to your grandparent's house...not like Africa

Indiya Anderson

In Indiya's initial interpretation of this encounter 'race' did not come to mind. However, after attending a performing arts workshop at 10 years old (part of a school trip), designed for children of 'mixed race' heritage the issue of 'race' was brought into her consciousness as she was provided a framework through which to reinterpret this event:

I hadn't really thought about race consciously until this point... we did like a drama workshop and they said like any experiences where you were really aware of your race, we did that one [outlined above] we had to re-enact it and then I saw other people's and there were similar things going on... I felt like I should put more effort into looking at race and Black history in particular because I wasn't really interested in stuff that was overtly Jamaican or Black...it made me realise that I should care and make an effort

Indiya Anderson

Indiya is unique in that her first conscious encounter with 'race' occurred within a 'controlled' environment. Arguably this gave her greater power over this experience than she would have had if it was something she

was subjected to outside of a safe space. This encounter changed Indiya's *race script* significantly. Resulting from her mother Linda's approach to racialised kin-work, which included a commitment to limiting exposure to anti-blackness prior to this encounter, growing up in an ethnically mixed community and attending a mixed school had, up to that point, concealed processes of racialisation from Indiya. Whilst in the broader field of power, and to many outsiders, these fields may be considered lowly social spaces and thus often associated with undesirability (due to their lack of proximity to 'whiteness' and middle-classness), within them the social inferiority of blackness was harder to see/feel (at least through Indiya's child eyes) since they limited exposure to anti-blackness. For Indiya, making sense of her park encounter as one grounded in racism sparked a lifelong interest in matters of 'race' and inequality. This interpretation went on to significantly impact Indiya's future behaviour and life choices (see Chapter 7).

Racialised encounters then, can lead to consciousness-shifting experiences that transform how people see themselves and others. They have the power to shift both perception and action. In many cases such encounters become *epiphany moments*, 'life events that radically alter and shape the meaning people attach to themselves and their experiences' (Denzin, 2002 pg. 1). Their epiphanies represent one way that that racialised encounters really matter, as they play a huge part in shaping habitus by influencing identity construction and meaning-making processes.

Andrew's first racialised encounter illustrates that racial discourses are understood and enacted by children from a young age. The unspoken but known dimensions of 'race' are evident in young children's awareness and use of 'race' as a means of inclusion and exclusion in their interactions with other children. Andrew was asked to describe moments and experiences across his life that he felt influenced the person he was today. One of the earliest memories he shared occurred in Reception⁷⁰:

The first time 'race' was a bit of a thing ... it was sort of like kids just pointing out differences... there was like these two popular kids called Nick and Tom and they were playing together and I wanted to go and play with them and Nick turned around and said... Brown people and white kids shouldn't play together... the thing which really sort of sticks out for me wasn't what he said... it was that other people in the class, like because he was quite popular and he was upset - I got him into trouble - they were kind of like a little bit angry with me.

Andrew Jackson

It has been suggested that racial differences start to be noticed by children as young as 3 years old (Hirschfeld, 1995). However, it is not until a child begins primary school that 'race' is used as a condition

⁷⁰ First year of Primary school attended by children aged between 4 and 5.

for inclusion and exclusion between peers (Van Ausdale and Feagin, 1996). Allport (1958), argued that racial bias is a by-product of cognitive processes that make the formation of the categories that are essential to understanding one's surroundings possible. According to this logic, people hold more positive feelings towards that with which they are familiar. Hirschfeld (2008) however argues that 'children do not learn about 'race' because it is evident; they learn that it is supposed to be evident because it is governed by hidden but crucial processes' (pg. 216-217). Thus, Hirschfeld (2008) suggests children's understandings of 'race' reflect those of adults. They do not respond to a visual stimulus and perceive it as that but allocate different meaning systems to such stimuli based upon those they have been exposed to and those embedded into the society. They are, then, responding to whilst constructing the processes that racialise people within their wider milieu.

Andrew does not recall how he knew Nick's comments were wrong, he says he didn't remember having any conversation about 'race' at home but he says he knew it was not right immediately – which is reflective of the unspoken but overtly understood nature of his maternal family's racialised kinscript. At the same time, more overtly affirmative processes were underway at home, for instance, where Andrew was read stories that centred non-white young people and which were encrypted with positive messages about difference. Whilst he was not conscious of this, it may go some way to explaining the unease he felt in response to his peer's comments. Through this encounter Andrew's conscious perception of 'race' grew, and in the process, he refined his *race script*. For Nick and Tom, their interpretations of the racial categories 'Brown' and 'white' are affecting the terms upon which they build friendships and make sense of the people around them. Both Andrew's reaction and Nick and Tom's accusations highlight the cultural understanding of 'race' they share and how, through these 'race' is brought to life in everyday interactions:

[Nick] said like another comment later on in school life... we were kind of like on a certain level friends and I remember when his mum and dad split up, I was kind of like the only person he told, and he fully broke down in tears in front of me. I just gave him a hug and we didn't really talk about it. I didn't make a big thing of it; he came over and cried.

Andrew Jackson

The complexity embedded within Nick and Andrew's relationship is reflective of those embedded in systems that maintain 'race'. Here you see two young people processing the mixed feeling they have for each other as their relationship is mediated by so much more than this interaction but also by their connection to broader systems of divisive and unequal social relations. To further explore how Andrew makes sense of this encounter and what elements of it he internalises I will look closer at the reactions of his peers and the response of his parents and the school to Nick and Tom's behaviour.

Andrew's comment about the 'anger of other children' being what 'sticks out' is an example of how racialised encounters teach those involved about racial discourses and hierarchies and encourage them to develop an understanding of themselves in relation to them. There are many layers to this encounter that Andrew must process at four years of age. He is taught (or his belief is reaffirmed) that racism exists and is bad. In turn, he learns that racism is something aimed at people who look like him (brown/Black). This begins to reveal a difference in status between whiteness and non-whiteness in UK society. This hierarchy is made clearer, again (although only slightly), through the response of his peers to Andrew's complaint getting Nick and Tom in trouble. Their reaction tells him that the idea that racism is bad is not a universal truth, since to his peers it is Andrew who has done something wrong. This also subtly conveys (and potentially arises out of) the privilege embedded into whiteness within the field of education where the encounter takes place (see Section 6.5).

Shirley, Andrew's mother, reacted to this racist incident with anger. She held a grudge against Nick throughout Andrew's time at the school and held the school responsible for Nick's actions. This is an example of protective parenting, a strategy both Shirley and Peter (Andrew's parents) enacted within their racialised kin-work. It also highlights the emotive response to 'race' and racism - as something that should be fought against and not tolerated - within the Jackson family. Finally, the school reacted to this incident by holding a racism awareness week in which they explored 'race' and chastised prejudices, ran activities such as separating children with blue eyes and green eyes, giving privileges to one group and not the other, and sent Nick home with a letter to his parents explaining that his behaviour would not be tolerated.

Two other parents' that I interviewed (both white and middle-class parents of 'mixed race' children) discussed how they too managed to get their children's school to respond in this way after their child experienced racist abuse from peers. This is an example of how middle-class parents are able to use their capital to influence school to operate in ways that reflect their interests. The school's response however must not be interpreted as evidence that it does not reproduce structural racism and other forms of social disadvantage, as these activities have little impact upon their Eurocentric curricula or how 'race' is read by teachers, school boards or other parents (Bryan (2012)). This experience, however, did teach Andrew that racism is a fault of the individual(s) who are racist, not the person on the receiving end of the racism; and that in theory, multiple people have a responsibility to provide protection from being racially abused. Andrew's consciousness was shifted by this experience and he internalised the lesson that if someone excludes him based upon his 'race' it is not his fault and he does not need to change who he is to win their approval, but instead he should find a way to ensure that that person is held accountable for their wrongdoing. This then became embedded in his *raw script* whilst altering his conscious understanding of manifestations of racialisation. Thus, this experience had long lasting consequences and went on to shape how Andrew responded to other encounters with racialisation within his life (see Chapter 7). Therefore, in

Andrew's case, his *rave script* underlines his interpretation of this event and was shaped further by what he learnt from it.

Not everyone had such a positive experience and were able to clearly purge themselves of blame within racist encounters. For example, in Theo's predominately white and middle-class school, his accusations of racism were not believed by his teachers, who instead accuse him of being racist towards white children. Thus, whilst Andrew externalising issues of 'race' with ease, that is, not concluding that a part of himself is flawed and therefore internalising others perception of him, this was not something all participants could do at such a young age. Theo shares with me his first racialised encounter:

Leaving Croydon... a multicultural society where I wasn't asked loads of questions. I wasn't analysed... when people met me, they met *me!* They didn't meet my heritage... When I moved to [a rural village]... I was used to London and Montessori⁷¹ schools and being very active so, through the boredom you just kind of notice what the people are like... it was just tonnes of white faces that were staring back at me. I put stares, stares and more stairs, but spelt the other way, because I was always met with "who are you?" and they didn't want to know who I was, they wanted to know what makes me, like "where am I from?", "where are my parents from" and it wasn't about me anymore, it was like I was having to walk down the stairs to what they wanted and then try and walk up the stairs and impress them with who I am.

Theo Turner

⁷¹ An approach to learning that believes educators and parents play a supportive role in helping a child become their own person within a simulating child-orientated environment that promotes freedom (Davies, 2019)

Theo is describing a moment he had written down on his important moments map that he carried out during interview two (see Chapter 3).

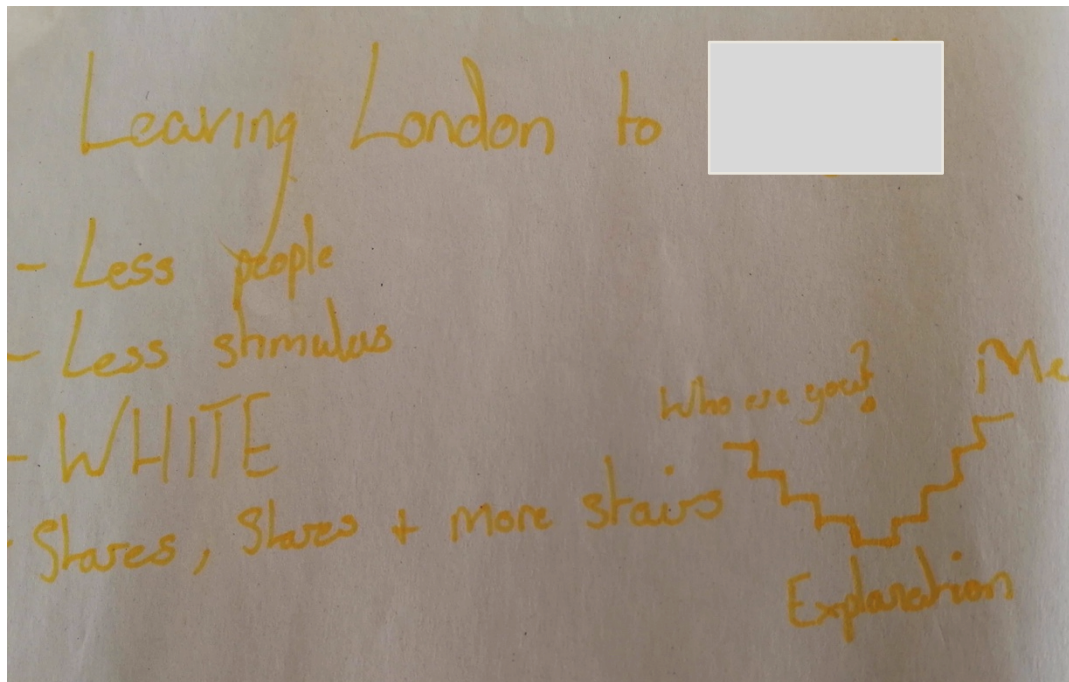


Figure 12 Theo's Interview 2 Epiphany Moments Map

For Theo, his first consciously racialised encounter occurred as he moved from one location to another, from multicultural London to a predominantly white rural village. He spoke about feeling a pressure to meet others through their expectations of him – metaphorically walking downstairs and then walking back up again with them to show them who he really was. An experience that is likely to have been exhausting and a subtle debasement. Unlike Andrew's school, Theo's did not hold an assembly or punish other children for their racial and racist remarks. He did not have parents who had prepared him to read 'race' or who marched into his school to protect him. Instead, he attended a school which ignored the actions of his peers that gave rise to Theo's frustration and held him responsible for his reaction to such situations which often led to fights and disagreements with other children. This left Theo in a difficult predicament, and further complicated the development of his *race script*, which was already informed by the family's racialised kinscript, formed by his parents and particularly his mother's strategy of 'forgetting' his being 'mixed race' and attempting to render his skin colour as insignificant. By contrast, outside of his home his 'race' was the most recognisable and meaningful thing about him. Thus, the racialised kinscript he shared with his family was at odds with his own experiences of racialisation in the world which meant the processes through which he learnt to read 'race' was reactive. He had to develop his own understanding based on his own experiences and the resources he could access, since the pedagogic package he had inherited from his family could not help him make sense of how he had been racialised. Theo's experiences lead him to become very aware of the contextual specificities of racialisation as within this white middle-class space his blackness made it near impossible for him to conform to the rules of the field (Anderson, 2015).

This section has outlined the process by which participants internalised messages about ‘race’ in response to racialised encounters. It illustrates how these messages are digested by participants dependent upon the context of the interaction, the reactions of other people in close proximity, the outcome of the encounter and the racialised kinscript they embody. Thus, how racialised encounters are experienced is shaped by and shapes *race scripts*. Such experiences led participants to become more aware of, and at times, to better understand the social significance of ‘race’ and its societal functions. The following section outlines more examples of these consciousness-shifting and internalisation processes by exploring the racialised encounters of other participants.

6.4 Movement as racialised phenomenon

In this section, I explore movement between fields as a racialised phenomenon and discuss how this impacts participants’ *race scripts*. During their third interview, participants were asked to create a model that revealed how they felt within Black and white spaces (see Chapter 3). These models are drawn upon here.

As argued by Goldberg (1994) and Ford (1992), my participants experienced social space as divided into white and Black territories. Andrew discusses this divide:



Figure 13 Andrew’s Black and White Space Model

For me they’re kind of very different, but identical [Black and white spaces], if that makes sense... It’s [like] almost everything’s different or everything looks different but it’s still the same and there’s still that kind of element of each other within them... I think there’s the same sort of underlying social norms in terms of a hierarchy, kind of rules, kind of ways to navigate stuff and kind of like a sense of place, if that makes sense, but the rules are kind of quite different, the people in charge for me, umm, tend to be quite different, or look quite different and I think quite possibly the logic’s quite different.

Black spaces are those in which blackness was privileged and anti-blackness sparse, whilst white spaces are spaces where whiteness dominated. Andrew's model reflects a Yin and Yang symbol with one side representing a Black space and the other a white space. As mentioned in chapter 2, Bourdieu's concept of field is helpful when discussing social spaces, as it highlights how different rules operate within different realms of society. Elaborating on Bourdieu, Wacquant (1993) argues:

Each [field] has its dominant and dominated, its struggles for usurpation or exclusion, its mechanisms of reproduction and so on. But every one of these characteristics takes on a specific, irreducible, form in each field (pg. 41)

Andrew's discussion above draws attention to the racialised dimensions of fields with society, as he alludes the interconnectedness of Black and white spaces which both exist within a shared social space. Thus, experiencing different fields as racially differentiated taught participants to read 'race' as a relational category grounded in spatial dynamics that impacts their experience and requires them to act in contextually specific ways (Ingram and Abrahams, 2013). In this section I analyse participants' experiences of racial dynamics within their family, neighbourhoods, education and work place. Across the data (elicited through interviews, discussions, models and observant participation), public institutions were most frequently described as white spaces, and Black spaces referred most often to private or minority spaces within larger fields.

In participants' comparisons between their family fields (their Black and white family spaces) and those beyond the family (e.g. neighbourhoods, work, education) was an analysis of what each field revealed about the others' spatial expression of 'race'. Indiya's Black space model is described in relation to her experiences of professional white spaces:



Figure 14 Indiya's Black Space Model

So, it's usually like - me and the kids (her cousins), we play a lot of board games, family games, and stuff and it's really animated... they are very loud and stuff. But I don't feel dwarfed by it, I feel kind of part of it... I think that orange [plasticine] is because I feel kind of warm...when I was younger, apart from my mum, I didn't know a lot of white people outside of like formal spaces. Or they were like my mum's work friends... or the people at uni or my teachers, that's not the same... I was very aware of them.

Indiya Anderson

Indiya highlights that within her Black family space she felt included and comfortable and did not have her guard up. This family space reminds Indiya of her childhood, a time when her participation in dominant white spaces was limited. Her understanding of her family as a racialised space is revealed through her comparison of experiences within fields that centre whiteness, which she associates with formal spaces and having her guard up. There is an internalised sense of distrust of whiteness embedded in Indiya's *race script* which may have arisen in part from her awareness of this difference in feeling when moving between Black and white spaces. Given that Indiya's understanding and experience of 'race' have unfolded alongside an academic exploration of the topic, facilitated by her mother, it makes sense that how Indiya's reads 'race' and what she internalises from racialised encounters is based upon an in-depth understanding of the effects of social position on life experiences.

Theo's model also opposes his positive experience in Black spaces with negative ones in white spaces. As he highlights in his description of his plasticine model:



Figure 15 Theo's Black Space Model

It's a gold ball, but it's also warm, because there will be people with me, who don't give a shit either... When I first met my Black cousins, I was like you lot are darker than me, so I was a bit worried. I probably felt like that... cus it's been conditioned, because I felt that from white people. As white as I am and they are just like 'oh you're a Turner, nice to meet you', and that was the best point of my life, honestly that was one of the best things I've ever witnessed, experienced... Jamaica was the first solid memory like 'ok, you've done a pilgrimage here'... you know who you are because you know who your oldest elder is... So the circle symbolises my soul and it's an embodiment of my colour because it's gold and I feel whole... So it's funny actually looking at that if you halve that, I feel like half when I'm in a [white space].

Theo Turner

Theo's expectations of Black spaces were formed in relation to his experiences of exclusion within white spaces, which conditioned him to expect rejection in social interactions with those racialised differently from himself (Campion, 2019). Root (1998) argue that negative experiences within the family can lead young people to colour-code them as they projected all that is bad onto one part of their mixed heritage and distance themselves from it as a result. Such experiences have led Theo to colour code his experiences beyond the family as he perceives acceptance as mediated by 'race' within his *rave script* which affects what he internalises from racialised encounters. Theo's experience of acceptance by his family members within a field that centres blackness (Jamaica) felt very different to the rural village he grew up in, which enabled him to feel "whole", and momentarily freed from the burden of misrecognition which he often encountered in white spaces due to anti-Black sentiments that resided in these fields. By comparison the broader, more inclusive and taken-for-granted nature of blackness that operates in Jamaica, which more readily accommodates people of all different shades and heritages lessens the significance of Theo's racially mixed parentage as a condition of acceptance/rejection. For Theo, his trip to Jamaica, which is described as a pilgrimage, was spiritually significant as was encountering his "oldest elder", a Black man, that enabled him to claim a line of descent rooted in blackness that provided a sense of belonging. Belonging which has been repeatedly denied within white spaces. This and other positive experiences of Black spaces (e.g. his basketball team) led Theo to develop a deeper affinity with Black spaces and people, alongside a wariness of white spaces and a desire to avoid them where possible. Moreover, this also underpinned his decision to live with his paternal grandmother in Birmingham on his return from the US, rooting himself within his Black kinship, rather than to the mono-cultural rural village where his parents and maternal grandparents reside.

Zara's discussion of Black and white spaces centred the difference between the activities her white maternal and Black paternal families took part in:

I tend not to really go for roasts with my dad, but I do with my mum. Umm, its little things really... Like where we go and what we do and how we speak and how we act and stuff. It's not necessarily white, it's just I don't know that British side of my family, where we do British things like go to the seaside... but I guess I don't really do that stuff with my dad or that side of the family really.

Zara Clark

This juxtaposition between the 'British things' Zara can do with her mum's family and not her dad reflects the implicitly racialised discourse of Britishness. Britishness is often imagined as 'essentially rural' (Matless, 2001) as well as 'essentially white' (Lewis 2007, Ifekwunigwe, 2004). It appears that one side of Zara's family conforms to cultural expectations underpinning Britishness whilst the other does not. Zara falls in the middle. Her plasticine model represents her most recent trip to the seaside with her mother and sister:



Figure 16 Zara's White Space Model

I'm the only brown person around, not only in my family, but in the area... It's never a problem, but more recently I have been very aware, and it's brought to my attention when I might get a certain look or a certain vibe from someone. I never get like racially attacked or anything. I never feel it around my family, but it's more like where we go, we tend to go places where it's very white... I don't really think about it until I feel *a way* or like... I'll walk into somewhere and people are looking at only me and then I think oh I wonder if that's why. So, for a split second I might feel slightly self-conscious or slightly aware that I'm the only person who looks like me in that place or area. I don't ever say anything. I don't ever act different. I just, in myself, feel aware that I look different. It's a slightly negative feeling obviously... It's not like a 'yea, I'm the only brown person I feel good about it'.

Zara Clark

Zara, who lives in Bristol (a medium sized ethnically diverse city), is forced to contemplate the difference in how she is positioned when in this rural seaside town. Thus, it is difficult for Zara to enjoy her seaside experiences without being aware of the racialising ambience. Moreover, given her mother's *race script* which positions 'race' as an unspoken topic, and their shared racialised kinscripts, Zara is unable to vocalise her experiences of racialisation in these settings as crossing this boundary may produce uncomfortable feelings within her family field. Like her mother, Zara feels uncomfortable when her 'race' stands out or when she stands out because of how she is racialised. Zara's inability to conform to whiteness results in her being othered within spaces where, as Burdsey (2011) puts it, 'being white and English/British becomes the most important marker of privilege and belonging' (pg. 537). This experience of othering, in turn, leads Zara to link 'race' with feelings of self-consciousness and this becomes an integral part of her *race script* (see Chapter 7).

Through movement across social spaces, my participants are forced to notice how they are seen by others and how this changes across fields. In response to consciousness of their racialised subjecthood, they must process their emotional reactions to this. Moreover, when they encounter these moments that give meaning to their ethnicity, they must process what this means about themselves and society. This is a never-ending learning process that unpins the continuous development of *race scripts*.

6.5 Mobility: blackness and the enclosed field of education

It is one thing to feel the difference of social position as you move through fields, it is another to consider the extent to which this difference impacts your freedom and progress within a given field. Within sociology, discussions of field are always linked to the issue of capital accumulation. This section focuses upon how blackness impacts mobility, one's ability to move freely whilst accumulating symbolically recognised capital in the field of education, which is itself an 'enclosed place' for Black people⁷² (Sojoyner, 2017). Within the UK and across the North Atlantic white and middle-class ways of being in the world are the foundation of the mainstream education system (Gillborn, 2008). Those able to conform to both categories do best and those unable to conform to either suffer most. Andrew discussed his contrasting experiences of mainstream and Black supplementary schooling⁷³.

⁷² 'Rooted in a liberal tradition of social progress, the current realities of Black education are mired in a brutal system of punitive containment and curricular evisceration that I argue forms the basis of an enclosed place' (pg. 516)

⁷³ 'Grassroots educational movements (Stone, 1981) arose out of 'Black education movements' (Chevannes and Reeves, 1989). They are subversive spaces that 'radically connect Black Communities into Diasporic politics' (Andrews, 2014, pg.6) and prepare children to resist racism in mainstream provision (Reay and Mirza, 2000).

Elements of identity come into [white spaces] more... Without seeming clichéd - you carry that sort of blackness as an identity in with you [to secondary school]... You don't have that in the all-Black environment because it's not your identity, that's everyone's identity - so you're *you*. There isn't a kind of a need to conform to anything in terms of intelligence or wanting to ask questions or knowing the answers or anything like that, you can just be smart... and not just 'one of those Black guys'.

Andrew Jackson

Andrew highlights how blackness became transformative in his experience of mainstream education. As whiteness was privileged, Andrew felt his blackness had greater power and imposed limitations upon how he was perceived within this space. In contrast to this, within his Black supplementary school, Andrew found that being able to be himself, free from the skewed perceptions invoked by his blackness, an affirming experience. The Black supplementary school movement was a 'fundamentally political' intervention that positioned learning as a means of revolution against the misrecognition of whiteness and by teaching the empowerment of blackness. As bell hooks (1994 pg. 3-4) explains in her reflections on her own experience of all-Black and integrated schooling:

For Black folks teaching was fundamentally political... rooted in antiracist struggle. Indeed, my all-Black grade schools became the location where I experienced learning as revolution... School changed utterly with racial integration. Gone was the messianic zeal to transform our minds and beings that had characterized teachers and their pedagogical practices in our all-Black schools... Now, we were mainly taught by white teachers whose lessons reinforced racist stereotypes. For Black children, education was no longer about the practice of freedom... The classroom was no longer a place of pleasure or ecstasy. School was still a political place, since we were always having to counter white racist assumptions that we were genetically inferior, never as capable as white peers, even unable to learn.

This need to respond and react to 'white folks' be that teachers or peers changes the experience of education for those racialised as Black. The association between blackness and inferiority is a key factor that mediated participants' relationships within education, changing it for some from a place of growth to a place of struggle. Struggle against the misperception of others, and the need to survive such misperception, impacted how participants behaved and accumulated capital (Wallace, 2018). Whilst the field of education is filled with the possibility to transform one's mind and future life chances, the navigation of anti-blackness within education provides a tacit education for racialised people about their place in the world (Rollock *et al.*, 2015; Wallace, 2019; Mirza, 1992; Joseph-Salisbury, 2019). Indiya's white space plasticine model depicts her experience of seminar groups at a Russell group university:



Figure 17 Indiya's White Space Model

I always sit like a lawyer within my seminars... very deliberate. You know, when you are at a defence and listening to things. I always try to cross-examine myself... because I am often the only non-white person. So, I think about what I am going to say a lot... I am very aware if I say something, that it could get read in this way, then they can treat all ethnic minorities in a certain way because of this. Also, if they say something which I think is wrong or racist, I'd think a lot about what I am going to say and what they could say. [The model] is kind of blue. Because I try and make myself numb because I can be quite sensitive and the thing with like sociology, and especially talking about race, is that...you are meant to be outside yourself and objective and not who you actually are. Although, I don't think white people are doing that. I think they just think they're not part of a race... they don't realise, like it's easy for [them] to talk about race as if it's an abstract concept. Whereas I have to sit here and pretend, especially if they say offensive stuff, that it's not about me. It's really difficult. I try to kind of not make myself white, but just numb and kind of treat it very formal...to get through. It makes it easier.

Indiya Anderson

Indiya experienced the field of education as a combative space in which she must police and carefully compose herself in order to participate. Whilst at school she was labelled a 'Black militant' for walking around carrying books that centred 'race' and blackness; in school and university she exercised high levels of self-discipline⁷⁴. That is, 'schools as enclosed places operate to diminish/rebuke/castigate any Black

⁷⁴ Foucault's (1991) notion of disciplinary power highlights the autonomation and de-individualisation of power (pg. 201). He suggests discourses and surveillance are used to discipline and structure people's behaviour. Disciplinary power, then, flows through networks and relationships within specific fields regulating people's minds and body and leading to the practice of self-discipline.

intellectual capacity that does fit into the prescribed, hierarchical arrangement of racialised subjects' (Sojoyner, 2017, Pg. 523). Indiya falls in line with what is expected of her as a racialised subject within this enclosed place because the knowledge of this racialised hierarchy has been internalised and is woven into her subjectivity (*race script*) which generates this self-policing. This does not however result from an unconscious process of internalisation but from a conscious understanding of how she must 'play the game' in order to accumulate capital within this space (see Section 5.6). Thus, Indiya's actions are at once critical of and complicit with the racial logic of the field. This encapsulates the double burden those racialised as Black must tolerate as they move through education. Indiya's persona of controlled level-headed persona, a requirement of her success, is built upon a huge amount of emotional labour through which she numbs her emotive responses to her educational experience – she sits cold and detached, a small figure, withholding her breath, turning blue. It is because whiteness is privileged within educational settings like this that social interactions like these occur and Indiya is made to feel this way.

Gemma contrasts how she feels within white and Black spaces within the post 1992 university she attends:

For the Black space, I thought about ACS⁷⁵... it is like a lot of Black people but... it doesn't feel like anything unusual, its normal... I just feel calm in Black spaces. But I don't with, like, white spaces, you can just stand out... At ACS I'm more myself... I don't mind being more louder. Like if I was speaking to a white person then I'm more quieter, I don't want to draw attention to myself.

Gemma Jackson

Ethnic and racial segregation in education institutions is common and marks those processes of intra-and inter-racial interactions that occur within them (Duster *et al.*, 1991). Gemma's experience highlights the importance of Black spaces within university settings as refuges, places that offer relief from the dynamics within white spaces that have the power to shrink and silence subordinately racialised people. These Black (and non-white) spaces do not solve the issue of structural racism, but they are necessary (whether they exist in public or private realms of social life) to salve those whose bodies are marked as subordinate and lack power to substantially shape doxa (the status quo) within dominant fields. hooks (2007) illustrates this in her discussion of 'homeplaces'. That is, establishing sites of belonging, 'making home a community of resistance' (2007, Kindle), a safe place within which the anti-Black sentiment has no power and those who embody blackness are valued and cared for. For those racialised as inferior, access to bounded territories has historically been outlined, limited, regulated and removed by white people in dominant positions (Nelson, 2008). This practice of dominating enclaves of Black freedom took form in processes of colonialisation⁷⁶ and lives on in this post-colonial era. Its effects are palpable in white spaces like

⁷⁵ African and Caribbean Society

⁷⁶ with the objective of controlling land, resources and privilege.

universities, affecting ‘non-traditional’ (gloss for non-white, non-middle-class) students, particularly those from Black backgrounds, who regularly feel excluded within educational spaces built upon a white supremacist vision of the world (Gillborn, 2008).

There is an inescapable link between racial identity and space (Neely and Samura, 2011). Access to Black spaces of refuge also provides the opportunity to reflect on and make sense of one’s racialised experiences of education. Aged 11, Theo began playing for an ethnically diverse inner city basketball team and eventually went on to play basketball at a high school in the US.

I learnt through basketball and interacting with Black people and ‘mixed race’ people... that I’m less ‘Black’ than my schooling would have me believe. My parents always told me that I was ‘mixed race’ . I always knew I was ‘mixed race’ . But, like, in school they would always be like, ‘the Black kid’ and that would really annoy me because it’s a way for them... to disassociate themselves with me. I’m there like, ‘I’m half white, I’m half of whatever you are, let’s be on a level playing field here’. I didn’t have any kind of weird perceptions of Black... but I know the kids saw Black people as aggressive, as loud, disruptive. I got into fights, but it was normally when someone said something racist.

Theo Turner

Theo attended school in a predominately white affluent village where he was racially bullied. In this predominantly white, small rural location his ‘mixed race’ body was read in through dominant misconceptions of ‘blackness’ (Delany, 2002; Ifekwunigwe, 1999; Campion, 2017; Joseph-Salisbury, 2019). After joining a basketball team, Theo was able to reaffirm his mixedness and disassociate himself from the dominant stereotypical constructions of blackness his peers used to exclude him and deny his personhood by developing a more nuanced understanding of blackness as a heterogeneous rather than monolithic category⁷⁷ (Whittingham, 2010; Campion, 2019).

However, not all people racialised as Black feel the need to identify as Black or inhabit Black spaces. An example would be Amelia, Theo’s sister who also grew up in a rural village but experienced little racism there.

I can’t remember [race] being a prominent issue... it never really impacted in my thinkings about myself or how I thought other people thought about me because I never thought of myself as different to anyone else.

Amelia Turner

⁷⁷ On the other hand, the Black gaze serves to police the boundaries of what acceptable blackness is.

Amelia, much like her mother, Claire, had not considered the social significance of her 'race'. That is, until she started university, where she encountered a colour-based hierarchy through which subordinately racialised people were made to feel devalued. This was an experience her racialised kinscript did not prepare her for.

When Amelia arrived at university she was shocked as people began to use this system to make sense of her:

They thought I was going to be some bait⁷⁸ 'lighty'⁷⁹ who thought they were the shit, who was going to be nasty to people It was the first time I encountered racism, but it was racism from Black and 'mixed race' people. I wouldn't really say I experienced racism from white people. It was really difficult because I didn't understand why I was being treated this way. I wasn't used to people reacting to me in this way...it was like they hated me, but they wanted me. It was really confusing. I didn't know where I stood with anyone.

Amelia Turner

Colourism is a byproduct of dominant discourses of blackness and whiteness. It is a term used to describe the politics of skin tone within racial hierarchies which awards lighter skin higher status compared to darker skin (Rondilla and Spickard, 2007). Colourism affects life chances such as educational success, marriage, housing tenure, employment as well as risk of arrest and length of prison sentences (Laybourn, 2018). The use of colourism is most notable in predominantly Black spaces and societies; however, it is present across a range of fields (Hall, 2017). It was discussed by most of my participants as they described their experiences of education. What is interesting is that despite Amelia framing her university experience as her first racialised encounter, when she describes the way she was positioned by boys in secondary school there are some similarities with how she was perceived in university:

boys weren't particularly into me as they were my sort of *skinny blonde friends*, but I always thought that that was because I was a bit *chunky and bigger*... so they wouldn't necessarily be attracted to me... I didn't really do the make-up thing at all, I had *big bushy hair*.... But I have a friend Clara she's, darker as well... I remember her saying to me, 'nobody fancy's us Amelia because we're brown', and I was like... 'it is just because we're not that attractive'... I was just logical about it, '*We are not that attractive*'. And then we became more attractive and everybody loved us... I was like I was totally right and

⁷⁸ Bait is another word for Obvious or predictable.

⁷⁹ Light-skinned Black or 'mixed race' person who is believed to be conceited and vain and thus embodies a sense of superiority vis Black peers.

actually the brown thing [worked] in our favour... we were almost elevated by it... we were seen as a bit different once we had blossomed... because I think *everybody wanted a little bit of us* and it was funny ...we were quite a hot topic and that continued for the rest of school then, being seen as somebody quite spicy.

Amelia Turner (emphasis added)

This memory demonstrates how Amelia was subjected to similar forms of gendered racialisation in school as in university. The characteristics she describes about herself and others clearly articulate and reproduce discourses laden with racial hierarchy and European ideals of beauty. For example, Amelia states that people weren't as 'into' her compared with her 'skinny blonde friends' and describes her 'bushy hair' as a negative attribute. Amelia is, although not consciously, describing those parts of herself that separate her from whiteness as negative attributes. Moreover, when she does become attractive to others around her, it is because she is exotic, a bit 'spicy'; so much so that everyone 'wants a bit of her' and her friend (hooks, 1992)⁸⁰. She becomes an object of desire within this space.

Despite observable parallels between her experiences in university and school, for Amelia these experiences felt very different. Within her village racialised sexism was not experienced as problematic when arising from her white counterparts. Arguably, this is because within her village, Amelia is familiar with the terms of engagement with those around her, so much so that they are taken for granted. She is able to follow the rules of this field with ease, it is well aligned with her habitus and her *race script*. However, when in the university space Amelia was less able to overlook her positioning. Not just because, it is articulated using overtly racialised language of colourism and thus less coded language like that used in her school, but also because these interactions occur in an unfamiliar field (a new city and university setting), with Black peers (also an unfamiliar experience for Amelia as she did not grow up around Black peers) who are constructed as more threatening within dominant public *race scripts*, an ideal reinforced with her family's racialised kinscript – with all of this resulting in a potential epiphany moment which makes Amelia feel extremely uncomfortable.

Amelia's experience demonstrates anti-blackness is produced by all types of people regardless of how they are racialised. Black people and others in subordinate social positions also reproduce the racial hierarchies

⁸⁰ The bodies of Black women have been hypersexualised (Young, 1999), their bodies eroticised and transformed into objects of white desire who perceive Black women's bodies as 'a bit of spice' they long to taste (hook, 1992). Buggs (2017) suggests that the lightness of 'mixed race' can elevate them and led to favourable treatment and become an object of desire in its own right. Waring (2016) argues that 'mixed race' people who embody blackness and whiteness represent the collision of inferiority and superiority and it is this that underpins the white others eroticised sexual desire for them.

that oppress them as they do not exist outside of the logic of the system⁸¹. Amelia's experience illustrates that not all *epiphany moments* lead to consciousness-raising experiences. For example, Amelia, as a result of her experience, does not learn that dominant racial discourses produce low self-esteem, undermine Black solidarity and reproduce dominant hierarchies of value based upon skin colour amongst those racialised as Black (Campion, 2019). She did not come to understand her experience as a manifestation of a huge fault of the racialised society in which she lives and how the lightness of her skin and femininity underpin her conditional acceptance. Instead, she learns that within the safety of her village her 'race' doesn't matter to her as she is comfortable with the way others relate to her within that setting, and because of this feeling of comfort says that she does not experience racism there, nor does she have any desire to move elsewhere (as her brother Theo has).

Therefore, educational spaces are deeply racialised (Gillborn, 2008). Whilst space is fluid and continuously changing as a result of political struggles, its transformation is never absolute. Although educational spaces are considered key to processes of social mobility, these same institutions have since their modern inception been agents of division and instrumental to the reproduction of inequality (Knowles, 2003). Thus, blackness as it becomes embedded into the enclosed field of education significantly impacts the mobility of those perceived to embody it (Fordham, 1996). This is a reality my participants learned to navigate through their exposure to its effects and corresponding epiphany moments through which their reading of 'race' developed. Whilst, on the one hand, how this learning is internalised is related to individuals' racialised kinscripts, at times such learning undermines their inherited racial scripts, shifting their perception beyond the limits of what they had previously learned. As such, racialised encounters give rise to moments that require conscious deliberation as they are processed (see Chapter 7). The extent to which this experience impacts feelings of belonging will now be discussed.

6.6 Belonging and participating in racialised space

Having to navigate racialised terrain as a racialised subject can be an unnerving, tiresome and complicated endeavour. Conscious experiences of subordination, racialised misrecognition (see Chapter 7), colourism, anti-blackness and further forms of othering raise questions about where one fits and the extent to which one belongs in a given space. Feelings of belonging shift between context. This section looks at how

⁸¹ Canham and Williams (2016) discusses the Black gaze, which they argue polices the boundaries of authentic blackness. Through this gaze, blackness can appear inauthentic as it intersects with class privilege, mixedness (Campion, 2019) and heterosexuality (Eguchi *et al.*, 2016; DeClue, 2011). Andrew (2018) argues that at its roots blackness is a multifaceted category, arising from struggle, with the power to unite and empower Black people (Andrew, 2018). Moreover, Johnson (2003) suggests that it is 'the mutual constructing/deconstructing, avowing/disavowing and expanding/delaminating dynamic that occurs in the production of blackness ... that constitutes 'Black culture' (pg. 2). The imposition of limits upon blackness arise from processes of racialised misrecognition whereby arbitrary logics constitute categories and exercise power through them.

participants assess how they belong – that is, the extent to which they feel aligned with others perceptions of them, free to be themselves and thus accepted - and the impact this has upon perception and *race scripts*. It looks at three types of belonging discussed by participants within the field of education: *contingent belonging*, *belonging elsewhere* and *performative belonging*.

6.6.1 Contingent belonging

Andrew experienced an ‘epiphany’ whilst playing for a private school rugby team which shifted his perception of white spaces as places he felt did not belong to - elite spaces filled with opportunities:

The real change came when I started playing rugby for [a private school] ... Previously when I played rugby there’ll just be sort of like ‘ordinary people’, like tradesmen... people who if they were gonna give you like a connection it would be as an apprenticeship, or some sort of discount on some building work... Then suddenly I was in this space and I was surrounded by people who were rocking up in Aston Martins because they’d sold their company for like three mill... I kind of always felt...in this country that rugby was kind of a white people’s game. But then I kind of realised about this old boy’s network, which you’d heard so much about... Then, not that I was in it, but that there was access to it, and now I... see the advantages... I saw that...you can kind of like talk to these people about going on tour... you can talk to them about your family house out in like the country... and going for shooting...

While you’ll never sort of be in that world, you’ll always sort of have that difference, you can kind of move through it a lot easier with that... understanding and similar ground... So, instead of, like, not putting yourself in a position where you’re... flexible to it at all, it’s more seeing that there’s opportunities in that and that there are certain things which the other space (Black space) won’t give you, which you... need, to navigate the other space (white space) and then the richness of what you become through that, the combination of the two. When you’re conscious of yourself and the stuff you’re told to be, then you... recognise that actually you’re in this position where you can be anything and you can kind of do anything.

Andrew Jackson

Andrew’s experience demonstrates how perception can change when new fields are encountered, and shared consciousness internalised. This experience taught Andrew that through emphasising his similarities with those who occupy dominant social positions he can access a contingent sense of belonging. Accessing this, enables him to participate within this field in a way that opens up the possibility of greater capital (social, economic or cultural) accumulation. Andrew concluded his reflection by speculating on how recreating this experience in other powerful fields could afford him access to capital that will support him

to 'progress' in society. Hence, he is compelled to push himself beyond his comfort zone, beyond Black spaces where his belonging is taken for granted and he fits with ease. Herein, he 'realises' the limitation of capital available in Black spaces, alongside the power of possessing high volumes of both types of capital as a means of supporting him to pursue his ambitions. However, Andrew's reframing of white spaces occurs within a masculine sport space. Historically, such spaces represent one of very few social spaces where Black people have been supported to thrive and their talents accepted (as opposed to being perceived as threatening or out of place) (Harrison, 2001). The fact that Andrew's epiphany about white space occurred within a sporting environment may have impacted upon his perceived belonging within this white middle-class field. Thus, Andrew's experience highlights how collisions and consciousness shifts may arise at intersections of race, space, class and masculinity.

6.6.2 Belonging elsewhere

Theo also found acceptance within a sporting environment (see Section 6.5), however he perceived this as a Black space. For Theo, as his access to Black spaces increased so too did his experience of belonging. However, within these spaces he still felt his 'mixed race' left him feeling slightly out of place. Interestingly, Theo articulated that his most uncomplicated experience of belonging occurred when he moved elsewhere:

Living out in America; 'home of the brave land of the free'... it was like I was Black, so if you're Black no one asks you, 'where did your parents come from'? Or 'why are you the way you are', or if you're white, no-one asks that. So, for me it was like I'm English, finally, I can go to America they can ask me where I'm from and they hear my accent and they know I'm English and there's nothing more to it, and I can just get on with being me... Yeah, that was just a great moment, almost two years of just me, kind of being accepted - just purely plain and simple, unconditional... I felt like my brain was less cluttered with who I need to be and because I didn't need to be anyone, I could just reflect myself outside. Finally!... I could just, literally, observe Americans and not even feel a part of the racial structure in America. I saw the divide in schooling... but I didn't feel a part of that... and my grades really improved out there as well, a lot. I wasn't pigeonholed as anything. But if I was pigeonholed as anything it would have been intelligent.

Theo Turner

Outside of the UK, whilst attending school and playing basketball in the US, for the first time Theo found a space where he belonged. Whilst in the UK, Englishness and Britishness have racialised connotations that make it difficult for non-white people to connect with ideals of nationhood. In a US context, Theo is able to be Black and English and feel at ease with this positioning. Firstly, within the US the legacy of the one-

drop rule⁸² meant that having mixed Black heritage is often not recognised within the dominant *public race script* (Ifekwunigwe, 1999; Ifekwunigwe, 2004) This uncomplicating of Theo's 'race' meant his identity was more easily accepted. That is not to say that in this space he was untouched by processes of racialisation. It is more that Theo was able to witness these processes but exist outside of them. The racialised nature of a space is felt when it is at odds with the social position of a person. For Theo, to inhabit an educational setting where he is not positioned in conflict with the 'norm' as a result of 'race' enabled him to thrive academically; for he was not required to negotiate the everyday racism that so greatly affected his educational attainment in the UK (Gillborn, 2008).

6.6.3 Performative belonging

When in white spaces Indiya felt unable to let her guard down or relax, had to always remain on the defence. Thus, these are not spaces in which she felt she belonged, but spaces filled with uncertainty that she must distrust. Despite these feelings, Indiya says she did feel comfortable within these spaces:

Yes, [I feel comfortable] I think from when my mum started getting into academia, I knew the type of stuff that they like to hear... I will still be aware of myself, but I can joke. So that is like a level of comfortability... I know it sounds conceited but... I have learned what makes white middle-class academic people comfortable and like, say like academics, they like enthusiasm but they don't like raw enthusiasm. You have to express it in a certain way, it's like how you email them, what you say, what you bring up in discussion; like if you read their stuff, what you say about it. It's about how its performed, it's not just about, 'Oh you are enthusiastic', [but] 'what will you study?' It's all about how you come across, so you have to be kind of be purposeful.

Indiya Anderson

Indiya knows how to look like she belongs in these spaces and the types of capital she possesses aids her performance. Indiya knows how to play the game. The processes of racialisation that affect her do not overwhelm her. Feeling a sense of belonging at university is an experience often denied for 'non-traditional' students at universities, which has led many to avoid Russell group institutions altogether (Read *et al.*, 2003, Reay *et al.*, 2001). Indiya's awareness of how her social position puts her at odds with this field and threatens her experience of belonging is a fundamental part of how she is able to negotiate university life and other dominant white spaces. Thus, she has an instrumental relationship with belonging; a strategy which supported her pursuit of a first-class degree and funded masters placement. It takes a lot of work to maintain this performance and acquire capital within these types of spaces, as Indiya has. For those not starting with

⁸² An historical system of racial classification inscribed in law during the early 20th century which claimed that anyone with a drop of Black blood must be categorised as 'Black'. Racial classification greatly impacted an individual's civil rights (Ifekwunigwe, 2004).

a middle-class foundation this is an even harder task. Indiya's experience illustrates the way in which experiences of racialisation, epiphany moments and *race scripts* impact perception and social action.

6.6.4 African Diasporic Belonging

Blackness also provided most of my participants with a sense of belonging that they could access within both Black and white spaces. Zara described blackness as something she felt 'empowered' by and something bigger than herself that she felt 'passionate about being a part of'. Bibi suggested that she related to her Black friends and other Black people she met as 'Black people in Britain', suggesting that it was their common experience of Britain but not a 'common sense' of Britishness that arose from their shared embodiment of blackness that informed the connections they shared with each other. Andrew, like Bibi, felt that the professional networks he built within white spaces with others who embodied blackness derived from a feeling of connection and support for one another as Black people - out of place / making space - who had a responsibility for one another (see Chapter 7). Ifekwunigwe (2018 pg. 24) distinguishes between 'big D'/little 'd'⁸³ dimensions of Global African Diaspora. The former represents the 'generic, singular, temporal and supranational formation that is derived from a common heritage and shared legacies of and resistances to slavery, (post)colonialism, racism and other forms of structural inequalities' and underpin 'Black African Diasporic kinship and consciousness'. All CPs related to this form of consciousness and used it to help them navigate the multiple fields and racialised confrontations.

6.7 Conclusion

The Black 'mixed race' participants in this study felt 'race' as spatially expressed from a young age. Their journeys through space(s) were filled with racialised encounters and confrontations that shaped their *race scripts* - which is part of their habitus and therefore changed by experiences in new fields. Participants processed each encounter and at times experienced an epiphany moment that shifted their consciousness and developed their reading of 'race' in social interactions. These encounters provided participants with glimpses of how their lives were affected by broader social structures sharpening their own understandings of their social position and demonstrating the link between participants' inner and outer worlds. For some participants the knowledge they acquired from their own experiences was guided by the proactive strategies embedded into their racialised kinscripts, which reinforced them and produced a protective frame through which they could interpret instances of racialisation as a structural and not individual problem. Those caught unprepared were vulnerable to dominant discourses which left them juxtaposed between the person they thought they were and the person others perceived them to be.

⁸³ "Global African Diaspora 'big D' is the generic, singular, temporal and supranational formation that is derived from a common heritage and shared legacies of and resistances to slavery, (post)colonialism, racism and other forms of structural inequalities. African diaspora 'little d' signals shifting multiplicity that is specific, localized/spatialized and politicized, necessarily already always 'hybrid' including 'mixed race', complex, gendered and generational configurations" (Ifekwunigwe, 2018, pg. 24).

All participants experienced frequent occurrences of racialised encounters within the enclosed field of education. Their experiences revealed that people respond differently to increased knowledge of their social position. It led some to fight, some to retreat and some to poor attainment. At times, the pain of school overshadows the desire to succeed within a field that more easily facilitates the failure of students racialised as Black (mixed or otherwise) than their success (Fordham, 1996). It is difficult to succeed when one is required to develop the skills to carry the double burden of education; that is, to be at once critical and complicit within a system designed to oppress you. Safe spaces within this environment are fundamental to Black students' survival (Pennant, 2019). All-Black learning environments appeared to provide fertile ground upon which Black children can succeed as they are free to be who they are and not who they are racialised to be (Andrews, 2014; Mirza and Reay, 2000). The spaces appeared to provide freedom from racialisation, from low teachers' expectations, from peers who feel let down and those who put you down, all of which appear essential to Black students' educational attainment and mental wellbeing. However, within the current education systems such freedoms are not readily available. Such people must have the strength to carve out their own place and forge their own sense of belonging in order to survive. This is too much to ask of young people. Thus, this chapter concludes that whilst most people take themselves and the world around them for granted, the Black 'mixed race' participants in this study cannot because for them movement through social space is a racialised experience that renders this privilege obsolete. Thus, in conclusion the racialised dimensions of space lead participants to develop both new strategies for surviving the effects of racialisation, and their understanding of themselves as racialised subjects. The next chapter looks at the strategies participants use to counter the racialised misrecognition they so often experience through an exploration of the development of racialised selfhood. Going forward, I shift my focus from understanding to action, as I explore how participants use the knowledge about racialisation they have gained in the family and in the world in their everyday lives.

7 From *race scripts* to racialised selfhoods: Exploring responses to racialised misrecognition

7.1 Introduction

In this chapter I move beyond the racialised dimension of the pedagogical packages participants inherited from their parents to explore how participants develop racialised selfhoods and use other capitals they possess alongside their *race scripts*, to counter racialised misrecognition. This chapter argues for a consideration of racialised selfhood as the site where the racial gaze and human social action meet. I draw on Fanon and Bourdieu to articulate how a racialised selfhood becomes embedded in the person; and show how my Black ‘mixed race’ participants devise pragmatic strategies to locate a racialised self within their identity that they felt ownership of. This was no easy undertaking, as exterior perceptions – guided by binary racial thinking - tug bodily selves in multiple directions, often producing feelings of alienation and frustration. I draw upon Bourdieu’s concepts of habitus and field to make sense of my participants’ use of self-analysis and agency in their negotiations of ‘ordinary racialised culture’ (Lewis, 2007). Within this chapter I answer the following questions: How do Black ‘mixed race’ people in Britain develop a sense of themselves as racialised subjects? What strategies do they use to manage misrecognition within racialising encounters? And what resources do they draw upon within these interactions?

The chapter is structured as follows: Firstly, I discuss why racialised selfhoods exist, arguing they manifest from racialised encounters which structurally locate ‘race’ as a force of distinction and give it the power to shape life experiences and opportunities. Secondly, I explore the strategies my participants use to navigate the racialised dimensions of fields, preserve their identities and racialised selfhood when challenged, and consider the extent to which their actions are guided by their habitus during racialised encounters. Thirdly, I examine the resources participants draw upon to counter, rationalise or learn from racialised misrecognition. Finally, I analyse the relationship between participants’ racialised selfhood and their future plans and ambitions.

7.2 Racialised selfhood: Exploring the racialised dimensions of habitus, identity and misrecognition

When ‘race’ is felt, it is often mediated through dominant discourses and dichotomised systems of racial categorisation that challenge the identity of one or more persons within a social interaction. In most cases (but not exclusively), this is felt by persons from non-white backgrounds as whiteness normalises certain bodies (Puwar, 2004). Unlike those who occupy normalised positions, the social action of the ‘other’ is often questioned, misunderstood or challenged because of the subordinated status of the actor. Sayer (2005,

pg. 1) argues ‘we are evaluative beings, continually monitoring our behaviour and that of others, needing their approval and respect’. We do this because our wellbeing relies upon the development of identities that others approve of and understand. However, one’s ability to forge understanding is mediated by implicit and explicit processes of racialisation.

Identities are multidimensional. Within a self are multiple self-states that individuals switch between across locations and interactions. Where possible, these are combined to develop a more coherent sense of self. However, some self-states are easier to syndicate than others (Bonovitz, 2009) and the racialised self poses a unique challenge. Carby (2019) offers a succinct definition of the ‘racialised self’ as something that ‘is invented in the process of an encounter, produced, in other words, as a subject dialogically constituted in and through its relation to another or others.’ (Carby, 2019 pg. 625). A racialised self is brought into being through interactions which make apparent the racial gaze of others. These exchanges create moments where a racialised person must identify themselves in relation to symbolic representations others use to position, understand and dissect them (Fanon, 2008). Such moments are most likely when someone encounters people racialised differently from oneself, or between those who would otherwise be located closely in social space if their appearance (skin tone) or display of some behaviour (ways of speaking or moving e.g. walking) did not indicate a hierarchically inferior racialised status. In these moments, complexity and uniqueness are erased in favour of commonly understood, stereotypical assumptions.

As one’s ‘race’ can symbolically represent a predefined identity that does not take account of an individual’s character, the integration of the racialised self with other self-states is difficult, as the racialised self is a site where conflict between internal, external, individual and collective voices collide. The pervasiveness of limited dominant racial categories (e.g. ‘Black’, ‘white’, ‘Asian’) leads to the recasting of people through tainted lenses and gives rise to processes of misrecognition. For racialised subjects this can be difficult to come to terms with. Individuals respond to predefined racialised identities in different ways. Possible responses include conforming to hegemonic images, working to reject or modify them, feeling confused or remaining ‘blissfully’ unaware. People try out different ways of responding at different times in their life dependent upon the situation they find themselves in. Being conscious of yourself as a racialised subject who occupies a racially subordinate position and is misrecognized (in the Bourdieusian sense) is the basis upon which one’s racialised selfhood develops. Fanon writes about his experience of such misrecognition,

I move slowly in the world, accustomed now to seek no longer for upheaval. I progress by crawling. And already I am being dissected under white eyes, the only real eyes. I am fixed. Having adjusted their microtomes, they objectively cut away slices of my reality. I am laid bare. I feel, I see in those white faces that it is not a new man who has come in, but a new kind of man, a new genus. Why, it’s a Negro!

(Fanon, 2008 pg. 87)

Fanon encapsulates the experience of erasure within social interactions that 'race' enables. For Fanon, to resist and challenge such behaviour is often in vain, given the global power equated with whiteness. His words illustrate his acceptance of a status quo that dismisses his personhood in favour of his construction as 'negro'. All other parts of himself are obscured by his 'race', which is made hyper visible. The privileges he might possess, as a scholar and intellectual, are denied by the racialising gaze of the onlooker.

This experience appears to leave him feeling defeated. Whilst at one time he may have felt unsettled by this, angered or confused, Fanon seems resigned to accept the social conditions in which he finds himself. This acceptance becomes a part of him. Through his movement across social space and the racialised encounters he has endured over his lifetime, Fanon has internalised a *race script* which has stored all of the knowledge he has accumulated. That script informs how he perceives the function of 'race' in society, mediates his relationship to it and guides his social action. Fanon is likely to have developed strategies across his life course that enabled him to cope with this misrecognition and dissection as a 'negro'. He would have formed a body of social action, a behavioural repertoire, that supported him to respond to his oppression in ways he felt most appropriate at any given moment - that is, in a manner that was least psychologically harmful and most effective in enabling him to pursue his broader social aims and ambitions. That may have been through challenging the status quo, writing about it, educating others about what he had come to know or something else.

The need to develop a repertoire of social action through which to respond to is not a unique phenomenon, experienced only by Fanon. Rather, it is required of all consciously racialised humans. These strategies arise from a person's racialised selfhood, they are structured by it and structure it. Such strategies are affected by an individual's identifications⁸⁴, experiences and social power (the extent of their social, cultural, and economic capital). Thus, it is through one's racialised selfhood that perception and action collide, leading to the development of techniques that assist with the integration of the racialised person with other parts of the self. Yet, the question remains: why, if racialised selfhood can shift and is shifted by social action, does Fanon resign himself to the 'negro' designation of a white other? Why does he not simply assert another bodily reference for himself?

The racialised self is a product of certain kinds of regularised interaction, but it is also always more than the interaction itself, because it arises from social position and is deeply entwined with one's embodied habitus. A habitus shapes how a person thinks and acts - their dispositions. A person's dispositions pre-adapt them to particular conditions and often guides them to avoid environments that they are not predisposed (Bourdieu, 1990). For Bourdieu, a united habitus is the most common form (Bennet, 2007). However, it is

⁸⁴ I use the term 'identification' to refer to the available racial options – ways of being learnt through racialised encounters, discourse, observation, imagination or feeling that enable a person to express parts of their self within the limitations of racial discourse.

possible for a habitus to become divided when new life experiences throw the subject into an unfamiliar social field. A destabilised habitus can lead to a person experiencing internal conflict and division (Bourdieu, 2000). Whilst a divided habitus is most commonly understood to result from the experience of cross-class mobility (Friedman, 2015), it is also important to consider the effects of racialisation upon habitus formation. As all social fields are racialised, regardless of one's class privilege, those who are not white are more likely to experience the feeling of being a 'fish out of water' as perceptions of their 'race' situate them as marginal bodies in mainstream social space (hooks, 1984).

'Mixed race' people are likely to develop complex predispositions as their habitus must form across complex racial terrain. From the outset their 'fields of origin' are divided along colour lines. Ingram (2011) argues that people can experience an 'habitus tug' when their habitus is confronted by the legitimacy of 'new' fields. In the case of 'mixed race' people, we find bodily selves who represent two incompatible and competing racialised ideologies (conceived as 'blackness' and 'whiteness' for those participating in this study). As racialised ideology are embedded in *doxa* and present in all fields, individuals must learn to relate to the intersecting identities they embody and manage how these change as they move through social space (see Chapter 2).

The social conditions in which 'mixed' Black subjects are located have the propensity to create a habitus tug at some point in their lives. This experience is almost inevitable within societies that privilege whiteness. When one is unable to take the world around them for granted, and feel like a fish in water, they are more likely to be aware of how their social position affects their life experiences. And so, mixed racialised subjects often develop a subtle and strategic proclivity for self-analysis. That is, the ability to make sense of one's own life in relation to their position in social space. People of mixed Black and white heritage often develop skills of self-analysis from the onset of their racialised life-journeys. When they encounter for the first time the experience of being made through the eyes of another in response to their 'race', they begin to undergo a process of stepping outside of themselves to understand how their bodies are perceived in the social world. This chapter draws on participants' accounts of self-analysis to discuss the practical strategies they employ in everyday social interaction.

The remainder of this chapter builds upon this theoretical discussion of racialised selfhoods by applying it to participants' lives, analysing the stories they shared during interviews and drawing upon my own fieldwork observations and reflections. I focus upon the techniques participants devised to become a version of themselves they were comfortable with, reducing the feeling of habitus tug (Ingram, 2011) and enabling them to feel a sense of control over how others saw them. In the following section, I discuss the strategies participants used to complicate binary racial logics and fight against the erasure of their personhood within racialised social interactions.

7.3 Resisting Racialisation: Countering misrecognition

This section looks at how participants are affected by dominant racial ideologies that dichotomise their Black-white heritage and underpin racialised misrecognition. Throughout, the relationship between the structural, discursive and embodied is considered in order to answer the following questions: How do participants experience their racial positioning? How do they respond to it? And what impact does their racialised subjecthood have upon their dispositions, social action and use of social and cultural resources? I begin by describing how ‘race’ complicates recognition for Black ‘mixed race’ people. Secondly, I consider how participants attempt to ‘play’ with racial categories and benefit from their unique racial positioning. Thirdly, I discuss the strategies participants developed in response to the racial gaze and their attempts to counter racialised misrecognition. Finally, I discuss the relationship between racialised selfhood, habitus and agency within attempts to resist racialisation and counter misrecognition.

7.3.1 Embodying Ambiguity

Racialisation is deeply rooted in the social and adapts rapidly, shifting perceptions between interactions and fields. It forces a spotlight upon the body, separating it from the mind of its owner and transforming its significance in the mind of the onlooker. It enables the complexity of social life to be ignored through its propensity to erase what ‘is’, and in its place, through the process of categorisation, sketches what ‘ought to be’ recognised. Bibi’s experience of misidentification is an example:

[At work] the cleaners walking around are all Black...and everyone else is white... [the cleaners] go around and collect people’s mugs off desks to wash, but if you are like walking up and down, you just put them on the tray. 3 weeks after I started someone handed me their mug. This happened twice... I was prepared the second time but the first time I was so shocked.

These encounters reveal how social interactions are impacted by racial ideologies embedded within a field. Within Bibi’s workspace, her skin colour is symbolically transformed into a signifier of her role. Such interactions make visible the deeply embedded nature of whiteness within professional spaces and how this leads to the misrecognition of non-white bodies as ‘out of place’ (Puwar, 2004 pg. 1). Bibi tells me about her experience of working as an editor for a national newspaper whilst describing her plasticine model:



Figure 18 Bibi's White Space Model

It's an eye, a blue eye, for my white space. Where I feel most Black is actually at work ... there is one person in particular that makes me feel a bit watched but in general I feel like I stick out like a sore thumb⁸⁵.

Misrecognition however is not confined to professional spaces. Theo's appearance communicates to others a sense of who he is and shifts how people relate to him:

When I have a haircut from a Black barber's with the shape up and everything I am looked at as that version of Black, so I'm looked at as a gangster or a thug or whatever, and like I attract different women. I'll attract the party scene goes the club goes and all that. I attract a lot of white girls when I have the shaved hair. And then when I have like curly hair because I look a bit more Brazilian Portuguese, I attract a lot of those cultures and also like, the more bohemian white girls. And then when I have longer curly hair then like all the Black girls are like I love your hair and they are thinking about babies and all that because they want the looser curly hair.

Theo Turner

⁸⁵ Quote continued: Interestingly I don't mind, like when I was younger I probably would have felt quite uncomfortable there but now I'm proud of myself and I know that I'm good at my job and stuff so it doesn't make me feel like scrutinised in a bad way but there is an unnatural interest, especially with the older generation...there are a lot of older very posh people, who probably don't know anyone that doesn't look or speak like them. The interesting thing is these people are very smart and they know how to behave they are very well mannered supposedly, but it's like the way they approach asking me questions to do with my 'race' or my hair [is inappropriate].

Theo, like Fanon, is dissected. He describes his experience as an example of subtle racism. His racial ambiguity leaves him feeling vulnerable and misunderstood as he finds people often struggle to accept him for who he is, because of their fascination with how he looks. Such racialised interactions are at times referred to as microaggressions, moments when judgements of a person are made which impact how another interacts with them, based upon their racialised assumptions (Cousin, 2019; Rankine, 2015). Tashiro (2016) argues that ‘mixed race’ persons embody ‘all the contradictions inherent in the illusion of race’ (Pg. 62). Theo is frustrated by the consequences of being a racialised subject yet he cannot resist his sense of self being deeply entangled with the contradictions that underpin his social positioning. He tells me he too feels he changes with each new hair style, suggesting that alongside his racial positioning shifting so too does elements of his selfhood, which highlights how selfhood is socially and racially constituted. Ingram and Abrahams’ (2013) concept of Chameleon Habitus describes how a habitus adapts when in new fields. Theo and Bibi’s experiences suggest a habitus may also adapt in response to racialised misrecognition within existing, new or familiar fields. Whilst susceptibility to conform to the external challenges to the self vary between people, the need to develop a response and the desire to resist the experience is universal. So how do people respond to racialised misrecognition?

7.3.2 Perception: Complicating binary racial logics

In response to how they were racialised, some participants struggled to describe their ethnicity as ‘mixed race’, choosing instead to identify with their ‘Black’ or ‘white’ heritage. Zara develop a strategy that protects her from having to make a choice. She describes herself as *beige*.

it’s not that I don’t like it [‘mixed race’]... I don’t feel the same way about half caste⁸⁶ as I do ‘mixed race’, no, but I think beige is better because... I own it... I’m owning it rather than being told what I am... I feel like I’ve got my own identity and that I’m trying to not be one or the other and when people will try to make me feel like I should... I don’t feel like I need to... act Black now or... act white now. I can act like me.

Zara Clark

She says she came up with *beige* as a response to the racial gaze of her secondary school peers that pressured her to identify in a particular way - to ‘choose sides’. Zara’s decision to be herself by being beige was reinforced by her observations of classmates who tried to conform to pre-defined categories of Black and white which she felt made them look silly. Zara felt being beige enabled her to be her ‘true self’ and represent her multiple heritages. Zara’s ability to reflexively analyse the effects of her social position, to consciously

⁸⁶ Originating from British colonial administrations in the 19th century, ‘half caste’ was a racial category used to described people from mixed white and non-white backgrounds. The term was laden with derogatory connotations and associated with the practice of ‘miscegenation’ (Aspinall, 2013).

consider the social pressure she experienced and how it pushed her to racially polarise her identity, enabled her to develop a strategy that lessens the feeling of division within her habitus. This response then, supported her to cope with this pressure and (re-)act differently.

Like Zara, as a schoolchild scholar Hazel Carby imagined herself as a scientist, sent to south London from an alternative universe to observe human nature. This enabled her to imagine herself as situated entirely outside of the racial logics of 1950s Britain that struggled to comprehend her ‘mixed race’ (Carby, 2019). Carby’s strategy helped her cope with racism and racialised encounters that denied her being, providing her with a way of living with misrecognition, as beige does for Zara. Zara’s *beige* strategy seems to be a tool that enabled her to merge the different parts of her identity with those that arise from her objective racialised social position. Thus, Zara was able to access a coherent racialised selfhood that resists the mechanical internalisation of unsophisticated racial discourses. Jamali and Méndez (2019) argue that some ‘mixed race’ people attempt to ‘queer’ their racial positioning and live within a ‘third space’ (beyond binary logics) that allows them to simply be - Black and white and neither (Bhabha, 1994). Andrew reflects on the positives that arise from access to a third space:

I’ve always sort of thought, in terms of ‘mixed race’, ... you walk between worlds so you might have your foot in both but you’re not...fully in either but I think that position is incredibly powerful in a sense like... your world is...framed in such a way from birth that you kind of see it in different ways and you are able to kind of draw out that comparison...see where the overlaps are and where they’re not.

Andrew Jackson

Andrew reflects on the origin of his self-analysis skills. He describes his access to varied racialised experiences that arise from his connection to blackness and whiteness as a powerful frame through which his understanding of social life has developed. Knowing how racial discourse works, that is how it impacts perception, seemed to enable some participants to play with the racial gaze as it confronted them.

I guess the interesting thing about being ‘mixed race’ is, you can be seen differently by everyone. But at the same time, you can kind of mould yourself or blend into a situation or, you know, relate to everybody which is quite a nice thing to be able to do.

Bibi Bishop

Whilst for Zara, the pressure of having to respond to others’ racialised expectations of her (to be Black or to be white) felt unpleasant, Bibi appears not to feel burdened by other people’s changing or potentially defining perceptions. Whilst it frustrated her at times, Bibi suggests a positive of her mixedness is that it helps her relate to everyone. The process of moulding herself, understanding how those she interacts with

perceive her as well as how they are themselves socially positioned, provides Bibi with the skills to manage how she relates to others. This altered how she was seen by them, enabling her to counter misrecognition within specific interactions within particular fields. This is not however a universal skill, it is a social reality that must be managed, a process which comes easier to some than it does to others. For some the discursive power of dominant racial discourse creates a weight too great to bear, a weight that limits their ability to develop counter strategies. Theo spent years internalising the racial gaze of others which left him feeling very out of control of how others perceived him and lost in regard to his own identity. He concludes that:

It's a longer route for 'mixed race' people in identity 100%. For me, I feel like you're met with an identity crisis from earlier than anyone else from school because you're asked about what makes you but then by the time that you have finally reached your own identity, you're very versed in it... I'm happy to call myself 'mixed race', and I feel like it's a real burden to be 'mixed race'.

There are psychological costs of having to manage racialised misrecognition. We cannot deny the extent to which a person is socially constituted. It is therefore important not to overemphasise the extent to which Black 'mixed race' people can 'choose' their 'ethnic' identifications (as is often advocated by thinkers within the second wave of 'mixed race' studies) (see Root, 1992; Zack, 1995; Mahtani, 2002; Rockquemore and Brunson, 2005). Even though 'choices' are being made, as Zara defines herself as beige and Andrew and Bibi practice switching their identities to match their social environment, such 'choices' occur in response to structural processes of racialisation. That said, the complexity of individuals' social stories are not inconsequential but must be interrogated further if social action is to be understood. Thus, the next section considers the role of agency within negotiations of social space. Moreover, it considers how participants' understanding of themselves as racialised subjects impacts their social action.

7.3.3 Action: Disassociating with blackness

This section focuses upon participants' small acts of resistance that enable them to disassociate themselves from the negative constructions of blackness in their everyday life. Zara reflects on her experience in predominately white environments:

I almost have horrible feelings where I feel like do I look too Black? Especially recently with my [natural] hair and stuff. I don't know like, (laughs) sometimes I just feel like

do I look a bit too raggo⁸⁷, like nappy⁸⁸ sometimes I do think that and that's a really bad thought to think.

Despite Zara's father's best efforts to teach his daughter to love her 'Black self', Zara's own pride in her Black heritage and her beige strategy, Zara remains afraid of being mistaken for someone who is 'too Black'. This 'too Black' figure is imagined, a social illusion. They are "raggo", wild like an animal, without the capacity to reason, the opposite of the civilised 'white' British citizen. With "nappy" hair, she is untidy, her appearance signifies her unruliness, lack of intelligence and value. Zara, like most Black people, does not want to be positioned as this imagined 'too Black' person. So instead, she moderates her blackness. She tries to control the embodied parts of her that have taken on a meaning so divorced from reality that these parts of herself must now be hidden in spaces where whiteness is dominant. Here is an example of how Zara moderates her blackness at work.

I'm starting to want to, wear a head wrap like day to day...it just ticks so many boxes. I really want to start doing it, and I remember saying to my friends, who were all white...I want to start wearing it to work and I was asking them how shall I wear it, and then I was like yea fuck it! I'm just going to go for the Erykah Badu head wrap thing. If they can't handle it then that's their problem, but it was kind of me reassuring myself. Are they ready for Erykah Badu in the office? I don't know [in a funny voice]?...it's just something that I'm getting my head around.

Zara Clark

Zara wants to wear a head wrap because it is a protective hairstyle that will allow her own hair to recover to good health after years of straightening her hair and because it looks nice. Enslaved people were forced to wear head wraps as part of a 'uniform' but their origins lie in sub-Saharan Africa, where before slavery and afterwards head wraps have signified power as rebellion, spirituality, beauty, prosperity and more (Johnson, 2020; Aghajanian, 2016). When Zara asks, 'Are they ready for Erykah Badu?' she is considering if this style rooted in African empowerment is 'too Black' for her work environment. Will it impact her palatability to her colleagues, leave them feeling intimidated, uncomfortable, lead them to judge her for being something she is not (too Black) or will they make her feel uncomfortable by eroticising her appearance. So she resists presenting herself in this way until she feels strong enough to do so.

⁸⁷ Adverb describing someone who doesn't care about other people's opinions. Derives from [Jamaican Patois](#) 'Ragamuffin', which in turn derives from 'Rag-a-Muffin', which derives from 1350–1400 Middle English Ragamuffin, name of a demon in the poem [Piers Plowman](#). (Urban Dictionary, 2011).

⁸⁸ Someone of African descent who has tightly [coiled](#) unkempt hair; one with locks of hair that is tightly [curled](#) that is [unwashed](#) and uncombed (Urban Dictionary, 2005).

These micro performances provide a sense of control for participants and are a means of impression management. These acts have an immediate function. They help participants access the status they need/ deserve during an interaction within a specific field. Participants use their agency to win status, and counter misrecognition within immediate social interactions (Wallace, 2019). Such acts help them to be taken seriously at work, and not be mistaken for a cleaner, by reinstating the exchange value of their capital through correcting the racial gaze that devalues them. Whilst at an individual level these acts benefit the performer, they have little impact upon how racism and misrecognition functions structurally. It does not protect an individual from having to re-enact their performance strategy as they enter new fields and interact with new people (Ingram and Abrahams, 2013; Wallace, 2019). The process of managing racialised misrecognition does not fall solely to those racialised as subordinate. There is complicity from ‘both sides’ (those in racially dominant and subordinate positions) within this micro-management/ manipulation of the racial gaze within immediate social interactions.

The only people that have told me...blackness isn't part of my identity, in the sense of you're not 'that Black'... kind of thing, has always been white people and it's usually in like the university context... off the back of me sort of contributing in some way.

Andrew Jackson

Andrew also raises the issue of being ‘too Black’ and how he is disassociated from this category by his peers as he does not conform to anti-learning stereotypes associated with Black and Black ‘mixed race’ men (Gillborn, 2008; Crozier, 2005; Fordham, 1996). The category itself however remains unchanged; in fact, it is reinforced through the comparison of Andrew with this imagined ‘too Black’ subject. Reflecting upon his role models, of which most were Black men, he discusses that he too may have to moderate his blackness as part of his strategy to be successful:

Like I often kid myself like how, if I'm going to become a successful man of colour like at some point, I am going to have to shave my head and just keep it shaved because that's the one style they all sort of stick to.

Moreover, he reflects upon the fact that most of the ‘successful’ Black people that he knows have white partners. Moderating blackness demands emotional restraint, ignoring or not reacting to racism, and the perceived ability to ‘get on’ with white people (Wilkins, 2012). This is because perceived proximity to whiteness achieved through speech, relationships and appearance can enable those racialised as ‘Black’ to overcome the limits blackness imposes upon them – a process that require great skills and self-awareness (Dumangane, 2016).

For Black ‘mixed race’ people, managing racialised misrecognition is often a two-way process. It is something they face in both Black and white spaces. Like other participants, Indiya reflects upon how she

moulds herself to fit into different social contexts. She does not interpret this skill as a privilege of her 'mixed race'⁸⁹ but perceives it as a response to unjust processes of racialisation:

Some white people just assume comfortability with 'mixed race' people, just from seeing you because you have some proximity to whiteness or it's like you are a white middle-class academic's kid... It's like some automatic distancing which gets bridged once they know that you are connected to whiteness... And then with Black people, it's more like you either have to compensate with like being political... or it's like if you establish that you are...personable with Black people in terms of you get the significance of things, it's fine... But probably like if I started off with people saying that I was raised by a white woman, I think they would be more distant and sometimes have been.

Indiya Anderson

Indiya has well established strategies that enable her to manage the impressions of others in both Black and white spaces. Whilst management of misrecognition occurs across all fields regardless of whether blackness or whiteness is centred, grave differences exist between how a person uses action to correct misrecognition as well as the consequences, in regard to their life chances, that arise from those strategies they use⁹⁰. Additionally, Indiya's experience highlights how social action can disrupt the racial gaze, complicate racial categories in their embodied form and open space for dominant racial narratives to be rewritten in light of the context of individual life stories.

Du Bois (1968) describes this process of counteracting the imagined image projected onto the racialised by the racialising as double consciousness, or the second sight, which he pertains is a 'gift' that over time could transform society. It brings the ability to see and understand what is 'not previously 'cognised' within the range of dispositions and propensities of the habitus of the person(s) confronting [them]' (James, 2015, pg. 100). Du Bois' theory of double consciousness highlights the centrality of racialisation to the development of the self for racialised people, who must develop a sense of two selves⁹¹. This 'two-ness' and resulting double consciousness is an integral part of the habitus of racialised people. It is this 'two-ness' that they must learn to manage in order to avoid divisions within their habitus and to lessen experiences of 'habitus tug' as they move through fields across social space.

⁸⁹ As a result of colourism - a colour-based hierarchy – 'mixed race' people can be privileged by their lighter skin (Hunter, 2005). The extent of the privilege is hard to quantify as it is likely to result from the interaction of class and gender with 'colour' privilege (Herring, 2004). At the same time, lighter skin can bring the authenticity of blackness into question and lead to 'horizontal hostility' within interactions with Black counterparts (Campion, 2019).

⁹⁰ As regards fields that centre whiteness due to the power they hold

⁹¹ A self built upon who you are in the Black world, formed through intersubjective connection with those similar to oneself (mediated by the latter), and the other formed in relation to the dehumanisation and misrecognition experienced within the white world (Itzigsohn and Brown, 2015).

The habitus then for the racialised subject has an inherently agentic dimension that may intervene when misrecognition is encountered. It does so by using the resources available to it (that is the symbolically legitimated capitals possessed) to counter misperceived symbolical value (e.g. being seen as a cleaner when you are a highly qualified editor). Thus, whilst the habitus is inextricably linked to capital and the recognition and misrecognition of capital, it cannot simply be understood as cultural capital in its embodied form as racialised bodies cannot escape the misrecognition they embody. The next section looks at how people use forms of capital within their resistance of misrecognition strategies.

7.3.4 Cultural capital⁹²

My participants draw upon cultural capital within their pursuit of recognition, mostly within fields positioned highly in social space that centre whiteness. Bibi is aware that she is misrecognised in society. Not only, because of moments of mistaken identity and job role, but also because she lives in a society that causes her to forget that she is as much white as she is Black. She has from a young age learnt to mould and blend herself into different situations and this skill lies at the heart of her counter misrecognition strategy:

I'm quite an adaptable person, and that was what I learned to do at a young age, even to the point that I feel I have two different accents. I got to Bristol with a Scottish accent... and within about three days I had a Bristolian accent... I slotted in in school and behaved how I thought I should behave and it convinced everyone... it was just like natural adaption... even though they were very very different people to me, I was one of them and then I would go home and be my mother's daughter, as I always had been.

From a young age Bibi learned how to play with her capital embodied and otherwise. Within her working-class school environment, she was 'one of them' and her middle-class home environment she was herself. Bibi acknowledges that she embodies a sense of confidence similar to her mother. This confidence radiates from her. Bibi articulated that she does not feel insecure about her place in the world or about what she is capable of, even if this is not something that others immediately recognised. She tells me that notwithstanding the unpleasantness of being mistaken for a cleaner at work she did not feel intimidated or unsettled by this encounter, at least not once it had occurred twice. Reflecting on her class, race and parentage Bibi unpacks why she is able to manage this encounter without much difficulty. She says:

⁹² 'Cultural capital can exist in three forms: in the embodied state, i.e., in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and body; in the objectified state, in the form of cultural goods (pictures, books, dictionaries, instruments, machines, etc.), which are the 'race' or realisation of theories or critiques of these theories, problematics, etc.; and in the institutionalised state, a form of objectification which must be set apart because, as will be seen in the case of educational qualifications, it confers entirely original properties on the cultural capital which it is presumed to guarantee.' (Bourdieu, 1986 pg. 17)

I think the sad truth is if you end up with your white parent, or that's the one that has the most influence in your life, it's going to go that way - just because of the difference of opportunities.

Bibi Bishop

Interestingly, Bibi conflates her mother's class privilege with whiteness here as she reflects upon the opportunities she has had available to her throughout her upbringing. For Bibi the privilege she has witnessed and inherited from her mother has empowered her, shaping the high expectations she has of herself and brother to achieve more than the average person of Caribbean heritage in the UK. Moreover, with her mother's guidance Bibi has developed an instrumental reading of 'race' (see Chapter 5). Bibi also thinks being 'mixed race' gives her the freedom to be more than her race:

I think the thing about being 'mixed race' is it gives you the privilege to not feel that your race is the most important thing about you.

Although Bibi attributes this feeling of freedom to her 'mixed race', I argue this freedom arises from the intersection of her class and race. Because, although Bibi experiences racialised misrecognition she knows she has symbolically legitimate capitals at her disposal that she can use to reassert her place, and to increase the power she holds within a specific field. And thus, her 'race' cannot define her as her access to cultural capital enables her to counter the racial gaze. It is difficult for an individual to articulate how their 'race' and social class affect their lived experience. However, Bibi demonstrates her awareness of this through a discussion about her colleagues:

I've been to the University of Warwick and I've been brought up by a middle-class white mother. It's not like I have nothing in common with these people, but I still feel...so, so different. And if I wasn't confident in myself and in my own work, I would easily feel like I couldn't stay there. And it's not like negative people trying to do you down and make you feel that way that's the saddest thing, it's just people being themselves

Bibi Bishop

Despite their similar class background, Bibi cannot escape the way in which her 'race' leaves her positioned differently from her colleagues and erases the taken-for-grantedness of her privilege. Something which her white middle-class counterparts do not deal with. Bibi's ability to self-analyse, awareness of her social position, and access to cultural capital enables her to mould and blend strategy to counter racialised misrecognition and remain confident. A key part of achieving this relies upon her ability to legitimise and utilise the symbolically valued forms of capital she possesses.

Bibi's strategy is very different from Zara's, who is working-class. Zara differs from her colleagues on both 'race' and class terms. Unlike Bibi, she does not base her counter strategies upon highlighting similarity but instead tries to minimise the impact of difference between herself and those she works with by moderating her blackness. Bourdieu (1999 pg. 511)⁹³ suggest that those with 'a double perception of the self' are 'doomed to a kind of duplication... to successive allegiances and multiple identities'. However, Bibi's double perception of herself leaves her far from doomed - it enables her to be comfortable and confident. Because of her strategies, she is ahead of 'the game' and thus able, through her habitus, to intervene in it using her social power (capital) to her advantage. Similarly, Zara, despite being torn at times within specific fields and moments, is at peace internally with her beige identity, a foundation that is strong enough to lessen feelings of habitus tug that racialised misrecognition can give rise to.

7.3.5 Black cultural capital⁹⁴

Indiya, like Bibi, is also able to draw upon the high volumes of cultural capital she has inherited from her mother in order to counter misrecognition and lessen the feelings of 'habitus tug'. She does not adapt herself in the same way that Bibi does to fit into different fields and when interacting with different people. Indiya does not correct people's misconceptions of her unless this is likely to affect her life trajectory (e.g. interactions with peer's vs interaction with lecturers). Indiya, has, from a young age, been caught up in a process of self-analysis, gaining an in depth understanding of her social position which increased through studying sociology at university (see Chapter 5). She experienced a lot of racism at school. Like Andrew, she has been supported to intervene in moments where she has been a victim of racism using the 'language' and 'skills' of those who occupy dominant social positions to assist this (rewriting her schools Black history curriculum for example). Key to Indiya's response to her racialised subjecthood has been her accumulation and use of Black cultural capital:

Basically, from about Year 9, I just decided to create my own curriculum, so I would always have a pile of books I was reading...I would just go to lessons and do what had to be done. And then in lunch times and break times I'd just read like either in the counsellor's inclusion centre or in the library and kind of steal myself away and absorb myself.

Indiya Anderson

⁹³A habitus divided against itself, in constant negotiation with itself and its ambivalences and therefore doomed to a kind of duplication, to a double perception of the self, to successive allegiances and multiple identities. (Bourdieu, 1999b, p. 511)

⁹⁴ Here Black cultural capital refers to the accumulation of knowledge about 'race' from Black or ethically subordinate writers, activists and community leaders, film makers or musicians that provide a frame through which to understand the social consequences of blackness and how this relates to the experience of racialised misrecognition encountered in one's everyday life.

Throughout Indiya's life, books have always played a massive role. They have provided a refuge through which to manage difficult feelings. They have shaped her thinking about 'race', and in turn her behaviour and the strategies she has developed in response to her experiences of racialised misrecognition. The books Indiya has read have helped her to interpret her own life experiences and have led her to interpret acts of racialised misrecognition as a signal of others' ignorance, and their inability to understand the social world with as much sophistication as she does. This strategy has also been adapted in part by other participants. Zara discusses how watching *Roots*⁹⁵ impacted her understanding of 'race' and racism as well as her own social position. Andrew spoke about how the Autobiography of Malcom X was essential to his understanding of his place in the world, as was Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* for Bibi. Indiya has the highest levels of Black cultural capital among the participants because of exposure to university level books whilst at school and her focus on 'race' throughout her sociology degree.

The impact of Indiya's accumulation of Black cultural capital upon her habitus development is twofold. Firstly, her strategy has enabled her to lessen the impact of habitus tug as she understands racialised misrecognition as a social process. When she is confronted by it she is not taken by surprise. Her identification of misrecognition as a fault of 'others' protects her from individualising and internalising it. Whilst at times she responds to instances of racialised misrecognition and racism by calling it out, Indiya's introverted nature means, her ability to recognise the misrecognition of another, regardless of whether or not she intervenes, is often enough to protect her from feeling vulnerable to the gaze of the onlooker. This suggests she is able to live without recognition and for this not to lead to internal conflict as this helps her to link her multiple self-states harmoniously. However, the unintended consequence of the accumulation of Black cultural capital is that Indiya is highly aware of the intricate and subtle ways in which 'race' operates in the UK, which has increased her thoughtfulness to such matters and means she lives her life on high alert. She feels she must always be ready to defend herself either externally or internally from the potential effects of racialised misrecognition. Moreover, she has a low tolerance level for the subtle microaggressions she often encounters. Whereas some will look past such things, or make excuses for others, in order to make these social interactions more comfortable, Indiya does not excuse others for their complicity with racism, however subtle. As a result, such encounters rest heavily upon her. In addition to cultural capital, social capital was a resource that shaped participants' understanding of their racialised selfhoods and the responses to racialisation they developed.

⁹⁵Roots is a historical drama television series adapted from Alex Haley's 1976 novel *Roots: The Saga of an American Family*. It explores the lives of Black people in America during slavery and the Reconstruction Era.

7.3.6 Social capital⁹⁶

Social capital [is] made up of social obligations (“connections”), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of a title of nobility.

(Bourdieu 1989 pg. 16)

Participants used their social networks to help them counter racialised misrecognition and reassert the value of their cultural capital or accumulate more capital. Here, I first look at a soft form of social capital that in itself could not be exchanged for credit but which indirectly helped participants to get on in life. Thus, I focus on the significant role friends played in supporting participants to grow in confidence and resist internalising racialisation by providing spaces and relationships in which participants were recognised and able to discuss the racialised processes they were subjected to.

At 14 years old, Andrew began to create a new friendship network. This network helped him to resist the pressure to conform to racialised norms within his school (see Chapter 6) and opened a way for him to be studious in this field without being outcast. This then indirectly supported Andrew’s accumulation of cultural capital. Moreover, this network - which he is still apart of today - helped Andrew to build his capacity to adapt how he presented himself within different fields in later life and reduced the potentially harmful impact of racialised misrecognition upon his identity. Describing his network Andrew says:

The closest ones, the ones that seem to get the whole picture, I would say quite a few of them were mixed ... I’m not sure if it’s just because they have that understanding and it’s kind of like usually when white people see you transition from the white space to the Black space “oh you’re a completely different person. You even speak in like a different way”, and it’s sort of like ... it sounds really sort of two faced when... It’s not like that, it’s like you’re still the same person it’s just, you sort of express yourself slightly differently. [My friends] see the whole side... if that makes sense... there is kind of the two sides, but they they’re both, kind of, necessary for the whole so I don’t think it’s, kind of like, being a different person but just sort of, I dunno... because it’s sort of like this big like part how you can sort of blend in different... situations.

Andrew Jackson

⁹⁶ Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalised relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition—or in other words, to membership in a group — which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively owned capital, a ‘credential’ which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word (Bourdieu, 1986 pg. 21).

Andrew reflects upon how friends that comprehend his need to blend understand him better. Being around people who understand the need to change who you are helps to legitimize this way of being and reduces the risk of experiencing a habitus tug because it provides access to recognition. It appears that for some participants having recognition somewhere means they do not need recognition everywhere. Not everyone has access to such networks, however, and without them racialised misrecognition has more power over an individual. For Theo, finding his first ‘mixed race’ girlfriend at age 19 was a huge turning point in his life:

Finding someone who was ‘mixed race’ ... I was allowed to like have the freedom to talk about the good and the bad... when you speak out loud you affirm stuff to yourself and you can get things off your chest... sharing with someone who was ‘mixed race’ who had shared the same experiences, who was going through the same issues, was a real moment to not feel alone. Just knowing... someone else is going through the clutter and the confusion means that it kind of makes you feel like “we need to get through this now”, it’s a reminder to be like “let’s do it, let’s filter out some of this confusion”, because if you’re just confused yourself and you can’t express with anyone... there is no confirmation that you are confused. For me everyone seemed so Black and white and I was the grey area. Even Basketball, meeting ‘mixed race’ people, it was a little enlightening, but I was here to play Basketball first. So, we are not here to open up and talk about our feelings when we are trying to net someone.

Theo Turner

Whilst Theo believes being ‘mixed race’ made life complicated, arguably it was how race operates in Britain that underpinned his experience. That said, the connections one can build with those racialised in the same way are highly valuable. Theo spent years internalising the racial gaze of others. Where other participants managed to find ways to resist racialised misrecognition by using class privilege (in Bibi’s case), moderating their blackness or creating a new system of racial self-classification (as Zara did), Theo’s attempts to make visible parts of himself beyond his ‘race’ were rarely successful throughout his adolescence. Theo felt at the mercy of others’ racialised perception of him and frequently experienced habitus tug as a result. Meeting someone he related to facilitated him to begin to build the resilience he needed to live in a world predicated upon misrecognition. Thus, social relationships can help individuals develop identity strategies for navigating day-to-day life by providing the recognition people need to develop their selves and understand their worth (Sayer, 2005) a skill that is essential to getting on in society.

Participants also discussed Black professional networks they were a part of that helped them to progress in society. For example, Andrew discussed feeling an automatic kinship when he encountered other people of colour whilst working in a predominantly white institution. Having access to this network outside of the home was extremely useful in empowering Andrew to develop the tools he needed to mitigate the effects

of racialised misrecognition upon his career ambitions. Wallace (2016) argues that Black Caribbean pupils use a form of non-dominant Black cultural capital that arises out of their shared experiences of Jamaican culture (e.g. speaking patois) to survive the effects structural racism has upon their schooling experience. Andrew's experiences suggest this form of capital exists beyond the field of education. Moreover, like the students in Wallace's (2016) study whose dominant form of Black cultural capital supports them to gain power within the classroom and challenge the existing power relations, Andrew's networks provided access to knowledge which helped better negotiate his place as an ambitious Black 'mixed race' person within a white dominated society and organisation.

Indiya and Theo also accessed opportunities that increased the volume of their capital through Black social networks. Theo was part of a Black/ people of colour creative network through which he could access funding, advice and colleagues that enabled him to develop his career in film. Indiya's Black professional network helped her to access voluntary organisations focused upon supporting Black and other ethnic minority groups, experience which helped her access university and opportunities in the labour market. Moreover, her links with a local Black-run radio station provided opportunities for her to perform her poetry at events and on the radio.

Thus, there is power within social connections between Black and Black 'mixed race' people that offer 'membership in a group — which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word' (Bourdieu, 1986 pg. 21). This capital helps them to strengthen their own resilience to process of misrecognition whilst accessing formal opportunities that help them to survive and progress within society. The next section explores how participants' experiences of misrecognition and their responses to it impact their imagined futures.

7.3.7 How racialisation impacts horizons for action

Horizons for action refers to the choices people perceive and the decisions they make and suggests that one's habitus impacts how one senses the future (Hodkinson and Sparkes, 1997). Thus, how participants respond to racialised misrecognition shapes both their habitus and their imagined horizons. Future ambitions represent a person's understanding of their place in the world and what they believe is possible. For example, India's need to take refuge in the work of Black writers to understand her racialised position in the world and connect with a broader African diaspora arises from her racialised selfhood and skills of self-analysis. Over time this has become a habituated part of her life and who she is. When asked to imagine where she sees herself in five years she says:

The possibility of the downward social mobility is always there. So, like, I'm not going to say [I'll] be an academic with a, fellowship or something. First of all, I assume, it takes way longer than [5 years]. Second of all, like, things can just go wrong like my dad had a middle-class job...then...worked in McDonalds. It's not like, the worst thing

in the world but...it's like, it's only around the corner it's not like a thousand miles away...So even if I'm like doing okay now, it's doesn't mean tomorrow I'll be doing okay. Be good to leave Bristol. Probably not.

Indiya perceived a fragility inculcated by her blackness that made her future appear uncertain. Thus, in her own projection of her future, despite having two first-class degrees, she felt she must factor the possibility of downward mobility into her future plans. Bibi's belief in her privilege and determination to take up space in fields that privilege whiteness and participate as an equal is deeply rooted in her habitus and is projected into her imagined future:

I will be really literal about this – I expect to be, an editor, actually I expect to be at a publication that is not only well respected but that I'm actually really invested in, because the thing about [Newspaper name] it's an amazing place to learn, probably one of the best places, got the best people there but I don't feel like it's me... not only do I want a job that is well paid but I want to love where I'm working which I think is possible, so a step up from the job I'm at now. First of all, that's my most important thing to be honest, is career, especially in my 20s. I want to have my own place... not own it yet but maybe have a mortgage, and that will be in London because even if I'm going to move around, which I probably will, I'll always want to have somewhere in London.

Bibi does not perceive the same limitation as Indiya does. She felt control over her future and was sure about her plans to move around, whereas Indiya dampens her desire to account for the uncertainty she felt in the world. Whilst Indiya's *rave script* predicated an understanding of how her middle-class privilege is devalued and at risk because of her embodied blackness, Bibi has no doubt. Zara's beige strategy and her tendency to moderate her blackness also resulted from reflexive self-analysis and was likely to have become increasingly habituated throughout her life. However, the contradiction in her strategies is evident in her future plans. Her beige strategy prevented her from feeling she has been categorised, granting her a sense of freedom but moderating her blackness indicated that her sense of freedom is limited as she still has to consciously shift how she acts in order to avoid being misrecognised. Zara's future hopes spoke to an awareness of this contradiction and a desire to eradicate it over time:

I hope to have children... I see my children being like beige [laughs] ... and I think that I will be a lot more confident in myself in the way that I look and act, and... how I feel about me and my identity, cus I feel like I'm still very insecure about things... it's mainly the way I look I think like umm, I'm still not completely happy... I've noticed that I struggle to make eye contact with people that I'm not really comfortable with when I'm having a conversation especially in work and that's an insecurity. I've realised because I notice people who look at me directly in my eye the whole time I'm speaking

to them and I think... I hope I do that because you know it gives off a certain vibe when you do that like it's very powerful when someone looks you in your eye... so yea, in 5 years I see that going or being gone, and me just feeling comfortable and like I've overcome any insecurity and my confidence will continue to grow.

Zara appeared to desire to be her 'true self' in spaces where she feels slightly unsure (or potentially misrecognised), such as her workplace. Zara workplace is full of white middle-class professionals who she observes embody a sense of entitlement. Zara's working-class background differentiates her experience in this field from her colleagues. Unlike Bibi she does not have a wealth of cultural, economic and social capital to draw upon that makes her feel equal to those who symbolically possess higher volumes of capital. Zara knows who she is, she just has to find a way to be this person without being misunderstood which will enable her to comfortably navigate the middle-class lifestyle that she is constructing for herself.

Theo's need to break away from mainstream society and create films that help him achieve the recognition he was denied throughout his upbringing is intrinsically linked to his habitus, and shaped his horizons for actions:

Theo: I'll be 30, I'll be on a farm maybe in Ghana GMO free... somewhere rural I love mountains so somewhere in the hills ...with a wife and maybe a kid on the way, maybe plans for a kid because I want to farm the land a bit first...but in order to get to the right settings I need to make some money... the right way which is the film and all that which is what I'm doing so I can be I don't think it's too optimistic, I think it's just about right to say I'd love to be in Ghana and near enough be able to live off the land and money isn't too much of an issue.

Annabel: and who do you imagine yourself to be in 5 years?

Theo: I think I would probably be still searching. I'll still be searching for some higher messages, but I will be teaching a lot, I don't mean in a school...I love to reason with people...I love to chat and that's what I would do a lot of...that's perfect, that's the highest. I don't see why people can't see that...I need to remember that when the money starts coming in.

Theo has mostly experienced recognition outside of the UK. He desires to be self-sufficient and free from the stresses of everyday life. When in the US he worked on a farm and this made him feel relaxed and connected to the world, a connection that his constant exposure to racism growing up had denied him. Thus, future hopes and the decisions made by participants are impacted by the racialised selfhoods they embody and how they integrate this part of themselves with other parts of their identity.

7.4 Conclusion: Extending habitus by centring blackness in the relationship between the individual and society

Bourdieu's exclusion of 'race' from his theorisation of habitus highlights how his work is grounded in whiteness. It is not possible to make sense of subordinately racialised people's habitus without considering the impact of 'race' and in the case of the participants in this study, blackness. What this chapter has argued is that through conscious deliberation, self-analysis and use of resources, participants develop strategies that enable them to cope with the everyday instances of racialised misrecognition across multiple fields. Developing these coping strategies are essential to the maintenance of their mental wellbeing, as recognition is a fundamental human need that must be satisfied (Sayer, 2005). In a footnote in the *Forms of Capital* Bourdieu (1986, pg. 27) writes:

Symbolic capital, that is to say, capital—in whatever form—insofar as it is represented, i.e., apprehended symbolically, in a relationship of knowledge or, more precisely, of misrecognition and recognition, presupposes the intervention of the habitus, as a socially constituted cognitive capacity.

Subordinately racialised people live with a rupture between the capital they possess and its symbolic value. I must be clear that my argument is not that the capital of Black people, mixed or otherwise, should be recognised in its truest form, as it is a product of a deeply flawed inequality, a divisive and arbitrary system. However, it is important to understand how people from different backgrounds navigate this system of power. As capital presupposes one's understanding of the world it affects how they act within it. My participants developed repertoires of action in order to counter the racialised misrecognition they faced as an attempt to level the playing field. This action arose from conscious interventions. Whilst over time participants' strategies became habitualised, supporting them to manage racialised encounters without too much thought or trauma, in origin the most effective strategies came from the agentic part of the habitus - from an individual's conscious deliberation and self-analysis. Through this they were able to leverage the resources (cultural, social and economic) to find ways to harmonise their multiple self-states and lessen their experience of habitus tug.

Therefore, racialised selfhoods are a fundamental part of identity and habitus. They shape people's perception of their worth and their ambitions, alters how people move through social space and underwrites what they avoid, imitate, accept and challenge. Whilst everybody embodies a racialised self, those able to seamlessly integrate this part of themselves are privileged⁹⁷. For those for whom this requires conscious deliberation, this integration process is continuous, spanning a lifetime (Tashiro, 2016). This is because,

⁹⁷ Those who identify solely with whiteness are rarely challenged by it. Those who conform to a type of blackness that is often accepted by outsiders but at the same time maintains a distance from 'white eyes' - not seeking approval or feeling a need for a 'true self' to be seen by those they encounter (Hirsh, 2018) - may consider questions of identity and belonging less central to their existence.

new experiences and new relationships change one's *race scripts* and in turn alter how individuals perceive and respond to racialised misrecognition. Whilst participants' counter actions helped them to cope with everyday encounters with processes of racialisation, they do not have the power to change the system that underpins these processes.

8 Conclusion

In this chapter, I conclude this thesis by reviewing my intentions for this research; summarising the findings presented; outlining the contribution of this thesis to existing scholarship and answering the research questions posed. In addition to this, I offer some recommendations, discuss the limitations of this work and offer some ideas for future study.

8.1 Research Intentions

Through this study, I set out to better understand the multifaceted dimensions of racialisation. Focusing upon manifestations of racialisation in the family, space and self, I endeavoured to explore interactions with racialisation in everyday life. Specifically, I wanted to study how it affected participants' navigation of power relations across society. With an understanding of racialisation as both a macro and micro social process, I sought to investigate the extent to which participants consciously experienced racialisation. Through doing so I paid attention to the acts of resistance that arose despite the structural, systematic and reproductive qualities of racialisation. Interested in unpacking intersectional complexity, I considered how different social categories – specifically class and gender – affected experiences of racialisation, remaining attentive to participants' experiences of racism and the impact of this on their senses of self.

8.2 Summary of research findings

In this thesis I have illuminated the public significance of 'race', by following the personal troubles racialisation provoked. Guided by Black 'mixed race' young people and their family members' reflections on their life stories, *epiphany moments* (shifts in consciousness) and experiences of multiple fields, I have explored how participants learnt to read 'race' across space and time, and respond to racialised misrecognition in their ordinary life. I have introduced the concept of *race scripts*, highlighting how readings of 'race' are transformed by individual experiences; and I have explored how *racialised kin-work* carried out in families shaped initial and subsequent readings of 'race' across social fields. Throughout this thesis I have paid close attention to how *race scripts* emerge in (a) kinship relations (b) educational institutions and (c) selfhood. I have argued that participants inherited different 'pedagogical packages' (Lewis, 2005) for navigating *racialised encounters* which, in turn, impacted their formation of themselves as (racialised) beings. I have demonstrated that this racialised subjectification is ingrained in habitus and informs social action by working within a Bourdieusian-inspired framework. Rather than thinking of habitus as unwieldy or fixed, I have considered how these learned dispositions are generative, enabling participants to assert agency through conscious strategies and performances to counter *racialised misrecognition* in everyday life. Whilst participants developed these tactics to get by, these were context dependent, psychologically draining and more successful for those with greater economic, cultural and social capital/resources. Therefore, I conclude that the acts of social contortion participants must master – to counter misrecognition, alter the

racial gaze of others and have their talents and capabilities rendered equal – are very great indeed and reflect the deep inequities of racism in British society.

8.3 Research contributions

In this section I explore how I have contributed to Bourdieusian Sociology and Critical ‘Mixed Race’ Studies through this thesis.

8.3.1 To Bourdieusian Sociology

this thesis I have hoped I have contributed to and extended Bourdieusian Sociology in a number of ways. Firstly, by increasing its capacity to make sense of racialisation. By applying Bourdieusian theory to the historical construction of racial categories - whiteness and blackness in particular - I have highlighted how power was intended and continues to flow through these categories. Secondly, I have emphasised (theoretically and empirically) the interconnections between ‘race’ and class which are too often overlooked by scholars of Bourdieu. In terms of theory, I have highlighted the racialised foundations of capitalism (Chapter 2). Empirically, I have demonstrated how ‘race’ informs the use and value of capital (Chapter 7) and also how ‘race’ informs individual and collective dispositions and is spatially expressed (Chapter 6). Thus, I have provided an example of how to undertake intersectional Bourdieusian research.

Thirdly, in relation to capital, I have supported Wallace’s (2017, 2018, 2019) work which highlights the racialised dimensions of cultural capital and used empirical data to further demonstrate the value and use of Black cultural capital. I have also illustrated how Black cultural capital produces agentic social action, which in turn helps individuals to resist dominant forms of cultural capital (Wallace, 2019). Fourthly, I have demonstrated how field structures and rules develop in relation to processes of racialisation. That is, I have highlighted how spaces that privilege blackness are rarely positioned highly within the field of power and thus lack symbolically valued capital. Despite this, these spaces remain vital for the survival of people who embody blackness as they provide some shelter from the overwhelming power of whiteness (Pennant, 2019). The ways in which fields reproduce the symbolic value of whiteness is also greatly taken for granted within Bourdieusian literature. Whilst this issue is highlighted by some (often non-white) Bourdieusians (Rollock *et al.*, 2015; Wallace, 2018; Aying, 2015; Reay *et al.*, 2011; Thatcher, 2015; Dumangane, 2016), the majority remain uncritical of the impact of whiteness despite their commitment to reflexive sociology. Too often, it is assumed that bringing whiteness into the equation somehow undermines the disadvantage faced by white working-class people (Eddo-Lodge, 2017; Bhopal, 2020). This thesis contributes a framework through which the racialised dimensions of social space and its impact on the value of capital can be explored further.

Finally, of all of Bourdieu’s tools, I have worked to further develop habitus. I have deeply considered the impact of racialisation on habitus and illustrated how those who occupy subordinately racialised positions

navigate the social world with a sense of ‘two-ness’ - ‘a double perception of self’ (Bourdieu, 1999 pg. 511) – that assists rather than ‘dooms’ them as they strive to resist and survive racialised misrecognition (Chapter 7). As this experience is considered uncommon within traditional Bourdieusian scholarship, I have demonstrated that it is important to take account of the racialised dynamics of habitus to avoid the generalising and over-application of a theory unaware of how it is impacted by whiteness.

8.3.2 To Critical ‘Mixed Race’ Studies

Critical ‘mixed race’ studies (CMRS) suggest processes of racialisation can be critiqued through exploring the fluidity of ‘race’ as it manifests in identity and intersects with other social categories (Reginal *et al.*, 2014). Through this study, I have contributed to this literature. Rather than taking ‘mixed race’ identity and experiences as my starting point, I have prioritised understanding how racialisation was experienced and responded to by Black ‘mixed race’ participants and their families. In doing so, I have been able to contextualise participants’ discussions of their identity, taking account of family history and relationships and experiences of racism and racialisation to better understand how perceptions of themselves and society developed.

Thus I have moved beyond individualised studies of ‘mixed race’ and instead produced a study that is historically, geographically and politically situated. By drawing attention to the intersectional and structural realities of ‘mixed race’ experience, I have furthered an understanding of how positionality affects how racialisation as it is experienced and reacted to. In this thesis I have demonstrated that studying ‘race’ through the lens of racialisation processes is useful, as it helps make sense of the power relations that underpin racial categorisation. By empirically exploring how space, discourse and minds connect through racialisation processes, I have illustrated how dominant racial discourses are internalised (in different ways) and become embedded into social spaces and institutions (see Chapter 6). Moreover, through tracing how individuals are impacted by different manifestations of racialisation in ordinary everyday life I have exposed how power operates through racialisation processes and identified some of the strategies of survival and resistance participants used to navigate this.

CRMT however, remains an underdeveloped research area (Daniel *et al.*, 2014). This study has addressed the following gaps within this literature. Firstly, there is a limited amount of research looking at how ‘mixed race’ families impact how Black ‘mixed race’ people navigate the social world. Often research in this area focuses on the experiences of individuals or parents (Joseph-Salisbury, 2018). Thus, very few studies have conducted research with multiple family members across different generations⁹⁸ (Pang, 2018; Twine, 2004; Caballero, 2008). Existing research on ‘mixed race’ has focused on multiple aspects of families’ lives such as parenting, including lone parents (Caballero and Edwards, 2010); adoption (Caballero *et al.*, 2012);

⁹⁸ See Bauer (2010) and Rockquemore and Laziloff (2005) for examples of other multigenerational studies of ‘mixed race’.

fathering (Edwards, 2017); white mothers (Twine, 2004; O'Malley, 2020; McKenzie, 2013) and sibling relationships (Song, 2010b; Root, 1998). However, very few studies have been able to draw connections between the individual experiences of multiple family members and how these experiences become connected within family life. Thus, this thesis has contributed to bridging this gap as well as added to literature concerned with the impact of racialisation on intimate and family relationships (Lewis, 2009; Lewis, 2007; Ahmed, 2014; Carby, 2019), highlighting ways in which different family members' *race scripts* are navigated between kin and affect experiences that occur beyond it (see Chapter 5). This study has also contributed to a growing body of literature on the under-researched area of 'mixed race' studies. For example this work is complimentary to that of Joseph-Salisbury (2018a) who has explored the lived experience of Black 'mixed race' men, and also that of Edwards (2017) who has focused on the experiences of fathers raising 'mixed race' children.

8.4 Answering my research questions

I now answer each of my four research questions in turn.

8.4.1 What do the experiences of Black 'mixed race' people and their families reveal about processes of racialisation?

Researching manifestations of racialisation within the context of Black 'mixed race' families has highlighted how differences in perceptions and understanding of 'race' interact within kinship networks. There can be stark differences between members of 'mixed race' families experiences of racialisation, as each member can appear to embody a different *race script*. A *race script* refers to a person's understanding of 'race'/ racialisation processes and their consequences, and informs how an individual negotiates racialisation in their everyday lives. *Race scripts* form in relation to collective histories and life experiences and are deeply embedded in one's perception. Working with Black 'mixed race' families has highlighted the importance of positionality within the development of *race scripts* over time .

By working with those who are intimately connected but occupy dominant and subordinate racialised positions I sought to better understand the epistemological differences of *race scripts* and the impact this has upon how individuals learnt to read 'race' across their lifetime (see Chapter 5). Those who occupy dominant positions, with dispositions previously unable to cognise racialisation processes may shift (in different ways) as a result of their intimate relationships and kinship with those who embody blackness (James, 2015). For those who occupy subordinate racialised positions, awareness of racialisation processes begins in childhood. Their conscious understanding of these processes is then developed across their lifetime within the family and beyond in response to multiple racialised encounters.

Moreover, extending Stack and Burton's (1993) concept of 'kinscription' to make sense of the complex racialised dynamics within families, I have argued that racialised kinscripts encapsulate different, conflicted

and contradictory understandings of racialisation. Despite this, they enable a collective understanding of 'race' to arise that takes into account what 'race' means for each family member. Racialised kinscripts are formed through conversations, silences, emotional exchanges and racialised kin-work. Thus, like a collective family habitus, these kinscripts are both structured by and structure individual *race scripts* and inform how family members are expected to (re)act when 'race' comes up in the family and beyond. Thus, working with Black 'mixed race' families has made visible the processes through which individuals learn about the mechanisms and significance of racialisation within their families, processes which may have been harder to see if I were working with families whose members are racialised in similar ways.

Furthermore, by working with Black 'mixed race' people, I have illustrated that the dominant racial logics in Britain remain polarised and simplistic. Whiteness is constructed in opposition to blackness, which results in Black 'mixed race' people being racialised in complicated and contradictory ways. This in turn, makes Black 'mixed race' people helpful informants on issues of racialisation, as their experiences of crossing an imagined boundary means they often develop heightened awareness of processes of racialisation and racial categorisation.

8.4.2 How are understandings of and responses to racialisation shaped by experiences within and beyond the family?

Within the family, manifestations of racialised kin-work underpinned initial understandings and responses to racialisation. Racialised kin-work refers to what and how parents taught their children about 'race'. This work was often divided unequally within the family. However, the criteria that underpinned this division derived from the *race scripts* of individual parents. Mothers appeared to carry out the majority of racialised kin-work regardless of their own racialised position, mothering across coloured lines and actively seeking to further racial literacy (Twine, 2004). Black and white fathers also carried out this work to different degrees, depending upon the *race scripts* of their childrens' mother and their own understanding of 'race'. Thus, racialised kin-work was not simply the responsibility of Black parents, but their blackness did qualify them for this role within some families (Rockquemore and Laszloffy, 2005).

Racialised kin-work culminated in 'pedagogical packages'. These packages are passed between generations and prepared core and nominated participants to navigate processes of racialisation (both within and beyond the family). 'Pedagogical packages' varied between families and offered different degrees of preparation. Some participants developed a proactive frame through which to make sense of 'race' as it manifested around them, providing them with a sense of control when confronted by conscious experiences of racialisation and misrecognition in social encounters. Others were less prepared and developed reactive responses as their personhood was misrecognised. Some inherited pedagogical packages riddled with mixed messages about 'race' which complicated participants' development of strategies that helped them navigate

racialisation in the world. This was especially the case when the pedagogical packages they inherited reproduced dominant discourses of ‘race’ or were part of an inherently conflicted racialised kinscript.

Thus, the understanding of ‘race’ learnt within the family shaped subsequent reactions to racialisation in fields beyond the family. These experiences led to *epiphany moments* which further developed CPs’ *race scripts*. Epiphany moments shift consciousness and result in new understandings of one’s self and surroundings. These moments led participants to reckon with dominant racial discourses as they encountered them in social interactions. Such moments resulted in the internalisation of messages about ‘race’, although what was internalised – that is, how these dominant discourses were understood by participants - depended upon the context of the interaction, the reactions of other people in close proximity, the outcome of the encounter and the racialised kinscript they embodied.

Those who had inherited proactive pedagogical packages were more able to perceive moments of racialised misrecognition as an external issue, that arose from flaws in society and in the minds of others. Those who had not were more likely to internalise the messages arising from these colliding moments where they were confronted with misrecognition, taking from such encounters that there was something wrong with them rather than with others or the world. Racialised encounters that occurred beyond the family led participants to become more aware of, and at times, to better understand the social significance of ‘race’ and how it functioned in society. These encounters also increased participants’ awareness of themselves as racialised subjects. Thus, understandings of and response to racialisation developed over time and were informed by both experiences within the family and beyond it.

8.4.3 How can Bourdieu’s key concepts (field, habitus and capital) help to make sense of the impact of social position (especially ‘race’, class and gender) on participants’ responses to racialisation?

Bourdieu’s key concepts have been very useful when exploring the impact of ‘race’, class and gender on responses to racialisation. Firstly, it has provided a useful language to discuss the relationship between space (structures and fields), people (habitus/ minds), resources (capital) and social action. Analysing how racialisation was expressed on these levels enabled me to develop a more holistic understanding of the multiple factors that influence responses to racialisation. Secondly, power is understood as manifesting from historical meaning struggles within this school of thought. As ‘race’ represents a prime example of this process, using Bourdieu’s tools within a Critical Race framework has enabled me to emphasise rather than take for granted how capital, field and habitus are impacted by racialisation processes, as well as highlight how British colonial legacy impacts its current racial formation. This in turn furthered my understanding of how racialisation reproduces polarised conceptions of ‘race’, which lead to Black ‘mixed race’ people’s embodiment of contradictions inherent in dominant understanding of race (Tashiro, 2016).

This reinforces the significance of social position on how participants experienced and navigated racialisation within their life.

Thirdly, as Bourdieusian theory is designed to analyse symbolic power, it is well suited to research concerned with intersectionality. As its framework centres around understanding how power is distributed through systematic processes of misattribution, resulting in widespread misrecognition, it can be applied to different social categories and used to explore how they relate to one another. For example, working with this framework illustrated the dislocation between the capital subordinatedly racialised people possess and its symbolic value (see Chapter 7). It highlighted how CPs drew upon their capital differently to navigate instances of racialised misrecognition enacting differing strategies influenced by the type and volume of capital they possessed. Those who occupied more securely middle-class positions (Bibi, Indiya and Andrew) and possessed greater volumes of cultural capital were able to counter racialised misrecognition more confidently than those who possessed less (Zara) or who as a result of their gender were harshly denied the status required to shift the racial gaze and its misrecognition (Theo). Moreover, social capital in the form of friends and Black professional networks helped participants counter misrecognition. Friends supported participants to grow in confidence and resist internalising racialisation as they provided spaces and relationships where participants were recognised and able to discuss the racialised processes they were subjected to. Black professional networks in particular strengthen participants resilience whilst granting greater access to formal opportunities that help them to progress within education settings and the labour market.

Fourthly, Bourdieu's notion of field makes possible analysis of contextual manifestations of racialisation. By dividing the social world into fields and considering the unique manifestations of power within a specific milieu, I could explore how 'race' was spatially expressed and illustrate shifts in the meaning and power of whiteness and blackness across contexts. What's more, by looking at different institutions within the broader field of education, I have highlighted that the extent to which white privilege corresponded with its prestige and symbolic recognition. By demonstrating this, I was able to explore how participants' own social position affected their movement, mobility and sense of belonging within these institutions, highlighting that too often my participants felt out of place as a result of the processes of racialisation they were subjected to. Moreover, the division of space into fields meant I could highlight how participants' experiences of new fields or new experiences within familiar fields changed their perceptions of themselves and the world around them.

Illustrating shifts in perception is a useful feature of Bourdieusian Sociology. However, it was Bourdieu's concept of habitus that was most difficult to work with in its 'original' form. This was because the parts of habitus Bourdieu considered unusual – its potential to generate agentic responses to social conditions, to develop through self-analysis and to embody 'two-ness' - appeared to be fundamental to the inner worlds

of my Black ‘mixed race’ participants. Thus, it was only when combined with the assumptions outlined in Du Bois’ (1968) concept of *double consciousness*, and my own concept of *race scripts*, that habitus become useful. In this new state, I was able to use habitus to highlight how shifts in perceptions related to participants’ social position. For example, those who were more comfortably middle-class and who had inherited proactive ‘pedagogical packages’ to make sense of racialisation were able to counter instances of racialised misrecognition. Furthermore, I could highlight how social position informed *race scripts* which in turn played an active role in shaping how structural racism was reproduced or resisted within families and beyond. Thus whilst for Bourdieu, (1999 pg. 511) those with ‘a double perception of the self’ are ‘doomed to a kind of duplication... to successive allegiances and multiple identities’, by centring *race scripts* as a part of habitus, I have explored how understandings of and responses to racialisation became embedded into perception alongside a sense of ‘two-ness’ - a gift - that helped participants navigate and survive processes of racialisation and racism they experienced (Chapter 6).

8.4.4 How does racialisation impact the making of identities?

In this thesis, I have argued that identities are multidimensional consisting of multiple self-states. The dominance of these different selves shifts as an individual moves between fields and engages in social interactions. I have illustrated that a racialised self is brought into being through interactions which make apparent the racial gaze of others (Carby, 2019). I have highlighted the processes through which participants come to understand themselves as racialised subjects, suggesting that consciousness of this kind arises from encounters which structurally locate ‘race’ as a force of distinction and give it the power to shape life experiences and opportunities. I have documented participants’ efforts to gain a sense of control over these processes, and how this was linked to knowledge of the symbolic representations others use to position, understand and dissect them (Fanon, 2008). I have illustrated that developing a racialised selfhood able to protect one’s self from relenting subjugation to racialised misrecognition is a difficult and ongoing process. It is a journey that can produce feelings of self-hate and self-love; produce trauma and sit at the root of people’s deepest defenses (Comas-Díaz, 2019; Jernigan and , Daniel, 2011; Saleem *et al.*, 2020). Furthermore, it can affect how a person acts and interacts.

I have argued for a consideration of racialised selfhood as the site where the racial gaze and human social action meet, informing the strategies participants used to complicate binary racial logics and fight against the erasure of their personhood within racialised social interactions. Thus racialisation is an essential part of making the ‘self’ and the ‘other’ (Lewis, 2007; Wynter, 2003). It informs how a person understands their own identity, presents themselves to others with specific contexts and uses resources (capital) they possess to counter the specific forms of racialisation they experience. Whilst learning to survive multiple forms of racialisation and racism is very important, this alone does not change how racialisation operates. Racialised selfhoods and strategies represent individualized responses to a structural issue that will require collective action if it is to change substantially.

While not an applied or policy thesis in the next section I outline the lessons I have learnt whilst producing this work and present them as recommendations.

8.5 Recommendations

We cannot keep living within ‘white supremacist capitalist patriarchy’ and expecting a fair and equal world (hooks, 2000 pg.158). The current world social order must be overthrown! The present global order is reproductive and fundamentally relies upon oppression. As a result, change made within the limits of existing systems will always be partial, never quite able to resolve the root causes of the injustices we witness and experience in the world (Andrews, 2018). As it stands, social improvements made in one part of the world may have dire consequences for another. Whilst for the former, improvement makes the status quo and associated oppression ever more bearable, there are no guarantees that the latter are not therefore subjected to greater harm or their own conditions of oppression increase as a result. For example, as wages improve in Britain our reliance upon global capitalism increases, leading to greater exploitation around the world. There is no easy way, to overcome this reality. However, shifts in consciousness resulting in greater awareness of how all shared humanity and the way in which our actions effect those we do not know and cannot see may help. We need to better understand ourselves as global citizens, and within that develop dispositions that help us to see the racialised dimensions of capitalism and the pain this system causes for so many people around the world. With this greater recognition, we could collectively strategize and find ways to overcome current mechanisms of privilege, oppression and exploitation.

Furthermore, Britain needs to work towards a greater understanding of how racism is reproduced and impacts society. Like racialisation, racism manifests in politics, families, schools and minds. This is a public issue and to overcome it, substantial shifts must occur within dominant racial discourses. Space and willingness to engage in this conversation appears possible at this point in time. Global Black Lives Matter protests have challenged so many to consider their complicity within processes of racialisation and racism. However, whilst shifts in the mind and awareness of these issues are important, how ‘race’ works and what we can do to reduce its power is an extremely complicated issue. It is so easy for people to believe that by shifting their expectations of non-white people - pushing their minds to think beyond stereotypical constructions - is the solution, or that offering a few more jobs to non-white people will solve systematic manifestations of ‘race’.

Whilst these interventions change the lives of a few, they do not benefit the majority of subordinately racialised people in Britain. In order for ‘race’ inequality to be improved across multiple aspects of social life - in health, education, the labour market, housing, law and order, etc. – there needs to be substantial social policy interventions dedicated to shifting the current social order. However, until those in power are willing to acknowledge the extent of white supremacy within Britain and reckon with its past with the intention of acknowledging and letting go of its oppressive legacy - rather than attempting to reclaim it -

substantial change will not come (Gilroy, 2005; Gilroy, 2008). Only when Britain is able to face up to the psychosis of whiteness its culture perpetuates will those in power truly understand the difference between initiatives that make a difference and those which only deal with manifestations of issues of racialisation rather than its roots (Andrews, 2018).

The diversity agenda is an example of an initiative that appears to address prevalent manifestations of inequalities, but in reality collapses issues related to 'race', gender, religion, disability, sexuality etc. into a catch-all phrase individualises structural issues (Ahmed and Swan, 2006). It divorces them from their history and thus their associated political struggles (Deem and Morley, 2006), and concealing the unique ways that different social categories operate (Crawley 2006; Mirza 2006; Jones, 2006). The turn to diversity has produced a dominant understanding that suggests inequality can be resolved through the inclusion of 'people who look different' (Puwar, 2004 pg. 1; Ahmed and Swan, 2006). The impact of diversity discourse upon racialised inequality is that it assists in the reproduction of a system that enables organisations to succeed at diversity work (which takes the form of marketing materials and 'diversity documentation') whilst remaining committed to the reproduction of white supremacy (Ahmed and Swan, 2006). As Ahmed (2018 pg. 334) writes, 'Diversity becomes about changing the images of whiteness rather than changing the whiteness of organisations'. Thus whilst hopes to shift hegemonic racial discourses is entwined in a system unable to deeply consider the complexities of racialisation and develop strategies from this standpoint, meaningful change is unlikely (Arday and Mirza, 2018).

This research project has highlighted some of the consequences of racialised misrecognition within the British education system. Manifestations of racialisation and racism are commonplace across all sectors of education in the UK. As systemic change is so difficult to achieve, help is needed for those within education settings - both students and staff - to better understand how institutional racism manifests within the schools, colleges and university that they are a part of, through training and citizenship classes (Cole, 2004; Bhopal and Rhamie, 2013; Wilkins 2006). Alongside this, teaching students and staff need to reflect upon their own *race scripts* and the impact these have upon how they interact with others. This may build resistance to processes of racialisation and lead to a greater prevalence of grassroots activism against such processes. Finally, supporting students and staff in educational settings to engage in and facilitate difficult conversations about 'race' and racism may help students like Theo be better supported when they encounter racism in education settings.

Whilst the above intervention may help re-level the burden of racism for some, it is unlikely to result in widespread change. There will still be many people, young and old whose mental health and wellbeing is negatively affected by their experiences of racism and racialisation. It is therefore imperative that adequate training also exists for those who work within the mental health profession. Therapists, counsellors, mental health doctors, nurses and community staff must gain a proficient understanding of how 'race' and

racialisation works in the world and the impact this has on those people they work with from subordinately racialised backgrounds. This is extremely important, as people of colour, and especially those from Black backgrounds, are more likely than other ethnic groups to come into contact with mental health services (see Appendix 5).

In terms of the academic agenda, this study exemplifies the usefulness of adopting an intersectional approach to research. By designing research studies with the capacity to capture how multiple social categories impact each other and shape life experiences, research can better contribute to the construction of a holistic account of human life. The study also shows, ‘mixed race’ to be a double illusion, an imagined category based upon imagined categories which Tashiro (2016) refers to as a chimera. It is therefore important that critical ‘mixed race’ studies continue to grow, as researching from this standpoint enables ‘mixed race’ to be explored beyond the confines of bounded categorisation. Studies of ‘mixed race’ are more capable of revealing complex insights regarding how ‘race’ works in the world than they are at exploring the individual experiences of ‘mixed race’ people in meaningful ways. Emphasising the usefulness of conducting studies of ‘mixed race’ that are historically, geographically and politically situated increases the power of this discourse and its ability to undermine dominant polarised ideas concerned with ‘race’ and ‘mixed race’.

8.6 The boundaries of the study and opportunities for extension

8.6.1 Limitations

As with all research bounded by time and context, this study was scaffolded by constraints and methodological decisions. Firstly, I turn to the limitation of my sample. Throughout this study, it has been my intention to illustrate the intricate ways in which racialisation manifests across multiple parts of a person’s everyday life. Racialisation is underpinned by complex contextualised processes that shift and change across time, space and people. Thus, the meaning and power embedded into ‘race’ and racial categories result from differentiated racial projects shaped by historical, economic and political dimensions of a specific place (Omi and Winant, 1994). Whilst this project provides insight into how Britain’s racial formation manifests and is negotiated, it remains England-centric and therefore may not adequately explain the unique manifestations of racialisation in Scotland, Wales or Northern Ireland as well as in different parts of the world (Pang, 2018). Thus, cautious about making universal claims regarding racialisation but instead highlight how racialisation operates as a product of Trans-Atlantic modernity (Gilroy, 1993).

Secondly, by focusing solely on the experiences of Black ‘mixed race’ people of Caribbean descent and their families, the claims made in this study can only address the particularities of those who cross the boundary of Black and white and therefore cannot account for the experiences of people from other racialised ethnic/faith groups. Thirdly, by recruiting only Black ‘mixed race’ participants who appeared to be consciously grappling with the meaning of ‘race’ in their own lives and in the world, my research cannot adequately

theorise the experiences of people who had limited experiences of racialised encounters and for those who feel 'race' has little significance in their day-to-day lives. Fourthly, whilst my decision to include five CPs arose from my commitment to understanding uniqueness and complexity, this has resulted in an individualised account of experiences and strategies. Although my reading of participants suggests these experiences are reflective of wider patterns, it is difficult for me to draw conclusions about the prevalence and successfulness of different responses to racialisation.

Finally, the data presented in this study would have been enriched by the inclusion of grandparents. Whilst it was not within my power to nominate participants, I feel grandparents were an evoked presence throughout this study. Their inclusion would have furthered by understanding of CPs and NPs, as well as bringing a deeper intergenerational depth to the racialised kinscript discussion. It would have encompassed the first-hand experiences of the Windrush generation and revealed more about how the racial hostility of the mid 20th century impacted families' understandings of racialisation. It would have also extended the under-discussed issue of racism in families and provided a greater insight into how these shift between generations.

My research design enabled the collection of data that encompassed manifestations of 'mutually constitutive oppression[s]' making possible an exploration of how these 'constrain and inform lived experience' (Hamilton, 2020 pg. 52). At the same time, my focus on unpacking the complexity of racialisation and exploring its intersection with social class decentred gender from my analysis. An in-depth discussion of the differences between siblings would have supported me to develop a more sophisticated analysis of the role of gender within participants' navigations of racialisation (see Section 7.6).

I have found using Bourdieu's tools extremely useful throughout this thesis. Doing so has helped me to analysis the relationship between power and racialisation alongside structure and agency. Moreover, I chose to use Bourdieu's concept in careful ways, adapting them to the specificities of peoples' lived realities. However despite this, it is important to acknowledge that my commitment to understanding the world through this lens inevitably imposed its own structure on to my participants' lived experiences. As Bourdieusian theory is at its root pessimistic, deeply embedded in illustrating the reproduction of power and the status quo, it may have limited my exploration of micro processes of change and thus lead me to be dismissive of the effectiveness of the individual actions of my participants and the strategies they employ.

8.6.2 Opportunities for extension

In this section I outline how this research could be developed in the future. Firstly, I suggest that there would be value in replicating this study but with a longitudinal research design. Doing so would further our understanding of how racialised encounters shift consciousness of processes of racialisation. However, a longitudinal design would rely less on participants' recollections of their past but would instead document

consciousness shifts and strategy developments as they occur in the present. This would increase knowledge of the strategies people use to counter, manage and accept racialised misrecognition as well as lead to a better understanding of the effectiveness of these strategies.

Secondly, it would be interesting to revisit the families in this study but invite siblings to become CPs, as despite their shared kinship network, upbringing and often experiences of education they occupied different social positions. As all participants had a sibling of the opposite sex, focusing on differences between them would provide greater insight into the impact of gender on experiences of racialisation. Moreover, my research design could be replicated with participants from different ethnic groups and/ or in different country contexts. This would help us to better understand the particularities of racialisation, and especially the impact of unique histories of ethnic groups and locale upon individuals' experiences of racialisation.

Finally, I would love to develop a framework with a group of participants racialised in substantially different ways that supported them to research their own families, reflect upon their own lives and map their own journeys through racialisation. This would document their own *epiphany moments* and consider how their responses to these were informed by the pedagogical packages they inherited, alongside other significant experiences that have occurred in their life. Not only would this amplify their voices and centre their own interpretations of their lives but the act of taking part could be an empowering experience. Such work might contribute to supporting those who have struggled with experiences of racialisation and racism, helping them to make sense of these experiences through sharing with others, alongside considering the structural forces they have encountered and illustrating the ways in which they have used agency and strategies to resist racialisation throughout their lives.

For Fae and Athie



Figure 19 Pomerac By Kiranjeet Kaur

9 Bibliography

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10 Appendix

10.1 Appendix 1: Interview schedules

10.1.1 Appendix 1.1 CP Interview 1 schedule

Interview schedules – Getting to know you

- Tell me about your upbringing?
- Describe your mum, dad, siblings, friends – differences/ similarities between them and between you and them
- What reasons do you attributed to the differences/ similarities between themselves, friends and family?
- Family myths?
- Friends/ in school relationships ?
- Key people who have had a significant influence on you in your life?
- Where do you see yourself in the future?
- What was it like growing up mixed race?
- When is a good time for me to observe you?

10.1.2 Appendix 1.2: CP Interview 2 schedule

Interview schedule for interview 2

Using this plasticine, colouring pens and paper, can you please make me a visual representation of times in your life, events and influential people that you feel have contributed to make you who you are today.

Today's interview is about what has made you, you! I am interested in experiences you have had that have had a long-lasting effect on you or changed you in some way at some point in your life even if it was in a limited way. These may have been good things or bad things, they may have been things you have done for yourself, things that were done for you or maybe even done to you. As well as that I want you to think about people. People who have had an impact on you at some point in your life. They don't have to still be present in your life and if you once liked, loved or hated them but now feel differently about them then that's ok still include them in your piece. So think maybe best friends, teachers, role models, strangers you remember, youth workers, family members, bullies, imaginary friends; anyone you can remember that you think has in some way had an impact on shaping who you are today.

- Turning points
- Significant people
- Who you are today

Feedback: Liked the freedom to structure as desired and enjoyed the activity

10.1.3 Appendix 1.3: CP Interview 3 schedule

The aim of this interview is to move the focus from the past to the present and on to the future.

Plasticine – imagine yourself in a Black or white space. Make a model that represents how you feel in these spaces. Discuss.

How do you act in these different spaces?

In what ways have your life experiences shaped how you act in these spaces?

Discuss spaces where ‘race’ seems to have an effect and spaces that don’t.

How would you describe your class background?

Do you think your class affects how you experience these spaces?

Describe where you would like to be in five years time, both physically and in terms of identity?

10.1.4 Appendix 1.4: Parent's interview schedule

Parent interview schedule

Purpose of this interview is to gain a sense of the participant's family habitus, what ways of thinking, coping mechanisms and resources the main participate developed in the home, how have these changed over time, and anything specific that became catalysts for such changes

Topics

- Own upbringing
- Generation differences in parenting practices
- Discussion of relationships to child/ children/ broader family
- Description of child/ children
- Description of own parenting style
- Reflections on having a 'mixed race' child
- Events where parents have felt very aware of their own/ their child's race/ ethnicity
- Own outlook on issues of race/ racism/ racial identity
- Own experiences of the above
- Discussion of specific events brought up by child and parents experiences of them

Questions

1. Can you tell me about your upbringing?
2. How does your own upbringing compare to your child's upbringing?
3. In what ways are you like your parents? And in what ways are your child/ children like you?
4. How would you describe your relationships with your children?
5. Can you tell me about the type of mother/father you are?
6. What have you learnt from your experiences as a mother?
7. Can you recall a time where you have become very aware of your own race/ ethnicity or that of your child?
8. Reflections of having a 'mixed race' child
 - a. Did you have any expectation of what it would be like to have and raise a 'mixed race' child? And was it how you expected it to be?
 - b. Were there any challenges you faced?
 - c. Or anything you felt compelled to do differently because your child/ children were mixed?
 - d. Is there anything you feel having a 'mixed race' child has taught you that you could only have learnt through this experience?
9. What do you think about issues of race/ racism and ethnicity?

10.1.5 Appendix 1.5: Sibling interview schedule

Sibling interview schedule

- Upbringing – parent style – impact on you?
- Relationship with family members?
- Experiences of school?
- How has being ‘mixed race’ shaped your life/
- How would you describe yourself as a person?
- In what ways are you similar to or different from your family members?
- Who do you think has influenced the person you are today?
- Can you tell me about a time when you have been made very aware of your skin colour?
 - How did that feel?
 - How did you respond to that situation?
- Do you think your experiences of being ‘mixed race’ has shaped you and your sibling’s life experiences differently and if so in what ways?
- What do you want to be in the future?

10.2 Appendix 2: Fieldwork record

Participants	No. of interviews	Interview location	Total duration of interviews (hours)	No. of Observations	Location
Andrew	4	The car, at his house x2, at my house	5:45	14	His work, My house, His house, Night out, meals, Local events, Work meetings, in car with dad, meal with new girlfriend, meal with old girlfriend and sister at pizza express, In car with friend , Family event
Gemma	2	my house, UWE	1:02	5	University, My house , Taught Ellie (in class), working with friends in the library, Family event
Shirley	1	Her house	0:42	2	Her house
Andrew friends	0		0	2	Alex's house, Car
Peter	1	Birmingham library	0:56	1	Drove to Bristol together and around all neighbourhoods, visited Andrews primary school
Theo	3	A café in Birmingham, walking around Village, My cousins house, his girlfriends house, Parents home	6:50	4	London at the hospital, His flat and trip to studio, his flat, walking around Birmingham
Amelia	1	Home	1:28	0	
Claire	1	Home	2:00		

Theo friend	0		0	2	London at hospital, his flat
Theo paternal and maternal Grandparents	0	Respective homes	0		Their house in Birmingham
Zara	3.5	The library (bar), Old house, New house with Jeremy	3: 58	2	henna dying, dads birthday
Fiona		Zara's house	1:28	0	
Natasha		Zara's house	0:10	0	
Lenard	1		1:09	0	
Indiya	3	Boston Tea Party, Café Amore, Clifton Café	2:10	2	Univeristy of Bristol x2
Linda	1	At work (Indiya present)	1:43	0	
Simon		At Café	1:20	0	
Bibi	3	Café amorie, her house, Her house	2:52	2	At her house and route to work
Mary	1	Her house	1:50	1	Turtle bay
Reece	1	His house	0:42	0	

10.3 Appendix 3: Information sheets and consent forms

10.3.1 Appendix 3.1: CP Information sheets

A study exploring mixed race young peoples' life stories and identities

My name is Annabel and I'm currently studying at Cardiff University. I am a PhD student who researches how race and class affect people's lives in Britain today. I am inviting you to take part in a sociological research study exploring the life experiences of mixed race young people in Britain. I am interested in how your family, friends, experiences of school and other key events in your life have shaped your identity and your plans for the future. I would also like to interview family members; friends and/or important people in your life who have had a big impact in shaping who you are today.

WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?

If you agreed to take part in this study, I would like to spend approximately 7 days with you (over the course of a few months) but the amount of time we actually spend together is up to you. I am very flexible. I'd be happy to join you in your day to day activities, work around your existing plans or meet you in certain places at times that suit you. During this time, we will talk about your experiences of family life, education and what you are up to now. Where possible we may visit your old schools, your work places or other places or people you feel have had an impact upon who you are today. Also, if you are happy, I would like to interview your family members, friends or other important people in your life. I am happy to interview them with you or alone and it is up to you who I do or don't speak to.

HOW WILL I COLLECT INFORMATION AND HOW WILL IT BE USED?

When we are together I may take notes so I remember what we have discussed. Also at the end of the day, I may reflect upon our day and write about what has happened and what you have helped me to understand. I will also interview you. These interviews will be audio record and transcribed. These files and the notes I take will be kept in safe a place. This may be a locked cabinet or a secure electronic folder and all identifying information will be removed. Everything you share with me will be kept confidential. I will not share anything you have told me with other family members, friends or anyone else I interview. I will share the findings of the PhD with you and you can decide if you would like to share this with your family members or friends who took part in this study. Also, it is ok to change your mind about taking part in this study at any time.

WHEN?

I would like to arrange a date and time convenient for you I am hoping to start the research in October/ November and I have until April to collect my research. If you would like to take part let me know and we can arrange a time to meet where you can ask me more questions about the study in person. After this we can begin to organize dates for us to meet up and begin the study! **If in the meantime you have any questions, please contact me by email (wilsonak@cardiff.ac.uk) or by phone (07792193399).**

Thank you for taking the time to read this and I look forward to hearing from you!

Annabel

A study exploring mixed race young peoples' life stories and identities

My name is Annabel and I'm currently studying at Cardiff University. I am a PhD student who researches how race and class affect people's lives in Britain today. I am inviting you to take part in a sociological research study exploring the life experiences of mixed race young people in Britain. I am interested in how family, friends, colleagues, experiences of school and other key events in mixed race young people's lives have shaped who they are and their plans for the future.

WHAT WILL IT INVOLVE?

This research study is designed to center around one main person (my main participant). It is up to this person who else takes part in this project. If you are reading this information sheet, it means that my main participant has chosen you to take part in this study. If you are happy to be involved I would like to interview. This interview will take between approximately 1-2 hours. If you are a family member, friend or work colleague I may also observe you alongside my main participant if we are in the same place.

HOW WILL I COLLECT INFORMATION AND HOW WILL IT BE USED?

When we are together I may take notes so I remember what we have discussed. Also at the end of the day, I may reflect upon our time together and write about what has happened and what you have helped me to understand. Interviews will be audio record and transcribed. These files and the notes I take will be kept in safe a place. This may be a locked cabinet or a secure electronic folder and all identifying information will be removed. Everything you share with me will be kept confidential. I will not share anything you have told me with my main participant, other family members, friends or anyone else I interview. I will remain sensitive to what I include within my final thesis and will omit things that are highly personal, things shared you don't want others to know or things that could be easily misunderstood.

Once I have finished my PhD I will share my findings with my main participant first as information included within it will be mainly focused upon them and they can decide who else they would like to share the work with. Participation in this study is completely voluntary and it is also ok to change your mind about taking part in this study at any time.

WHEN?

I would like to arrange a date and time convenient for you, I will be researching between September 2016- April 2-17. If you would like to take part let me know and we can arrange a time to meet where you can ask me more questions about the study in person. After this we can begin to organize dates for us to meet up and begin the study! **If in the meantime you have any questions, please contact me by email (wilsonak@cardiff.ac.uk) or by phone (07792193399).**

Thank you for taking the time to read this and I look forward to hearing from you!

Annabel



A study exploring mixed race young peoples' life stories and identities

Please read the following questions. Tick question 1-3 if you are happy with the information you have received and questions 4-7 to show that you give your consent:

Please Tick Box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.
3. The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained to me (e.g. pseudonyms (alternative names), anonymization of data so people won't know who you are or where you live).
4. I agree to take part in the above study.
5. I agree to any interview consultation being audio recorded.
6. I agree to the data collected to be included in the PhD findings and other future presentations.
7. I would like to receive a copy of the PhD findings which I will share with my family if I am comfortable.

Name of participant	Date	Signature

Name of Researcher	Date	Signature



A study exploring mixed race young peoples' life stories and identities

Please read the following questions. Tick question 1-3 if you are happy with the information you have received and questions 4-7 to show that you give your consent:

Please Tick Box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving reason.
3. The procedures regarding confidentiality have been clearly explained to me (e.g. pseudonyms (alternative names), anonymization of data so people won't know who you are or where you live).
4. I agree to take part in the above study.
5. I agree to interview consultations being audio recorded.
6. I agree to the data collected to be included in the PhD findings and other future presentations.

Name of participant	Date	Signature

Name of Researcher	Date	Signature

10.4 Analysis coding framework and explanations⁹⁹

Definitions and expectation of mixedness	Experiences of racism	Blackness - what it means, how it is embodied and enacted	Colour coded memories/ experiencing space racially
Positive vs negative experiences of racialisation	Parenting	Differences between siblings	Black cultural capital
(Black) professional networks	Work	Schooling	Moments of transitions/ epiphanies
World views – individualistic, meritocratic vs structural/ oppression	The intersection of race, class and gender	Light skin privilege	Media representations
Adaptability	Being 'mixed race' is contingent upon youth (both internally and externally) and linked to transitions	Friends/ social networks	Hair

Definitions and expectations of 'mixedness'

- How participants come to define their ethnicity and how definitions have changed through the course of this study will be explored. Whilst some participants strongly identify as mixed race others feel this category does not accurately describe their ethnicity. Their justifications for this will be explored.
- Participants often discuss what they feel others expect from them as 'mixed-race' young people. How these expectations are understood by participants, communicated by others and how participants feel these expectations change across time and space will be explored.

Experiences of racism

- The type of racism participants discuss will be explored as well as the effects experiences of racism has had upon them.
- Those participants who have been subjected to racism are much more aware of how 'Race' (if understood as a devise category) operates. They are more sensitive to its effects. For them their ethnicity is not just a descriptive category, but a signifier that attempts to define, limit and work against these individuals.
- When exploring this I hope to gain a better understanding of whether there is something about these young people or the circumstances in which they lived that made them more likely to be subjected to racism. Or have they just become more effected by microaggressions because of their previous experiences. Is there a sense of self-fulfilling prophecy here?
- I am also interested in how people build up resistant to micro-aggressions. Nearly all participants discuss moments where they are subjected to the ignorance of others as they respond to them, or more specifically the colour of their skin. Some people are really effected by this others are not.
- Literature – Claudia Rankin, Jayne O. Ifekwunigwe, Maria P. P. Root
- Useful theories – Social identity theory, Habitus & Hexus

Blackness

- What blackness means to each participants differs. For some it is about food and culture, for others it is the key for solving most of the world problems. For some it represents positivity for others oppression. And often it means different things for different people in different places and across different times. For some it is something they can identify with and for others it isn't. I would like to get a better understanding of how people make sense of their blackness or blackness more generally and what underpins their views.

Colour coding of memories

- I am thinking of one participant in particular who seems to make sense of the world racially. Every experience he has in the present time and those he discusses in his past he appears to colour code. He makes sense of the world as if it is black and white. I am interested in unpacking this. I plan to draw upon psychosocial theories to help me do this.

Positive vs. negative experiences of racialisation

- I am interested in the way different participants in this study are racialised. I am keen to see if racialisation can be both positive and negative. And if so the ways in which exposure to the different types of racialisation effects the identity and worldviews of the participants.

⁹⁹ Zoom in to see clearly.

Parenting

- Family upbringing – I will explore the different upbringings of my participants. My interest lies in how parents approach to bringing up their children have effected the people they have become in later life. I am very interested in understanding how upbringing effects identity construction and also informs how people respond to challenges or experiences they are confronted or exposed to outside of the home.
- Parents relationship and attitude towards race – my data shows that different parents hold different attitudes towards 'race'. These range from 'I don't really know about all the stuff because im white so we don't really talk about it' to 'I always new the world would see my child as black so I felt it was important to educate her about all the trails and tribulations she might face' to 'I have always admired black culture, probably above my own, and I think all difference should be celebrated' to 'I don't really want my kids to associate with all that black stuff'. I am interested in how these different approaches parents have taken to understanding their children's 'ethnicity/race' have effected them in terms of identity and worldviews.
- Family habitus – here I am interested in how people embody their family experiences and history. I am interested in the consistencies between family members across generations. Here I am also interested in the effects of social class on the different family units.

Differences between siblings

- I am interested in how siblings make sense of each other and how their stories of each other relate. Are they complementary or conflictual?
- I am interested in the different definitions of ethnicity, race and blackness between siblings.
- I am also interested in how siblings experiences are effected by their gender.

Black Cultural Capital

- There are two types of Black cultural capital – dominant and non-dominant. Dominant Black cultural capital refers to knowledge of Black culture that is exchangeable within dominant fields such as within education settings or work places. For example knowledge of black authors (e.g. Toni Morrison, Zadie Smith) & black people's contribution to history. Non-dominant black cultural capital refers to knowledge of black cultural that is only exchangeable within non-dominant fields such as in predominant black neighbourhoods.
- In this study I am interested in the relationship between a person's definition of themselves (ethnically) their definitions of blackness and identification with it and the volume and type of black cultural capital they posses.
- I am interested in how people use black cultural capital in different spaces, and what using this does for them, in terms of their own identities and how/if it effects the amount of space they take up in different settings and how these changes across settings.

Epiphanies and moments of transition

- I am interested here in turning points. Moments that have created a shift in a person or has enabled them to gain access to a new set of realisation. Experiences that have altered their world view, that is how they make sense of themselves, others and the world around them.
- I am interested in what these moments say about the relationship between the social world and its objective structures and the individual.
- I am interested in the moments where a person becomes compromised and a change is forced (whether that be in terms of how they identify themselves or interact with others) as a result of their interaction with the racial dynamic, class dynamic, gender dynamics or a combinations of these that underpin the social spaces (fields) they have occupied and gained life experiences.
- These mental transitions may occur alongside physical transitions e.g. getting a new job, moving to a new school. These new environments (fields) will have different rules and power may work differently within them. For example in some of those spaces whiteness may be privileged more than in others. I am interested in how these more subtle relations shape the participants experience of transition.

Schooling

- School appears to be a crucial time in participants life's where they learn about themselves and have to develop their identities in relation to their experiences beyond the home. It is often here that participants discuss becoming aware of their ethnicity and where their 'race' is awoken.
- I am interested in how these experiences have effected a person sense of self. How their post school choices are effected by their in school experience.
- Peer relations are what is often most fascinating here. Peers relations to the participants, the terms upon which they are accepted or rejected by others appears to have large effects on the selves they developed whilst at school and to some extent beyond.
- My data tells me about the factors that underpin participants telling of their school experiences as positive or negative. It highlights how people come to terms with and move on from scars or injuries they received in school.
- Schools are like microcosms of the wider world – these experiences reveal how broader social processes that exist beyond the school play out within these walls. My data speaks to this.

Work

- I am interested in the type of work participants are interested and what underpins there career choices.
- I am interested in how participants have adapted to the world of work and the space they take up within work places.
- I am interested if participants feel their ethnicity effects their experience of work and if so how this effects the way they behave in work and make sense of their own presences in work.

The intersections of class, race and gender

- Following a black feminist approach to research I intend to pay attention to the life I study and all its complexity. This means that I will always seek to acknowledge and be sensitive too the intersection of class race and gender in my analysis.

Light skin privilege

- Team lighty vs. team darky is an ongoing debate on twitter.
- Lighties are rarefied in 'urban music' eg. grime
- Lighties are awarded privilege – people want a lighty on their arm
- Participants discuss tension with darker skinned black women because of their lighter complexion. This tension often occurs off the back of the privilege afforded to the lighties by men – both dark skin and light skin.
- Other participants discuss how their lighter complexion enables them to access spaces black people couldn't and thus see themselves as important in pursuit of racial harmony.
- Participant feels their light skin and having parents from different backgrounds enables them to be more adaptable and feel they are better equipped to speak to black people and white people than those who are mono-racial/ethnic
- Also a double burden of acknowledging light skin privilege whilst also being subjected to racism.
- Literature – Du Bois - Talented Tenth,
- Theory – Colourism, Mulatto

Media Representations

- Mixed race people are popular in public discourse. They are said by some to represent the multicultural Britain (Aspinal, 2015).
- I am interested in participants awareness of how mixed race people are represented and if they feel they are effected by these images.

Adaptability

- Identity is a wholly social phenomena. All people adapt and change in different environments or in different social groups. The same can be said of the mixed race young people in this study. However often the motivation or casual mechanism behind this adaptation is the response of others to the embodied characteristics of that individual. That is the way that others interpret the classed, raced and gendered markers that they carry on their bodies. They respond to what others expect from them on these bases as these expectations change across space.
- Some participants are better at this than others. Some people resent that they have to do this whilst others think it is a positive of being mixed race. I am interested in how participants engage in this adaptive practices and the way that they make sense of them.

Contingent relationship between mixed race and youth

- How is the ambiguity of the mixed race body changed by age.
- Do people grow out of being mixed race – or are adults less openly curious about mixed race people which means adults have to answer less questions.
- My data suggests it is harder to be mixed race and young than mixed and older. And people appear to relate more to broader issues of race inequality (in a binary fashion of black and white) as they grow up. It is as if you grow past being mixed, to being black but acceptable.
- As participant age they seem to become more racially ambiguous. This could be because change in the social relations that surround them e.g. young people in school vs. adults in work. There may also be different conations attached to mixed race bodies at different points in the life course e.g. Young mixed race body often stereotyped negatively vs. middle class mixed race women such as Jessica Ennis.
- Equally could be argued that the category mixed race itself is connected to youth more fundamentally reflecting demographics and also reflective of the historical understandings of mixed race as being highly related to identity confusion and the links between identity development and youth more generally

Friends/ social networks

- Peer relationships and their impact upon identity construction/ life experiences

Hair

- How participants interoperate other people's response to their hair
- Changes made to hair overtime and how this is connected to a broader project of self-development and identity shifts and changes
- Definition of good hair? Feelings towards natural hair? How in control do they feel of their own hair?
- The above are all issues that have been discussed by participants.

Definitions

- Race – the effects of a socially constructed system of power based upon skin tone differences. How race is understood in the world and how it effects the lived experience of a person.
- Ethnicity – the category chosen by and individual or by an othersider (other and outsider combined) to describe a person 'race' in a non political way. That overlooks the systematic, structural and hierarchical ordering and origins of such categories. Assuming that ethnicity is nothing more than an adjective similar to the words blue, tall, fat.

Questions

- What does the mixed race experience tell us more generally about the state of race relations in the UK at this present moment

10.5 Appendix 5: Reframing Intersectionality: A story of mental health

Reframing intersectionality:



a ‘herstory’ of my mother

By Annabel and Paulette Wilson¹⁰⁰

Introduction

In this appendix, I share the biography of a mentally ill mother and her daughter’s interactions with the British mental health system. I am doing this because ‘the personal is political’¹⁰¹ and sharing intimate stories which bind structural analysis with emotional realities can create accounts with the rhetorical power to mobilise others and engage collectivities¹⁰². My aim then is to share a story that could be told by ‘any’ other

¹⁰⁰ Whilst this chapter is physically written by Annabel Wilson (‘I’ then refers to Annabel’s voice), the story presented is her mother’s and results from countless phone calls and conversations between us. It is because of this that they are listed as co-authors.

¹⁰¹ Hill-Collins, P., (2009). *Black Feminist Thought*. Oxon: Routledge

¹⁰² Hitchcott, N. (1997). African "herstory": the feminist reader and the African autobiographical voice. *Research in African Literatures*. 28 (2), pp. 16-33

Black woman with experience of Euro-American mental health systems. It is a *herstory* as it emphasises “that women’s lives, deeds, and participation in human affairs have been neglected or undervalued in standard histories”¹⁰³. Therefore, I rewrite the ‘history’ presented in medical files, prescription papers and NHS ward reports, illustrating how intersectionality can be used as a micro-historiographic tool¹⁰⁴, both in sociology and beyond. I argue that once intersectionality becomes ingrained in one’s perception the of past can be brought to new life as a heightened sense of consciousness is gained. I suggest that if the NHS is to deliver a mental health service that is safe for Black women they too must undergo a similar process of enlightenment if they are to firstly understand the impact they have on people’s lives in the broadest sense, and secondly provide treatment for Black women without overlooking their humanity. Thus, I focus on the process through which I came to see the intersections of class, race, disability and gender in action and how their corresponding systems of domination - capitalism, white supremacy and patriarchy – stand as a barrier to equality, happiness and acceptance for many Black females. By outlining this and demonstrating how these systems of inequality damage the mental wellbeing of Black females whilst underpinning the services designed to help them – I hope to provide a blue print that NHS professionals can learn from and use to improve their practice.

Herstory

Paulette is my mother. Her father Alfie, came to England from Jamaica in the late 1950s and her mother, Miss Nicey, joined him shortly after he arrived leaving five children behind. My mum says her father was not a nice man, he was an alcoholic. She describes her mother as a woman who never spoke. Paulette was the first in her family to be born in Britain and was one of seven children. She was raised in Bristol, a medium-sized city in South West of England between St. Pauls and Easton, which at the time were the city’s only ‘multicultural’ neighbourhoods (where post-were Caribbean and south Asian emigrants settled). Family members describe my mum as a quiet and shy child who liked to be in control. She says ‘control’ just happened: “Things need to be done and I became the one to do them”. Unlike her elder sister (2 years her senior) who came to live in England when she was nine and soon became responsible for housekeeping and cooking, Paulette took over the household’s limited finances from a young age and her role then revolved around food shopping and managing household expenditures. Because of this, her siblings say that she was the spoilt one. Within the family, she is known for being ‘different’. A close cousin of hers always comments on her creative flair, how different my mother seemed to her compared with the other people she knew whilst growing up. Following in her mother’s footsteps, Paulette was a keen dressmaker. Art was her favourite school subject and costume design and make up her first career pursuit. However, in her late teens, she was firmly directed by an aunt to get a ‘real’ career and become a nurse. Seven years after embarking on her nursing journey Paulette had to give up work due to mental ill health. At twenty-four she

¹⁰³ (Miller *et al.*, 1991: 146). Miller, C. and Swift, K. (1991). *Words and Women: New Language in New*. New York: Harper Collins Publishers.

¹⁰⁴ A method used to focus upon a micro-level or individual experience whilst illustrating how such experiences derive from macro-level social processes that operate over an extended period.

was 'sectioned' for the first time. Looking back on this time in her life, my mother says she remembers feeling anxious 'all of the time'. She only vaguely recalls the time she was first sectioned. She says she went to work and woke up in a mental health ward. Reflecting back, she notes how unaware she was of being unwell - something she has not since had the privilege to forget.

Diagnosed initially with bipolar depression, later with anorexia nervosa and 'borderline personality disorder' and most recently with emotional traumatic personality disorder, my mother has been in direct contact with mental health services for over thirty-five years. In fact, she has spent the equivalent of 11 years in hospital during this time. Over these years, she has simultaneously battled herself, her illness and the mental health system. She has been detained under the Mental Health Act¹⁰⁵ countless times and has been forced to have electric shock treatment (performed under general anaesthetic, where electrodes were attached to either side of her head and a series of high-voltage electric currents between 225v and 450v were passed through her brain with the intention of inducing a fit). It is not known how Electric Convolution Therapy (ECT) works, however it is believed to be an appropriate intervention when persons suffering from depression have not responded to other forms of treatments such as anti-depressants. Although 72% of service users believe ECT was effective¹⁰⁶, it is argued that "success" is often short-term or a result of a placebo effect¹⁰⁷. Moreover, the long-term side effects - such as memory loss, emotional suppression and difficulty learning new things - paired with the violent nature of the treatment is believed to outweigh any believed benefits of the treatment¹⁰⁸. Unsurprisingly, there is no data to my knowledge on rates of ECT use amongst people of colour, although use of ECT has increased in recent years and it is suspected the treatment is being used more frequently now than ever before¹⁰⁹.

My mother has over the years been prescribed an inordinate volume of medication, often without care and attention. At its worst, this resulted in her being admitted to hospital to attend a rehabilitation programme to safely withdraw from the high dosage cocktail of drugs she had been over prescribed. When I asked her about drugs, Paulette says

The chemical coshes they tried on me [sighs]. And then they say I don't take my medication? But I know what suits my body from not. I'm not an expert but I refuse

¹⁰⁵ *Mental Health Act 1983* [online]. *Chapter 20*. (1983) Legislation.gov.uk. Available from: http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1983/20/pdfs/ukpga_19830020_en.pdf [Accessed 24 May 2016].

¹⁰⁶ Mind. (2013). *Making sense of electroconvulsive therapy (ECT)*. Available from: <http://www.mind.org.uk/information-support/drugs-and-treatments/electroconvulsive-therapy-ect/#.V0VX-krIdU> [Accessed 24 May 2016].

¹⁰⁷ Barnes, R. Royal College of Psychiatrists. (2015). *Information about ECT (Electro-convulsive therapy)*. Available from: <http://www.rcpsych.ac.uk/healthadvice/treatmentswellbeing/ect.aspx> [Accessed 24 May 2016].

¹⁰⁸ Read, J. and Bentall, R. (2010). The effectiveness of electroconvulsive therapy: A literature review. *Epidemiologia E Psichiatria Sociale*. 19 (4), pp. 333-347.

¹⁰⁹ Davis, N. and Duncan, P. (2017). Electroconvulsive therapy on the rise again in England. *The Guardian*. [online] Available at: <https://www.theguardian.com/society/2017/apr/17/electroconvulsive-therapy-on-rise-england-ect-nhs> [Accessed 7 Sep. 2019].

to have a chemical cosh that has me walking around like a zombie. And another thing they've over medicated me, because they never reviewed my case they just added things. That was the reason I was falling over, the reason I broke my leg. I have been in every aspect overlooked.

There is a recurrent lack of care inherent in the treatment my mother has received. On offer is a form of care that overlooks her subjecthood, instead focusing most directly on her diagnosis. This has had many physical and emotional consequences. For example, her experience of this system has led to an inability in others, including myself, to empathise with my mum and in turn relate to her. So this is for my mother, what has been taken away from her as a result of her *history* being dictated by the NHS. She reflects on her journey through the system which began with her feeling ashamed and ends with a great sense of loss;

Paulette: All I know is when I first went in I was so ashamed.

Annabel: Are you still ashamed?

Paulette: It's not so much ashamed, what it does, because I've been in it [the system] so long - other people with mental health I can talk to, sort of - but Joe Bloggs, whether it's in the family or not I have the feeling of being the odd one out...My history, is being treated in the mental health system. I haven't had that much, although I've tried, of normality. I feel very cut off from 'ordinary people', as John Legend would say, and that is why I don't sort of mix and things, because you know I don't want to talk about it all the time, it just means I have lost so much really; and what - through childhood trauma?

The sad truth behind this is that my mum's illness stems from being sexually abused as a child. The misfortune of her childhood has been transformed into a long-lasting curse that justifies her exploitation within a broken system¹¹⁰. Paulette's experiences of the mental health system become a barrier between her and others. As she says, her history is so bound up with illness, treatment, stigma and being locked up. This then, affects her relationships as others often cannot see past her illness and she has been changed by her experiences of treatment, therefore cannot relate to people beyond these terms. This occurs both within and beyond her family relationships. Thus, Paulette for much of her life, has been left to fight a battle against these people – the makers of the mental health system - alone. She has been treated as less than human on so many occasions. The next section explores further this act of being overlooked, focusing on how voice is taken from those most marginalised in society.

A lost voice: being Black, 'disabled' and female

¹¹⁰ Maultsby M.C. (1982). A Historical View of Blacks' Distrust of Psychiatry. In: Turner S.M., Jones R.T. (eds) Behavior Modification in Black Populations. Springer, Boston, MA

The context of silence is varied and multi-dimensional. Most obvious are the ways racism, sexism and class exploitation act to suppress and silence

hooks, 1989 pg. 8

Voices of oppressed peoples are seldom heard. These voices, when audible, break and challenge the status quo. Those who raise their voices risk being labelled mad. As hooks writes ‘madness, not just physical abuse, was the punishment for too much talk if you were female’¹¹¹. Despite this, resisting forces that attempt to silence need not be misinterpreted as madness given such action prerequisites sanity¹¹². Loss of voice is a foundational element that underpins my mother’s understanding of mental health. To her,

[It] is being locked up, sort of being in fear of going to the doctors for any little thing because something I say [may be taken] out of context, I use the word arrested because that’s how I feel like there’s no communication. I think mental health for me, I don’t know if it’s a label or me per se but I feel, to me, it’s like being locked up in an institution whether you’re inside or not. Not being able to voice an opinion because straight away it’s like you’ve got mental health. I listen to things about disability, mental health is not mentioned but it has such knock-on effects on myself and the family and everything. Mental health I feel is a curse I have had to bear.

Paulette

Having poor mental health has left Paulette with a voice without credibility. A voice that others struggle to listen to. In this sense, she has been cursed. But her voice has also been her saviour. bell hooks writes,

For us, [any oppressed marginalised group] true speaking is not solely an expression of creative power; it is an act of resistance, a political gesture that challenges politics of domination that would render us nameless and voiceless...Moving from silence into speech is for the oppressed, the colonised, the exploited, and those who stand and struggle side by side a gesture of defiance that heals, that makes new life and new growth possible. It is that act of speech, of “talking back”, that is no mere gesture of empty words, that is the expression of our movement from object to subject – the liberated voice¹¹³.

My mother prides herself on her refusal to sit down and shut up, to be an easy patient, to not question, to follow the status quo. This she believes is what enables her not to give up, to defy being institutionalised, as in it she finds some form of a liberation. However, the possibility of true liberation is complicated. The

¹¹¹ (hooks, 1989 pg. 7) hooks, bell. (1989). *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*. Cambridge: South End Press.

¹¹² Lorde, A. (1984). *Sister outsider: Essays and speeches*. New York: Crossing Press.

¹¹³ (hooks, 1989 pg. 8-9) hooks, bell. (1989). *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*. Cambridge: South End Press.

deeper a person's marginalisation, the more unlikely they are to be heard, regardless of how loud they shout. As a Black, working-class, disabled woman my mother's voice falls mainly on deaf ears. Having no heard voice is dangerous when you are locked into a system that misunderstands you. It continuously reinforces barriers that restrict the ability to move from psychiatric object to a sentient subject. Despite such barriers, voice and body is all she has, it is these resources she must draw upon in her fights to have her humanity acknowledged within a system that struggles to see and hear her. My mother discusses the consequence of this and how she draws upon her resources:

The one thing I did, I do, I always felt like a one-man army. Me against them. And I always say that. It's like they are not going to break me. They are not going to institutionalise me. And you know I wouldn't toe the line. It just felt, I didn't have a voice because 'I'm mad', no matter what I say, that isn't being paranoid that's just how it goes, it is like a one-man army, when I go in, they call me into ward meetings I say nothing, doctors say they want to talk to you, I ain't saying nothing, you ain't getting inside my head. So, in a way it also makes me quite paranoid of actually saying anything. If they'd listen to me I wouldn't of had to have a full hysterectomy. I was in hospital, I kept telling them my womb was in between my legs, they did not believe me. I had to degrade myself by going into clinic, dropping my knickers, putting my arse in front of the staff which looked like a baboon [because of the prolapse] - oh they moved then! And I'm not the first person who have had physical things that they think is in your head. Another example, my new medication should have been taken on an empty stomach but they didn't tell me that so I was throwing up a lot, going to the doctor's throwing up, but they ignored me. I do, I go in there now like "I know you lot think I'm mad however..." and that's how I call it, and I keep myself to myself because I get anxious and everything. It's just robbed me, I'm not saying its beaten me, its just robbed me.

Paulette

Thus, whilst Paulette acknowledges that her voice has kept her sane and granted her the power to resist on the one hand, she also reflects on how she is silenced. For her this silence is at times a choice. Or at least a choice reaction when one is continuously misunderstood. Yet it is she that feels the consequences of this silence, just as she feels the consequences of raising her voice as either way, she is ignored. It is this that leaves her feeling robbed.

Learning to fight alongside my mother

I too am guilty of not listening to my mother. Growing up, despite my mother's objections and hatred for the system which repeatedly detained her, I - influenced by the actions and explanations of others - believed that these services were working in her best interest. That their job was to keep her safe and necessarily

under control. Blinded and incapable of critical thought I, like the rest of my family, sat in support of a system underpinned by structures of white supremacy, capitalism and patriarchy and believed they were doing their best.



As a quiet, ‘cute’ and well-mannered ‘mixed race’ young girl my own life experiences did not afford an alternate way of making sense of this. There were, it seems, no obvious forms of empathy between my mother and myself at this point. I had not been abused, policed, surveyed or controlled in the same way that she had. I had not consciously experienced my position as a working-class ‘mixed race’ female as a disadvantage. Instead, I was always framed the ‘success story’. The positive offspring of a ‘broken woman’, living proof that ‘equality of opportunity’ exists in modern ‘multicultural’ Britain - a myth that ‘mixed race’ bodies are often positioned as evidence of¹¹⁴.

Central to my “coming of age story” was the process of coming into consciousness. Through the sociological imagination I had developed during my undergraduate studies, I acquired tools that enabled me make sense of the world around me beyond the level of the individual and instead in relation to social context. Until this point I had been somewhat and arguably rightfully consumed with feelings of being let down by my mother, who couldn’t care for me at this moment. People often become stuck in their own perspective, shaped mostly by their own life experiences that they are unable to see beyond them. However, as time passed, I began to understand my mother’s perspective more (especially her objection to the mental health system) seeing more as she saw and feel glimpses of the power dynamics she was up against. I saw more clearly how her social position had shaped her attitude toward authority figures and why it differed from other family members and NHS staff. I started to fight with her. I came to understand how I too was positioned and reacted to by those who worked closely with my mum. I found mental health professionals reacted to me in multiple ways, dependent upon their knowledge of me. Those who were aware of my educational and employment achievements granted me the privilege of being heard. With those less familiar to me, this privilege was not granted but had to be fought for.

Now, using acquired forms of ‘cultural capital’¹¹⁵ I attempt to ‘speak the right language’ to access a voice my mother is denied. These experiences have made me aware of the differing ways my mother and I are

¹¹⁴ Ali, S. (2011). *Mixed race, post-race*. Oxford: Berg

¹¹⁵ There are three forms of cultural capital. The first is embodied capital - how a person moves, appears and thinks. The second exists in the type of objects one possesses (e.g. book, art, toys, gadgets etc.), which hold cultural significance and benefits for those who possess the objects of the highest symbolic and exchange value. The final form is institutionalised capital, such as educational qualifications which dependent on their type lead to different possibilities that affect one’s social status and opportunities (Bourdieu, 2002).

classed and racialised. Whilst my lightened complexion and perceived ‘middle-classness’ provides me the opportunity to challenge medical professionals and convince them that I am not ‘stupid’ but worthy of listening to, my mother, remains a victim of tacitly held discriminatory attitudes which silence her. Although my mother and I are always responding to these dynamics and fighting to be heard, the professionals we encounter remain unaware of how they are responding to the colour of our skin, our preserved class position and gender. In the next section I highlight how having an awareness of how structural position shapes the interactions across mental health services I illustrate how re-imagining these experiences through an intersectional lens has enabled me to write this revised *herstory*.

Bringing it back to intersectionality: Unpicking misconceptions that underpin NHS interventions and ‘treatment’ of Black bodies

In Britain, women are more likely to encounter mental health services than men¹¹⁶. Black people are overrepresented in mental health services and most likely to be subjected to the harshest interventions¹¹⁷. Black people are significantly more likely to be admitted to hospital compared to the population overall as their illness is more likely to be diagnosed whilst in crisis thus they are 44% more likely to be sectioned than white Britons¹¹⁸. Black people’s prevalence in the mental health system continues to rise, and it is estimated that detentions have increased by 2.4% between 2016/17 and 2017/18 alone¹¹⁹. In addition to this those from working-class backgrounds are five times more likely to have a mental health illnesses than those above the poverty line¹²⁰. Within the current social order, it makes statistical sense for women in my mother’s position to be labelled ‘mad’ and thus treated as if they were deficient. Like many others, my mother’s womanhood, working-classness and blackness places her in an inferior position that frames her way of being as ‘wrong’. As bell hooks states,

¹¹⁶ Mental Health Foundation. (2016). *Fundamental Facts About Mental Health 2016*. Mental Health Foundation: London.

¹¹⁷ Care Quality Commission. (2018). *Mental Health Act: The rise in the use of the MHA to detain people in England*. [online] Newcastle upon Tyne. Available at: https://www.cqc.org.uk/sites/default/files/20180123_mhadetentions_report.pdf [Accessed 7 Sep. 2019].

¹¹⁸ Care Quality Commission. (2010). *Count Me in 2009: Results of the 2009 national census of inpatients and patients on supervised community treatment in mental health and learning disability services in England and Wales*. London: Care Quality Commission

¹¹⁹ NHS Digital (2019). *Detentions under the Mental Health Act*. [online] Race disparity unit. Available at: <https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/health/access-to-treatment/detentions-under-the-mental-health-act/latest> [Accessed 7 Sep. 2019].

¹²⁰ Marmot M. (2010) *Fair Society, Healthy Lives: A Strategic Review of Inequalities in England*. London: University College London Available from: <http://www.instituteofhealthequity.org/projects/fair-society-healthy-lives-the-marmot-review> [Accessed 24 May 2016].

As far back as slavery, white people established a social hierarchy based on race and sex that ranked white men first, white women second, though sometimes equal to Black men, who are ranked third, and Black women last¹²¹.

Intersectionality as a tool enables us to both disaggregate and show the collective traces systems of power leave upon Black women's bodies¹²². Using this tool, we can begin to unpick the construction of madness and its relationship to Black female bodies. There has long been an association between women and madness. Women have for much of history been considered over-emotional and vulnerable to extreme cases of hysteria - thought to be a condition only experienced by women for over 4000 years¹²³. There is also a well-founded history associating blackness with madness that has develop across the middle-passage¹²⁴. In the colonial era slavery as a system of control was thought to be essential to the maintenance of the sanity of Black people¹²⁵. This notion helped to legitimatise claims that freedom was not in the best interest of enslaved Africans as this put them at risk of developing draptemomania¹²⁶, whilst supporting the institutionalisation of Black people and the reproduction of colonial structures within mental asylums post-emancipation¹²⁷. Moreover, as Du Bois¹²⁸ has argued time and time again, throughout history many have strived to find some scientific basis that links one's race to one's ability and ultimately their location in a biological hierarchy. This legacy lives on and is evident in the disproportional amount of ethnic minorities diagnosed with some form of learning or intellectual disability¹²⁹. Being disabled and Black then furthers marginalisation and legitimates subhuman treatment. Combined 'Black womanhood is double-crossed by myths of female hysteria and myths of Black savagery and sub-rationality'¹³⁰. Such understanding of Black women has been encapsulated in fictional characters such as the 'mad woman' in the attic first mentioned

¹²¹ (hooks, 1990 p, 52-53) hooks, bell (1990) *Ain't I A Woman: Black Women and Feminism*. Boston: South End Press.

¹²² Crenshaw, Kimberle. (1989). "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Policies." *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 1 (8). pg 139-167.

¹²³ Tasca, C., Rapetti, M., Carta, M. G., and Fadda, B. (2012). Women and hysteria in the history of mental health. *Clinical practice and epidemiology in mental health*. 8 pg. 110–119.

¹²⁴ Willey, A. E.(1997). Madness and the Middle Passage: Warner-Vierya's Juletane as a Paradigm for Writing Caribbean Women's Identities. *Studies in 20th Century Literature*. 21 (2) pp. 449-467

¹²⁵ Jackson, V. (2003). In *Our Own Voice: African-American Stories of Oppression, Survival and Recovery*. *Off Our Backs*, 33(7/8). pp. 19-21.

¹²⁶ Jackson, V. (2003). In *Our Own Voice: African-American Stories of Oppression, Survival and Recovery*. *Off Our Backs*, 33(7/8). pp. 19-21.

¹²⁷ Swartz, S. (1995). The Black insane in the Cape, 1891–1920. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 21(3), pp.399-415.

¹²⁸ Du Bois. (1920). Race Intelligence. *The Crisis*, 20, (3) pp.329

¹²⁹ Annamma, S A., Connor, D and Ferri, B (2013) Dis/ability critical race studies (DisCrit): theorizing at the intersections of race and dis/ability. *Race Ethnicity and Education*. 16 (1). pp. 1-31

¹³⁰ (Bruce 2012, pg. 371) Bruce, L. (2012). "The People Inside My Head, Too": Madness, Black Womanhood, and the Radical Performance of Lauryn Hill. *African American Review*, 45(3), pp.371-389.

in Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*¹³¹ and further explored in Jean Rhys *Wide Sargasso Sea*¹³² who succumbs to madness once her plantation-managing British husband moves on from his initial erotic attraction to this Dominican (West Indian) woman. Such images depict Black women as incapable of reason, constructed as lost beyond help. The only hope for these women comes when they are subjugated to control and structure regardless of their objection to this - because they are far too mad to speak and to know for themselves what is best. It is this imagery that informs the dominant perceptions of Black bodies who appear mentally unwell and the treatment designed to help them. As there has yet to be a racial reckoning through which the extremely biased notions that inform psychiatric practice has been acknowledged and resolved we must interrogate the question: what is madness? Questioning the assumptions bound up in this concept's meaning, Bruce¹³³ writes,

I contend that madness entails four overlapping entities... First is phenomenal madness: a severe unwieldiness or chaos of mind — producing fundamental crises of perception, emotion, meaning, and selfhood — as experienced in the consciousness of the “mad” subject. Second is clinical madness: an informal shorthand for any range of psychotic, psychopathic, or severely neurotic disorders (as diagnosed or misdiagnosed by clinicians) that may or may not coincide with phenomenal madness. Third, madness as anger: an affective state of intense and aggressive displeasure (which is surely phenomenal, but is here set apart for its analytic specificity). Fourth, and most capacious of these categories, is psychosocial alterity: radical divergence from the “normal” within a given psychosocial context... any person, idea, or behaviour that perplexes and vexes dominant psychosocial logics is vulnerable to the ascription of “crazy.” In this fourth category, madness is less a measure of a “mad” mind than it is an index of the limits of a “reasonable” majority in processing radical difference.

Whilst from the outside my mother is seen by so many as embodying phenomenal madness, and she has been gifted several ‘clinical’ labels that formalise such perceptions, Paulette displays deep-seated levels of rightful anger especially in the presence of professionals who forever overlook her subjectivity. However, in truth she is a victim of psychosocial alterity because she is not like others. She is disabled by the world around her as her way of being diverges from the norm and is considered unacceptable. This in turn places her in a position where despite the gross systemic flaws she has been subjected to, she must remain forever grateful for the treatment she has received and labels that have been placed upon her for these ensure she is eligible for state support (housing and income). Given that her being is misrecognised and there is no place for her in this world, maintaining this eligibility is essential to her survival.

¹³¹ BRONTË, C. (1999). *Jane Eyre*. Peterborough: Broadview Press.

¹³² Rhys, J. (1997). *Wide Sargasso Sea*. London: Penguin Group.

¹³³ Bruce (2012 pg. 372) Bruce, L. (2012). “The People Inside My Head, Too”: Madness, Black Womanhood, and the Radical Performance of Lauryn Hill. *African American Review*, 45(3), pp.371-389.

Conclusion

The System

In summary, through my acquisition of an intersectional lens I am now able to make sense of and witness the social relations underpinning my mother's existence as she moves through phases of her illness, encountering different professionals and services. When my mother is 'manic', with lower status health professionals (like community workers and nurses who are mainly female) she may attempt to stand up for herself. But because in this world Black women's voices should not be heard¹³⁴ her outspokenness causes others to fear her and perceive her as "difficult to manage"¹³⁵. She is constructed as the 'angry Black woman'¹³⁶, as unintelligent¹³⁷, who has transgressed what is considered acceptable feminine behaviour¹³⁸ – and so they believe she needs to be controlled. In these moments, white males (or occasionally Asian males) in high status medical professions are brought in to shut her down. Their 'authoritative knowledge' disempowers her faith in her understanding of herself¹³⁹. As they waltz in carrying both the implicit power of their whiteness and explicit statutory power to restrain, sedate and electrocute, their presence removes my mother's voice. She knows that it is only when they are happy she has been silenced, that they will let her go.

The curse

Whilst Stephen Fry, a poster boy for bipolar awareness, is positively described as "the refined eccentric"¹⁴⁰ my mother's 'unconventional' nature symbolises madness. Unlike the middle-classes my mother's working-class roots, skin colour and gender combined means that her creativity must be stifled and her right to an eccentric persona is denied. Lisa Simone says her mother, Nina Simone, was 'too creative', too large a presence - too 'dangerously free', as Toni Morrison once put it - for this world. This is also true of my mother. My point here is not to argue that my mum's or anyone else's illness is wholly imagined. My mother really is at times truly unwell. This issue is that in many cases the treatment she has received when she has been at her most vulnerable have often been counterproductive, either exaggerating her mental illness or

¹³⁴ hooks, bell. (1989). *Talking Back: Thinking Feminist, Thinking Black*. Cambridge: South End Press.

¹³⁵ (Keating *et al.*, 2003, pg. 31). Keating, F, Robertson, D and Kotecha, N. The Kings Fund. (2003). *Ethnic Diversity and Mental Health in London Recent developments* [online]. Available from: http://www.kingsfund.org.uk/sites/files/kf/field/field_publication_file/ethnic-diversity-mental-health-london-recent-developments-frank-keating-david-robertson-nutan-kotecha-kings-fund-1-august-2003.pdf [Accessed 24 May 2016].

¹³⁶ Harris- Perry, M.V. (2011). *Sister Citizen: Shame, Stereotypes, and Black Women in America*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

¹³⁷ Hall, S. (1997) *Race: The Floating Signifier* [online] Sut Jhally Available from: <http://www.mediaed.org/cgi-bin/commerce.cgi?preadd=actionand key=407> [Accessed 24 May 2016].

¹³⁸ Fordham, S. (1993) "those loud Black girls": (Black) women, silence, and gender "passing" in the academy. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*. 24 (1), pp. 3-32.

¹³⁹ Jordan, B. (1997) Authoritative Knowledge and Its Construction. In: Davis-Floyd, R. E and Sargent, C. (1997) *Childbirth and Authoritative Knowledge: Cross-Cultural Perspectives*. London: University of California Press. pp. 55-79.

¹⁴⁰ Harrison, P. (2016). Stephen Fry's quite interesting moments. *The Telegraph* [online]. 19 February. Available from: <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/tv/2016/02/16/stephen-frys-quite-interesting-moments/> [Accessed 24 May 2016].

leading her to experience physical pain and trauma. Thus, the point of this chapter, is to highlight the ways in which the acknowledgement of Black women's humanity is at risk of being overlooked within current mental health services. This is especially worrying considering the new push across Western societies to encourage Black women to access mental health services¹⁴¹. These systems are not ready for these women. There is much work to be done before Black women can safely turn to the state and ask for help. This fact is known by the Black community and underpins their rightful reluctance to proactively engage with mental health services. Until this is resolved these women will be subjected to the harshest forms of interventions during times of crisis. It is essential then, that the power dynamics within these systems, which threaten to suppress Black women and amplify any illness they may have, are understood, acknowledged and challenged. Whilst my mother suggests an increase in community resources, more peer support workers and "just being treated like a human being and not a diagnosis" may improve this system. We both agree that what needs to be changed is:

The whole bloody system really, if the truth be known, the whole bloody system!

Paulette

The solution

This paper encapsulates my challenge to the NHS. My hope is by sharing this highly personal and intimate story and through re-centering my mother's humanity in her *herstory* of mental health services in the UK - the providers of these services will see and begin to address the dangerous flaws in their system. I have demonstrated how applying an intersectional lens to one's *herstory*, enables the past to be revised and for new meaning to be found and perceptions to be altered. Intersectionality provides the critical consciousness needed to interrogate the latent power dynamics that underpin people like Paulette's experiences; it highlights the subtle ways in which Black women's continued devaluation in society is manifested, in this case, within a system that disproportionately diagnoses Black people with severe mental health illnesses and controls them excessively through their care¹⁴². So, whilst I was once unable to empathise with my mother, reframing her experiences through an intersectional lens has produced an intimacy between us that previously did not exist. This process I believe can be replicated by NHS professionals who have not yet

¹⁴¹ Time to Change. (2012) *Challenging mental health related stigma and discrimination experienced by Black and Minority Ethnic communities* [online] Available from: <https://www.time-to-change.org.uk/sites/default/files/Black-minority-ethnic-communities-position-statement.pdf> [Accessed 24 May 2016].

and Mental Health Foundation. (2016). *Fundamental Facts About Mental Health 2016*. Mental Health Foundation: London.

¹⁴² Keating, F, Robertson, D and Kotecha, N. The Kings Fund. (2003). *Ethnic Diversity and Mental Health in London: Recent developments* [online]. Available from: http://www.kingsfund.org.uk/sites/files/kf/field/field_publication_file/ethnic-diversity-mental-health-london-recent-developments-frank-keating-david-robertson-nutan-kotecha-kings-fund-1-august-2003.pdf [Accessed 24 May 2016].

come into an enlightened conscious, giving them the ability to acknowledge their power, misconceptions of blackness and re-imagine how they interact and treat patients they encounter.

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