

THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

R A SARGEANT

**THE IMPACT OF MARKETISATION ON THE
PROFESSIONAL LIVES AND IDENTITIES OF
BLACK PRACTITIONERS IN
UK FURTHER EDUCATION**

**A THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF EDUCATION**

2007

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ABSTRACT

The extent to which marketisation has impacted on the professional lives and career development of black practitioners within UK further education has been largely overlooked. Most studies have assumed a homogeneity of experience of the managerialism which resulted from the enactment of the Further and Higher Education Act 1992. Using a phenomenological approach, this study explores the experiences of ten black educators within further education, interpreted from their narrated professional life stories. The respondents revealed the clash between race and markets and the impact which this had both on their own careers, and on the opportunities offered to black students within further education. The research reveals the professional identities taken up by the ten respondents in response to marketisation, and develops a new typology of black professional identity which demonstrates the plurality of responses amongst black educators, and the consequences of taking up particular identities on career development. This study also reveals that, despite national initiatives which claim to be designed to increase the diversity of the further education workforce, most respondents were either leaving, or were seeking to leave, the further education sector. This study gives voice to the changes to policy and practice which respondents considered essential if race equality is to be delivered within further education, and seeks to render visible the experiences and concerns of a largely overlooked cohort within the further education workforce.

DEDICATION

For all those members of my family and friends who have encouraged and supported me in undertaking this work, and for all black professionals within the further education system.

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GLOSSARY OF PHRASES AND ABBREVIATIONS

'A' level	GCE Advanced level qualification
Access courses	Provision for adult returners in further education wanting to gain equivalent qualifications to GCSE and 'A' level
Black	Person who is a member of a black or minority ethnic community
FE	Further Education
GNVQ	General National Vocational Qualification, a vocational qualification broadly equivalent to three 'A' levels
HE	Higher education
Head of School	A middle management position with responsibilities for managing a budget, a team of staff and the related curriculum areas
PGCE	Post Graduate Certificate in Education
Programme Manager	A first step management position with responsibilities for organising courses in a specific curriculum area
Section 11	Home Office funding stream supporting special short term projects promoting race equality
Visiting teacher/ lecturer	Hourly paid part time further education lecturer
730	City and Guilds Certificate Number 730, which is the initial teacher training qualification for further education lecturers

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE RESEARCH

Origins and Purpose of the Research

This study originates in my own biography as a black professional educator working in the further education sector within the UK over a period of some twenty years. The term 'black' is used throughout this study to mean people who belong to minority ethnic groups, although the fieldwork focused mainly on professionals from the Afro Caribbean communities. The period of my experience spans the introduction of market led reforms, which have dramatically changed the primary focus within further education from student centred provision, within which lecturers defined their professionalism around teaching, learning and supporting their students, to a culture of market imperatives wherein meeting the needs of employers has superseded the previous teacher professionalism, and managerialism has become the predominant discourse to replace it (Ainley and Bailey 1997, Shain and Gleeson 1999). Given the impact of these changes on my own experiences within further education, and given the experiences amongst other black professionals within the further education sector whom I knew through professional networks, I became convinced that the impact of marketisation on black educators was a phenomenon which merited further study. Thus the embryo of this research was conceived.

The Research Focus

The study constitutes an attempt to describe, explain and interpret the personal narratives of ten black professionals who work in UK further education to

interpret how they make sense of their working lives and experiences, and what this reveals about the reproduction and transformation of black professional identities. The context for the study is contemporary Britain, where an 'epidemic' (Ball 2003 p 215) of market led reforms, inaugurated by the Education Reform Act 1988 and subsequent legislation, particularly in this context the Further and Higher Education Act 1992, have engulfed and transformed the experiences of institutions, practitioners, students and communities within changed historical and institutional conditions. Avis (1993) has characterised this shift as reflecting the breakdown of the post war social democratic consensus over education, and its concerns with universal provision, meritocracy and social justice, and the emergence of a new settlement defined by the themes of choice, control, and the subordination of education and training systems to the needs of employers and the economy. The marketisation of further education forms the backdrop against which the research has been conceived. The study includes a brief historical overview of the factors which have shaped the development of further education, and in so doing draws out its intersection with the discourse of race, and its consequences for the professional careers of the black practitioners who comprise the respondents in this study.

The Research Aims

The central aim of the research is critically to interrogate the impact of recent market led public policies on the experiences and working lives of black lecturing and management staff within the further education system in England. This aim is pursued through the interpretation of narrated professional life

histories provided by ten black respondents whose careers were, at the time of being interviewed, based in the further education sector. The study aims to make visible the impact of marketisation on the professional experiences and career development opportunities of a cohort within the further education workforce which, as revealed in the literature review, has been largely overlooked and ignored by the research communities. In so doing, the research seeks to highlight those aspects of further education policy and practice which the respondents identified as requiring review and action if race equality is to be achieved within the sector. It therefore serves both to reveal the impact of the collision between race and market forces, and also to identify those issues of concern to black educators. In so doing, the study also identifies further important areas for research in order to create more inclusive discourses which embrace the professional experiences of black educators within further education.

The Research Questions

The first research question which this thesis investigates relates to the impact of marketisation on the employment experiences and career development of black practitioners within UK further education. This research question is investigated through an analysis of the narrated experiences of the ten black respondents who comprised the sample for this study, in which they described and reflected on their individual career experiences at different phases of their career development within the further education sector. This research question starts to address a key aim of this study, which is to render visible the particular experiences of black educators within further education so as to begin to create

discourses which take account of the racial dynamics of marketisation and the 'new managerialism' (Randle and Brady 1997 p 230).

Central to the study is the second research question which sets out to explain the dynamics surrounding the take up and playing out of identity orientations by black further education practitioners in the context of the marketisation introduced by the Further And Higher Education Act 1992. This research question sets out to develop and test an original typology of black practitioners through the interpretation of the narratives. It includes an analysis of the key characteristics revealed by the respondents in terms of their responses to a range of issues within further education such as incorporation, managerialism, funding and curriculum issues, and the experiences of black students. It also seeks to reveal the relationship between black professional identity and career development as experienced by the ten respondents within this study, and to highlight the impact of the collision between race and managerialist imperatives.

The third research question relates to an inquiry into the existing body of research surrounding the experiences of black educators and black students within UK further education. It seeks to investigate the extent to which knowledge in the field takes account of race and racial discrimination in exploring the impact of policy and practice on professionals and students in further education. In so doing, the study seeks to expose the invisibility of the experiences of black practitioners and black students within significant tranches of research, and to highlight the need for researchers to recognise the importance of the collision between race and markets on the professional lives

of black educators, and on the opportunities open to black students within the further education sector.

Finally, the study seeks to investigate the kinds of changes to policy in further education which black professionals consider essential if race equality is to be progressed in the future. This research question is designed to give voice to a group of black professionals who are largely overlooked and ignored by both policy makers and the research communities, and to create new discourses surrounding the issues and concerns which the respondents to this study believe need to be addressed. This also provides a basis on which to identify further questions for future research.

The Rationale for the Study

My interest in the working lives and professional aspirations of black professionals within further education stems from my own biography. My first post in further education embraced responsibility for the management and co-ordination of equal opportunities within a medium sized college. Its duration coincided with the latter phases of direct local authority influence over the governance and management of further education, and the transition of colleges to incorporated status. The implementation of the Further and Higher Education Act 1992 was undoubtedly the most important public policy reform to impact on the post war system of further education in England (Ainley and Bailey 1997). As a consequence of this measure, over 400 further education institutions were removed from the democratic control of local education authorities and incorporated as free standing enterprises within a competitive

market of further education. Although at one level this public policy measure might appear to be unrelated to popular, academic and political discourses around race and ethnicity in Britain, at another level the introduction of a market philosophy has qualitatively affected the lived experience of black and minority ethnic staff, students and communities. Blair (1994) has made a broadly similar point in relation to the marketisation or commodification of state schooling.

Having engaged with the educational policy literature, I was struck by the low profile accorded to issues of race within further education. In addition, Osler's (1997) contention that black and ethnic minority teachers have been marginalised within research dealing with the lives and careers of school teachers engendered mixed feelings of shock and excitement in equal measure. Contingently, I decided there was merit in undertaking a study of the lives and experiences of black professionals working in further education, and that this could be centred on an attempt to investigate the effects of recent policies, based on the narratives of black staff.

The Methodological Approach

The methodological approach needs to be aligned to the aims and purposes of the research, since this provides the justification for attachment to a particular research paradigm. This research is situated in the qualitative paradigm within what Bassey (1995) has termed ethnography. In particular, it presents an interpretative account of the professional histories of black educators in UK further education as narrated by the respondents. The epistemological stance is to accept that social research will always be affected by the values and

expectations of the researcher, and that there cannot be objective knowledge about social phenomena (Robson 2002). The research questions make clear that the essence of this study is an exploration of the impact of the phenomenon of marketisation on the professional careers of black practitioners in further education. Phenomenology deals with people's 'perceptions or meanings, attitudes and beliefs, and feelings and emotions' (Denscombe 2003 p 96) and is based on their reflective accounts of the things they have experienced and how they are constructed. The ontological assumptions of interpretivism are based on a world of ideas and meanings in which social reality exists through the subjective ways in which people react to it and experience it. Because of this subjectivity, findings cannot be generalisable because the respondents cannot be said to be representative of black staff generally in further education.

However, the findings can be claimed to be illuminative, given the emancipatory aim of the research in terms of rendering visible the professional experiences and career paths of black educators in further education. They can serve to highlight issues of key significance for race equality relating to both policy and practice within the further education sector.

The Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is structured into five parts, of which this Introduction is the first part. Part two consists of the literature review and theoretical perspective, an extensive section divided into three separate chapters. The justification for this lies in the fact that a key issue which arose during the conceptualisation of this study was the fact that black educators and black students within UK further education have been rendered largely invisible by the research field. It

therefore became necessary to draw on what research there is which relates mainly to schools, and to a lesser extent to further and higher education, and to seek to apply this to the further education setting. Thus two of the three chapters relate to the experiences of black students and black staff respectively in these contexts. The third chapter in this section is central to the key theme of the research, namely marketisation and its impact on black professionals. This chapter offers an original approach to the analysis of market forces and their collision with race in the context of further education by setting marketisation within the context of key government initiatives surrounding race and education. This chapter is of particular importance in setting the context for the interviews which took place with the respondents, and for the interpretation of the narratives in order to reach findings.

Part three consists of a single chapter which focuses on the research methodology, and in so doing offers an explanation of the research philosophy, a justification for the methodological approach taken, and a section which addresses the ethical issues which arose during the study. This chapter reveals my own position in the research, and the approaches to interpreting the narratives which informed the findings. This chapter also provides an introduction to and analysis of the characteristics of the ten respondents who contributed to the study.

Part four consists of two chapters which reveal the findings. In the first of these two chapters, respondents give voice to their experiences in seeking to develop their careers within UK further education. Within the context of a career

development framework, they reflect on the impact of marketisation and managerialism both on their own professional careers, and on the opportunities for black students within further education as race and market forces collide. Importantly, the respondents also offer their own reflections on the ways in which further education policy and practice should be developed if it is to deliver race equality for black staff and black students. In the second of the two chapters, I analyse the agency of the respondents within an original conceptual framework of typologies of black professional identities which makes, I would argue, an important contribution to knowledge in the field. The chapter then goes on to profile four respondents who exemplify these typologies, illustrating the impact of black professional identity on career development.

Part five contains a single chapter which presents the conclusions which I draw from this study. This chapter also identifies issues which in my view warrant further research, and offers a reflection, through the voices of the respondents, on those policy departures which are needed if there is to be any significant improvement towards achieving race equality in UK further education. I believe that this study makes an important contribution to what is known about the experiences of black educators within the marketised environment of UK further education, and begins to render visible the race equality issues which impact on black professionals in the sector, offering opportunities for the development of new and more inclusive discourses.

CHAPTER TWO

EXPERIENCES OF BLACK AND MINORITY ETHNIC PUPILS

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to begin to review a range of literatures which are directly relevant to the concerns of the present study. Taken together, this body of work has sought to shed light on the relationship between black educators and learners and the education system in the United Kingdom as this has evolved since the 1950s. This chapter will focus on the experiences of black learners, mainly within the schools sector, and the following chapter will explore the experiences of black professionals and educators. Although the fieldwork for this study was conducted amongst further education practitioners, it has been necessary to explore school based literature because of the fact that research in the context of further education has largely ignored and overlooked the particular experiences of black educators and learners.

More specifically, the first part of this chapter explores an early genre of UK research dealing with race, and is therefore coeval with the latter phases of the social democratic settlement over education. The chapter then goes on to consider four phases of race-related educational policy, which emerged prior to the rise of markets in education. First, policies centred on assimilation and integration which were predominantly monocultural are analysed, followed by multiculturalism and antiracist policy departures which did attempt to address issues around race and racial diversity. The chapter explores how black learners were constructed and depicted within research in each of the four

phases, makes links to the policy responses, and presents a critical interrogation of the assumptive bases which underpin these policies and their associated educational practices.

In each section the particular issue which is interrogated is the manner in which black learners and educators have been constructed within academic discourses either by commission or omission. In this way, it becomes possible to demonstrate the ways in which the present study extends and departs from existing research. It is also central to the argument that we need to understand and situate recent and current practice in the light of the continuities as much as the changes shaping issues of race and marketisation in further education. To understand how race works today in further education, we need to consider discourses and practices around race and education historically.

Situating Race and Educational Research Historically

Whilst the black presence in Britain spans many centuries (Walvin 1971, Fryer 1984, Ramdin 1987, Gerzina 1995), the origins of a substantial black presence is coeval with the post World War 2 period, when citizens of new commonwealth countries responded to Britain's call for labour (Peach 1968, Castles and Kosack 1973, Miles 1982). A substantial body of research evidence attests to the fact that black people were recruited as a replacement labour population, to plug those gaps within the lower echelons of the labour market which were shunned by indigenous members of the working class as a consequence of their low levels of status, unsocial hours and remuneration

(Castles and Kosack 1973, Pryce 1979, Rex and Tomlinson 1979). Initially, Britain's black and ethnic minority communities, whose roots lay primarily in the Caribbean and the Indian subcontinent, made very few demands on the education and training systems in Britain since the migration was perceived as a temporary phenomenon. However, the passage of increasingly racially restrictive immigration laws and practices in the period after 1962 served to transform a group of self defined temporary migrants into permanent settlers (Dayha 1974, Miles 1982). As the process of migration and settlement in Britain matured, black and minority ethnic groups began to raise their expectations in relation to schooling and to articulate their concerns about the position, circumstances, and experiences of their predominantly British born children (Coard 1971, Redbridge Community Relations Council 1978, Tomlinson 1983). Indeed, the Labour government of the late 1970s established a Committee of Inquiry to examine the plight of Afro-Caribbean pupils, in response to mounting pressures exerted by Afro-Caribbean parents.

Although academic research in the UK on race and educational issues did not begin to emerge until the mid 1960s, Mirza (1992) has powerfully argued that its foundations had been set almost a decade earlier as a result of the racial unrest which was witnessed in Nottingham, Dudley and Notting Hill. Drawing on earlier work by Hall, Mirza (1992) characterises these race-related events as signalling a turning point in race relations in Britain, as they inaugurated what Hall described as the 'new and indigenous racism of the post-war period' (cited in Mirza 1992 p 11). According to Mirza (1992 p 11) the defining feature of this

new phenomenon was the emergence of 'white fear and hostility towards the newly arrived Commonwealth immigrants'. The significance of this development to an understanding of the nature and character of early research on race and education rests on the fact that it set the parameters within which debates were to be conducted for the next two decades, as a result of the causal primacy which was attributed to the concepts of race and culture in making sense of the black experience within education. Carby (1982) has posited that within this perspective, black pupils were perceived as a problem in that their presence in multiracial classrooms was constructed as a threat which could undermine the educational progress of white pupils.

The performance gap, deficit explanations and a counter-critique

Within a political and ideological climate in which black and minority ethnic pupils were constructed as educationally inferior to white pupils, it is perhaps not surprising that the early traditions of academic research on issues of race displayed a paramount concern to measure the comparative 'ability' and performance of black and minority ethnic group children and their indigenous counterparts. In a highly influential review of this work, Tomlinson (1983) has noted that the bulk of these studies reported a marked disjuncture in the attainment of white students on the one hand, and black and minority ethnic pupils on the other. According to these studies, the most striking pattern to emerge was that, whereas white pupils consistently out-performed their black and minority ethnic counterparts, within the latter category black children performed less well than their minority ethnic peers. It is of some significance to

note that the gaze which was cast on black and minority ethnic pupils did not simply focus on their performance in pre-16 attainment tests and in national public examinations. Indeed, some studies documented the over representation of black children in educationally sub normal (ESN) schools and disruptive units, in the lower streams and bands, and their under representation within selective schools (Little et al 1968, Townsend 1971, Little 1975a, Little 1975b, Tomlinson 1983).

The explanations which were proffered to account for the black-white gap in performance tended overwhelmingly to adopt a deficit perspective, stressing migration and culture shock, inadequate linguistic structures and skills, inadequate parenting, and intergenerational conflict, although this list is by no means exhaustive. These early attempts to theorise the modest educational performance of black pupils within compulsory schooling in Britain were to be met by a series of wide ranging critiques. Amongst the most important have been those which have been advanced by Tomlinson (1983) and Carby (1982). Tomlinson (1983) pointed to the reluctance which these early researchers displayed towards accepting the possibility that schooling processes might have played an important role in shaping the modest performance of black pupils. Equally damagingly, Tomlinson (1983 p 27) drew attention to the fact that these early research studies accepted as an article of faith, that 'what they were measuring was the comparative ability or performance of minority group and (largely urban) indigenous children'. For Tomlinson (1983 p 27) the guiding assumption behind the studies 'is that the experiences of the different groups of

children within the education system are roughly similar and fair comparison is therefore possible', a position which she dismisses as 'in itself a dubious assumption'.

Carby (1982) and Tomlinson (1983) essayed a deconstruction of the way in which educational research and theory in this period attempted to conceptualise the performance of black pupils in relation to their white pupil counterparts. Drawing on the work of Gramsci, their principal argument proposes that these explanations did not emerge as a result of the application of the normal rules and procedures of social scientific inquiry. On this view, the theoretical standpoints associated with these positions amounted to no more than an academic re-representation of common sense racist ideas. Illustratively, Carby (1982) cites an early piece of research conducted by Vernon in which he attempted a comparison of a study of West Indian boys which was undertaken in 1961, with a 1965 study of English schoolboys. Vernon's attempt to theorise the poorer performance of West Indian boys drew on a range of stereotypes including family disorganisation and the cultural backwardness of their home background. For Carby (1982), these explanations were

consistent with a colonialist, an imperialist reasoning. 'The natives' were being condemned as 'uncivilised' and, with a missionary zeal, the acquisition of the English language was seized upon as the key to successful assimilation. The intention was not just to teach a language but to rectify cultural and intellectual backwardness. (p 187)

Turning to the nature and orientation of race related educational policy responses, it is widely acknowledged within the literature that during the 1960s and 1970s a range of initiatives were developed, ostensibly to take account of

the educational needs and aspirations of black and minority ethnic pupils within state schooling in Britain (Carby 1982, Mullard 1982, Mullard 1984, Troyna and Williams 1986, Osler 1997). In the same way as educational research and theory in this period was dominated by a discourse in which black pupils were portrayed as the 'problem', black and minority ethnic pupils were perceived also as a 'problem' in education policy, and as Osler (1997) has argued, this perception framed the policy departures which were to emerge. There is a consensus within the research community that policy shifted from assimilation and integration in the 1960s to cultural pluralism in the 1970s. As will become apparent, the work of Mullard (1982, 1984) and Troyna (1993) has served to deliver a more sophisticated and nuanced understanding of the making and remaking of the relationships between state schooling and Britain's black and minority ethnic communities. These two writers have argued that essentially the first two phases of policy, namely assimilation and integration, were indistinguishable from each other in so far as they privileged a monocultural approach to educational reform within multiethnic school settings. On the other hand, cultural pluralism, at least at a theoretical level, acknowledged and valued cultural and ethnic diversity, such that the first decade and a half of educational policy responses to the black and minority ethnic pupil presence witnessed a progression from monoculturalism to multiculturalism.

Assimilation and Integration Policies

An assimilationist approach defined the first discernible response of the state to the changing demography of Britain's school population in the early 1960s.

Perhaps the most basic assumption within this model was the notion that, prior to the arrival of colonial immigrants, Britain had been a culturally and socially cohesive society, but the presence of black pupils presented a threat to this stability unless they could be assimilated. On this view, British schooling had a central role to play in the re-socialisation of black and minority ethnic group children if they were successfully to be taught British norms and values and thereby avoid the racial rejection and disapprobation to which the parental generation had been subjected. Several writers (Mullard 1982, Carby 1982, Troyna 1993, Osler 1997) have posited that the practices which were to coalesce around the assimilationist project found expression in relation to two issues, namely numbers and language. In relation to numbers, key policy actors concluded that the presence of black pupils in British classrooms posed a threat to the educational standards of white pupils. This assumption was not based on the findings of educational research, but as Troyna (1993 p 24) has demonstrated, was an attempt on the part of the state to accommodate the concerns of white parents (especially) in the London Borough of Ealing who had complained 'that the presence of a "large" number of non-English-speaking pupils in the classroom distracted the teachers from the learning needs of white pupils and therefore inhibited their educational progress'. This obsession which had developed in policy terms with the growing number of black and minority ethnic bodies in British schools, led inexorably to the introduction of a bussing policy designed to thin out and disperse this presence, whilst increasing their contact with white pupils and the white majority culture more generally (Osler 1997).

The other prong of monocultural educational practice associated with assimilation concerned the issue of language. In this regard, Osler (1997) has contended that, within assimilationist theory, communicative competence in English was not seen as an end in and of itself but as a way of transcending the alleged inadequacies of Britain's black and minority ethnic communities. Of considerable interest here were the divergent policy responses which were adopted to meet the perceived needs of Afro-Caribbean and Asian pupils. On the one hand, Afro-Caribbean pupils were characterised as having a command of English, albeit of the so-called plantation variety, and as a consequence were placed within mainstream schooling. However, as the research evidence from this period suggests, disproportionate numbers were subsequently assessed and judged either as academically unable or behaviourally problematic and placed in lower streams or special schools. Illustratively, Tomlinson (1983) reports that in 1967 in response to complaints expressed by white parents alleging that their children's progress was being held back by the presence of so-called immigrant pupils, the Inner London Education Authority (ILEA) established a working party to examine the educational performance of black and minority ethnic pupils. This initiative was to lead to research and the publication of a report based on a sample of 52 London primary schools from which 1068 black and minority ethnic pupils were transferring to secondary school in 1966. Primary data was collected by means of a questionnaire and a leavers' schedule, both of which were completed by head teachers. The immigrant children in the survey were drawn from West Indian, Pakistani, Greek, Turkish and 'other' backgrounds. The ILEA placed all children in one of

7 profile groups based on scores in English, maths and verbal reasoning.

Whereas the average ILEA child was placed in Profile Group 4, the average immigrant child was placed in Group 6. It is significant that in this study 85% of West Indian children were placed in the lower half of Profile Group 4 or below, and that this study reported that they consistently scored lower than all other groups.

Troyna (1993) has suggested that writers such as Rex have cited a statement made in 1966 by Roy Jenkins, then Home Secretary, in which he contended that integration rather than assimilation should guide race relations policy, as signalling a qualitative shift in race related policy initiatives. However, Troyna (1993), like Mullard (1982), whilst accepting that the discourse of integration represented a break, at least at the rhetorical level, with the crude ethnocentrism of its assimilationist predecessor, noted that it continued discursively to construct black pupils and communities as a problem whilst placing the onus to integrate on Britain's black and minority ethnic communities. In this regard, not only were dispersal policies maintained but so too was the provision of English as a second language (E2L) classes targeted at Asian pupils. For writers who have researched this phase of educational policy (Mullard 1982, Troyna 1993), what was new in terms of educational practice was the emergence of courses and conferences dealing with the cultural background of minority ethnic groups, with teachers and other professionals travelling extensively to the Asian sub-continent and the Caribbean to gain a better understanding of minority cultures.

Summing up: Race, Racism and Educational Achievement

At this stage in the discussion it is important to pause in order critically to reflect on some of the important issues which have been revealed, and which arguably provide a backcloth against which the impact of market forces on the professional lives and experiences of black educators in UK further education need to be set. In the first place, black pupils (and implicitly black educators) were constructed in research and policy terms as persistent underachievers, and the roots of these problems were understood as being located within black learners, black communities and their cultures, and therefore their causation was viewed as exogenous to mainstream educational processes and practices within schooling in Britain. In the second place, racism and its corrosive and constraining effects on the educational and occupational desires and careers of black learners was marginalised in both educational research and in the monocultural approach which defined educational policy within this early period. Third, as Osler (1997) has suggested, the negative construction of black learners in research and policy terms played a significant role in terms of influencing the expectations of (white) practitioners in relation to the educational capabilities of black and minority ethnic pupils. Moreover, the black professionals who later enter further education carry with them this schooling history of marginalisation at best, and racism at worst. Finally, I would argue that this period bequeathed a legacy which has shaped and continues to shape the attitudes of the white community to the desirability of their children being educated in multiracial schools and colleges, or being taught by black and minority ethnic educators.

The Emergence of Multiculturalism

By the end of the 1960s it had become clear that the racial forms of education which had found expression within assimilationist and integrationist perspectives had failed to address the educational needs of black pupils. In addition, three further developments served to prompt 'a re-appraisal of the efficacy of monocultural education' (Troyna cited in Gill et al 1992 p 68). In the first place, the 1971 publication of Coard's work 'How the West Indian Child Is Made Educationally Sub-Normal in the British School System' (Coard 1971) made an enormous impact in terms of shaping debates about the experience of black pupils in British schools (Troyna 1993). Callender (1997 p 47) has argued that Coard's work 'sharpened the perceptions of the racist practices inherent in the British system which effectively labelled many black children as mentally deficient and assigned them to the lower rungs of the educational ladder'. Secondly, research by Milner (1975) suggested that the exposure of black children to a culture within which racism and racialised practices were deeply embedded served to engender negative self images, which adversely impacted on academic learning and achievement. Finally, as Carter (1986) has argued, black pupils and parents actively resisted the racist forms of education to which they were subjected within state schooling. As a result of these developments, the 1970s were to witness a shift from monocultural education, or as Troyna (cited in Gill et al 1992 p 69) has graphically framed it, 'multicultural education had risen like a phoenix out of the ashes of monocultural education'. Before undertaking an analysis of the ideological and policy assumptions underpinning this new educational orthodoxy as these relate to black learners, it is necessary

to explore the nature and orientation of educational theory and research in the 1970s in terms of its depiction of black learners.

Depiction of black learners in the research

What is beyond dispute is that academic research on race and educational issues conducted in the 1970s continued to focus on the educational performance of black and minority ethnic pupils, and in so doing highlighted the low levels of achievement of many of these pupils in general, and black children in particular. Osler (1997 p 20) surely stands on firm ground when she argues that this genre of research reinforced 'the notion of ethnic minority under achievement in the minds of teachers', but arguably fails to draw out the independence and specificity of this designation in terms of its application to black learners, and its consequences for their lived experiences within state schooling in Britain's classrooms. In a review of the 1970s research, Mirza (1992) confirmed that race and culture continued to set the terms of reference for academic debates and research around race and education. For Tomlinson (1983), what was new in this era was that the dominant explanations which were invoked in order to account for the modest test scores of black and minority ethnic pupils started to move away from those which stressed innate racial and cultural differences towards those which emphasised socio-economic factors. Illustratively, Bagley (cited in Tomlinson 1983 p 33) undertook a piece of work in two London schools, in which 50 West Indian children, who had been wholly educated in Britain, were matched with 50 English children. He hypothesised that black children from stable working class or lower middle class

backgrounds would not display signs of intellectual disadvantage. His findings indicated that both groups scored higher than the national norm of 100.

Somewhat unusually for this genre of research, black pupils in this study returned higher test scores than their white counterparts, namely 105 and 103 respectively. Bagley (cited in Tomlinson 1983) concluded that class rather than race was the primary factor in explaining under achievement.

During the 1970s, further research was conducted in order to explore the comparative attainment of indigenous and black and minority ethnic pupils on other indices of educational performance. Research by Townsend (1971) and based on Department of Education and Science (DES) statistics, revealed that, whereas nationally 20% of white children secured entry to grammar schools, the comparative figure for West Indian children was 1.5%. Rex and Tomlinson's (1979) research conducted in the Birmingham suburb of Handsworth in 1976 confirmed this trend of black under-representation in selective schooling, in that out of a sample of 1526 pupils, whereas 7% of white children were attending grammar schools, only 1.5% of West Indian pupils had made this transition.

Cultural Pluralism

As the 1970s wore on, the hegemonic status of monoculturalist perspectives within the interstices of UK educational policy responses around the issues of race was disrupted and displaced by multiculturalism, as expressed within the discourse of cultural pluralism. Many commentators (Carby 1982, Mullard 1982, Tomlinson 1983, Troyna 1992, Osler 1997) have posited that, although at

a rhetorical level the language in terms of which black learners were depicted underwent a shift within multicultural education, this perspective maintained continuities with earlier discourses in so far as black pupils continued to be defined as constituting a problem for education and training systems. The roots and therefore the solution to this problem were conceived as being embedded within black pupils themselves. Taking its cue from the UK research on the black pupil self concept pioneered by Milner (1975), the 'underachievement' of black pupils was causally linked to their possession of alleged negative self concepts and images. As a result of this diagnosis, compensatory programmes of education giving recognition and value to the history, culture and lifestyles of black pupils became officially sanctioned as the panacea which would improve the educational attainment of black pupils.

Another important and wider dimension of the assumptive framework which underpinned the multicultural educational model was the notion that teaching white pupils about the cultures of black and minority ethnic pupils would reduce prejudicial attitudes, promote tolerance and prepare them for life in a multicultural and multiracial society. Troyna (1993) has suggested that these goals which were set for race related educational policy initiatives in this period were attractive to policymakers and educationalists, since they resonated with the twin notions of equality of opportunity and meritocracy which were enshrined within the 1944 Education Act. At the level of practice, Osler (1997) has contended that whilst some teachers made efforts genuinely to recognise and celebrate cultural diversity within the curriculum, for the most part school

responses to black and minority ethnic pupils were underpinned by multicultural premises and assumptions which were at best highly patronising. It is on these grounds that Troyna devastatingly dismissed this shallow celebration of difference as 'constituting the 3Ss – saris, samosas and steel bands' (cited in Troyna and Carrington 1990 p 20).

Critiques and Resistance to Multiculturalism in Education

Multicultural education as an approach to educational reform was subjected to a barrage of criticism from writers on both the political right (Flew 1984, Honeyford 1987, Palmer 1986) and on the political left (Stone 1981, Carby 1982, Mullard 1982, Sarup 1986). In terms of the political right, multicultural education was constructed as at best a distraction from the 'real' purposes of education defined in terms of the transmission of basic skills, and at worst as a form of political indoctrination which was subversive to the maintenance of traditional British values, traditions and institutions. The central argument which was advanced by leftist writers was that the multicultural education model studiously ignored the structural inequalities and injustices in a capitalist and racist society, and the function of state schooling in their production and reproduction. Relatedly, researchers within this tradition of scholarship pointed out that by concentrating on issues of culture and the alleged negative self concept of black pupils in its search for solutions to remedy their educational predicament, the multicultural education paradigm in effect, if not by intention, amounted to little more than a strategy of social control.

Whatever view is taken with regards to the veracity of the critiques which were levelled against multicultural education by conservative and radical writers, there is no doubt that the black community continued to express its concerns in relation to the treatment of black pupils within compulsory schooling during the 1970s and early 1980s. Perhaps this discontent was most graphically expressed in relation to a strike at Tulse Hill School (Carter 1986), the successful campaign by black parents which forced the LEA in Haringey to abandon its programme to expand its provision of disruptive units (Carby 1982) and the continued growth of a voluntary black supplementary movement.

Confronted with the increasingly militant campaigns mounted by the black community around what was perceived to be the mis-education of black children, James Callaghan's Labour government agreed to establish an inquiry under the stewardship of Anthony Rampton. The evidence contained in the Interim Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (Rampton 1981) appeared to indicate that, on various measures of academic attainment, pupils of West Indian origin were, as a group, underachieving in comparison with their white (and Asian) counterparts. Although the Final Report of the Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups (Rampton 1985) suggested that there had been an improvement in the academic performance of black pupils, the gap between the majority (white) and the black pupils remained. From a black perspective, it could be legitimately argued that the publication and consequences of the findings of these two institutionally sanctioned

interventions was in the nature of a double edge sword. On the one hand, they confirmed and therefore conferred legitimacy on the suspicions and concerns which the black community had expressed over a long period of time in terms of their children's experiences, treatment and outcomes of state schooling. On the other hand, these initiatives served to reinforce the stereotype of black pupils as underachievers, a perception which according to Osler (1997) influenced not only educational policy and practice but also the experience of black lecturers and educators.

Demonstrating and Portraying Racism through New Forms of Educational Research

The early 1980s witnessed the emergence of a counter-tendency in educational research and policy in terms of a move away from earlier depictions of black pupils as underachievers and towards an acknowledgement that social processes and practices within compulsory schooling were deeply implicated in the negative educational experiences and responses of these pupils to their plight. Whilst the focus on the comparative attainment of black and minority ethnic pupils and their white counterparts did not completely disappear from the view of the race and educational research agenda, it was temporarily subdued as a direct consequence of the emergence of a new genre of studies employing ethnographic methodologies in order to provide qualitative insights into the interaction between black pupils and white teachers. It is of some significance to note the fact that, although this body of evidence (Wright 1986, Mac an Ghail 1988, Gillborn 1990, Mirza 1992, Wright 1992) was collected within a range of

educational sites (infant, primary and secondary) and at different times, nonetheless there is a convergence in terms of the major findings which have been reported. As a consequence, the results of these studies have gone a long way in painting a picture of the quite distinctive pattern of black pupils' experiences and responses to state schooling before the emergence of educational markets in the late 1980s.

Whilst constraints of space militate against a comprehensive review and perusal of this research literature, it is not difficult to outline and reconstruct some of the major points of convergence. In the first place, these studies concur in portraying racism as central to the manner in which white teachers encounter, perceive and respond to black students. The evidence suggests that, whereas all black pupils are subjected to racist stereotyping, this process is mediated by gender in that, whereas black girls are perceived as loud, unfeminine and difficult to manage, teachers regard black boys as aggressive, surly and inherently troublesome. In relation to the latter issue, one of the worrying tendencies which has been highlighted by the research evidence is that not only are black boys labelled as belligerent and aggressive potential trouble makers in higher secondary education, where the bulk of the research has been conducted, but there are also indications from studies of infant and primary education (Wright 1992 cited in Callender 1997, Connolly 1995) that this labelling of black boys begins at the very onset of their schooling careers. In her study of black pupil white teacher interaction conducted in four primary schools, Wright (1992 cited in Callender 1997) reported that a white teacher

had incorporated the following comments in her daily log about a six year old Afro-Caribbean male pupil.

I think that Robert (Justin's fellow pupil), may be in little pieces in the morning. He had an argument with Justin today and I've seldom seen a face like it on a little child. The temper, rage and marked aggression was quite frightening to see. I wouldn't be surprised in years to come if Justin wasn't capable of killing someone. When he smiles he could charm the birds off the trees, but when he's in a temper he is incapable of controlling himself. He has an extremely short fuse, is a real chauvinist and to cap it all he's got a persecution complex - he has to be handled with kid gloves. (Wright 1992, cited in Callender 1997 p 130)

Second, one of the most consistent findings which has been reported within these studies is that black pupils experienced compulsory schooling in a way which was qualitatively different to their white and Asian counterparts. The evidence suggests that black pupils were subjected to a greater amount of criticism and conflict with white teachers, and were over represented in terms of reporting and detention systems and in exclusions and suspensions from school (Wright 1986, Gillborn 1990, Connolly 1995). Relatedly, the tendency of white teachers to stereotype black pupils intruded into their professional judgement in ways which were injurious to the academic development and progression of black pupils. Wright's (1986) work revealed that the construction of black pupils as educationally unable and behaviourally problematic engendered a series of material outcomes in which black pupils were allocated to lower bands and sets, and relegated to lower status examinations even though such practices cut at right angles to their performance in school examinations. Finally, this tradition of school based ethnographic research provides clear evidence of a kind which suggests that black pupils correctly perceived the unjust nature of the processes to which they were subjected, and the way in which these shaped

their negative experiences of schooling. Contingently, black pupils, especially the boys, responded by developing anti-school subcultures of resistance which emphasised values and goals around the positive projection of black ethnicity and the rejection of white teachers and white society more generally. According to Connolly (1995), the bi-directional labelling of black pupils and white teachers in classroom interaction resulted in a spiralling cycle of conflict which at one level served to confirm the self fulfilling prophecy around the alleged educational incapability of black pupils. In so far as these transactions were typical of the relationships which were established, it is worrying to imagine their potential impact on the attitudinal dispositions which prevailed within the teaching and managerial cultures of compulsory schooling in multiethnic schools in the pre-market era, and on the perception of elements of the white communities served by these schools.

Still Invisible

On the one hand, the importance of published UK ethnographic studies investigating the schooling experience of black students cannot be denied, in terms of shifting debates about race and education away from the alleged racial, cultural and intellectual inferiority of black pupils towards a central focus on the 'role of the school as an institution in restricting black students' educational opportunities' (Connolly 1995 p 75). On the other hand, it could plausibly be argued that this body of research is vulnerable to a number of important criticisms. In the first place, the almost exclusive focus within this genre of research on white teacher-black student relations has served to render

invisible the experiences and perspectives of black and minority staff. Within these studies, it has only been vicariously possible to catch glimpses of the experiences of black staff, either through the odd reference contained in the testimony of black and minority ethnic pupil respondents or in the occasional casual observation of these researchers in the analysis and presentation of their data. An excellent example of the latter tendency is provided in Gillborn's (1990) study of City Road school. Having previously noted that only one member of the 65 strong teaching workforce was from an Afro-Caribbean background, Gillborn (1990 p 14) proceeded to observe that the teacher in question had no contact with his case study pupils, and moreover 'was a rather peripheral (sic) member of staff'. It could be argued that what Gillborn (1990) perceived to be the peripheral location of this black member of staff tells us more about the limitations and weaknesses which inhere in a research perspective that privileges a focus on white teacher-black pupil relations in seeking to explain the experiences and responses of the latter, than the potential of this black teacher to provide important insights into the complex processes and practices which structured teacher-pupil interaction at City Road school. In the second place, for these researchers (Gillborn 1990, Connolly 1995), compulsory schooling provided an almost exclusive site for the investigation of the schooling experiences of black pupils, with the consequence that with few exceptions (Mac an Ghail 1988), further education was almost totally neglected. The relative invisibility of studies dealing with the experience of black students in UK further education is rather difficult to comprehend on a number of significant grounds. First, academic research published in the early

part of this period (Craft and Craft cited in Tomlinson 1983, Tomlinson 1983) had pointed to the disproportionately high representation of black and minority ethnic students within further education provision. A crucial point to make here is that according to research conducted by Craft and Craft (cited in Tomlinson 1983), black students who did well in public examinations displayed a greater disposition towards entering further education as opposed to continuing their education within the school sixth form.

Turning to Further Education Studies

We know, from the battery of studies which were published before and during this period (Rampton 1981, Swann 1985, Eggleston et al 1986), that as a group, black pupils experienced state schooling in terms of failure, and for this reason further education became even more important in terms of their future educational and occupational careers, so that with hindsight the case for research in further education dealing with race and educational issues becomes even more compelling. Connolly's (1995) lament concerning the relative paucity of ethnographic work dealing with the schooling experiences of black pupils at the start of their educational careers takes on an even sharper resonance in relation to black students' experiences of further education. This having been said, Avis (1988) provides indirect evidence about the experiences and responses of black students in further education colleges, although admittedly more by inference than by direct representation. Avis's (1988) study was conducted in a multiracial further education college in the West Midlands, and sought to explore the manner in which white teachers and students made

sense of race. Avis's (1988) research drew attention to the widespread prevalence of racism within this sector of post-compulsory education. Avis (1988) writes

Racism in various forms is present in further education, in part being carried into colleges through the consciousness and experiences that white students and teachers bring with them. (p 52)

For Avis (1988), the racialised practices which frame the experience of black students in UK further education are constituted not only in unintended ways through organisational practices which discriminate against black people, but also through the ways in which white students and teachers make sense of race. It is therefore safe to argue that, notwithstanding the neglect of further education by these ethnographic researchers, the experiences of black students in further education were not qualitatively different from their lived reality of compulsory schooling.

One of the important issues which this analysis raises for contemporary research on race and education within UK further education has been starkly posed by Tomlinson (1998). In so doing, she raised the question as to whether markets in education engender new inequalities of a racial kind. Put differently, what happens to the black student experience when race and market forces collide within the changed historical and institutional circumstances of UK further education? In this regard, it is clearly very important for the voices of black educators to be heard, if we are to avoid one of the pitfalls to which the ethnographic studies of the 1980s succumbed.

Antiracism and its Critics

As has been previously noted, the early to mid-1980s witnessed a shift in the focus of race related educational policy, away from the multicultural paradigm with its deficit model of black pupils, towards antiracist perspectives and their advocacy of the need to challenge racialised practices and other structural inequalities in education. This departure was not prompted by the intervention of the central state, but as Troyna (1993) has cogently argued, reflected the accommodation of certain urban local authorities, most notably ILEA and Berkshire, to various sources of pressure for change in the nature and direction of policy dealing with race and educational issues. Of primary significance here was the black communities' rejection of the claim that multicultural education and its celebration of diversity was the panacea for meeting the needs of black pupils, and the manner in which the state interpreted and responded to the widespread involvement of black youth in the urban uprisings which began in Brixton in 1981. In terms of the latter issue, the highly influential report by Lord Scarman (1986) published in the aftermath of the Brixton riots, highlighted racism within the educational system as being a crucial variable in the causation of the disorders, and urged educational authorities to provide greater opportunities for black pupils in the interest of social and racial justice, and in improving the skills and qualification levels of the UK workforce.

Although at one level antiracism as a political and ideological departure was not monolithic (Sarup 1991, Troyna 1993) or even widespread, at another level these perspectives share a certain amount of common ground in terms of their

basic premises and assumptions. In the first place, advocates of antiracism rejected the reduction of racism to an individual problem, and the related proposition that it can be educated away by sentimental and simplistic teaching about the 'other', which are central tenets within the multicultural educational perspective. Instead, antiracism asserted that, as Thomas (cited in Troyna 1993 p 26) has posited, racism has to be grasped as residing 'squarely in the policies, structures and beliefs of everyday life'. In the second place, it is on these foundations that, as Troyna (1993) has argued, antiracism centralises the need to confront racism in order to improve the educational experiences and outcomes of black pupils. For this reason, antiracist convictions, translated into educational terms, signalled the importance of providing 'the appropriate organisational, pedagogical and curricular contexts which enables children to scrutinise the manner in which racism rationalises and helps to maintain injustices and the differential power accorded particular class, ethnic and gender groups in society' (Troyna 1993 p 26).

At the level of educational policy and practice during the early to mid-1980s, a number of urban local authorities, spearheaded by ILEA and Berkshire, began to acknowledge that the celebration of cultural diversity was incapable of dislodging inequities which had shaped the schooling experiences of black pupils for the two previous decades. As a consequence, in the context of a decentralised education system, schools and colleges of further education were encouraged to attribute a much higher priority to the need to identify and address racial (and other) inequalities in educational opportunities, outcomes

and experiences. Whilst it is important to take seriously Troyna's (1993) scepticism concerning the mismatch between LEA policy discourses and the reality of implementation, their antiracist convictions found expression in terms of a range of egalitarian policy initiatives. Such measures included race and gender monitoring of the makeup of staff and student populations, attempts to counter cultural bias in assessment and selection procedures, the introduction of policies and procedures dealing with racial and sexual harassment, antiracist curriculum reforms, and mechanisms designed to promote parental and pupil involvement in school and college decision making.

But antiracist education also became the subject of a series of damaging critiques, which were by no means confined to writers and activists on the political right. For instance, proponents of cultural pluralism such as Lynch berated antiracism on the grounds that it was 'too political confrontational and guilt inducing' (cited in Troyna and Carrington 1990 p 6). This position elicited the support of the National Union of Teachers (NUT). Having already discussed the New Right's critique of antiracist (and multicultural) education there is no need further to rehearse these arguments. However, it is important to make a number of key points about the impact of New Right thinking on the race and schooling debate. In the first place, the New Right critique of antiracist education was picked up by the tabloid press, with the consequence that LEAs who had adopted these policy departures were vilified and condemned as the so-called loony left. Second, in response to these attacks, LEAs retreated from antiracist education such that, by the time of the introduction of the Great

Educational Reform Bill (GERBIL) into the House of Commons in 1987, antiracism (which had peaked in the years between 1980 and 1985) had come to a decisive end (Troyna and Carrington 1990). Third, not only did New Right thinking set the terms of reference for debates about race and education, but it has also shaped the nature and orientation of educational reform, which in the case of further education colleges culminated in the passage and implementation of the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act. Finally, these reforms have been underpinned by older assimilationist convictions. At issue, then, are the continuities and repetitions of earlier racist discourses around race and schooling and race and education penetrating more recent policy developments as these affect and shape further education. I move on in the next chapter to consider the position of black educators in both the schools and further education contexts.

CHAPTER THREE

EXPERIENCES OF BLACK AND MINORITY ETHNIC TEACHERS AND EDUCATORS

Introduction

Following the literature review as it relates to black and ethnic minority pupils in the previous chapter, this chapter continues to review the literature, in this case with a focus on the experiences of black educators in schools and colleges of further education. Because of the invisibility of black professionals within the further education research literature, the chapter begins by reviewing mainly school-based literature which describes and identifies the experiences of aspiring black educators as they attempt to acquire the necessary training and qualifications to develop their careers. Next, it charts the barriers faced by black educators in building their careers within the marketised environment of further education colleges in the aftermath of the Further and Higher Education Act 1992.

In the same way that the complexities surrounding the lived experiences of black pupils were largely ignored within educational research and policy, the mainstream academic literature dealing with teachers and the teaching profession has rendered invisible the experiences of black and minority ethnic educators (Troyna 1994a, Osler 1997, Bariso 2001). This development is particularly problematic since, as Bariso (2001) has observed, sizeable studies have been conducted on the work and experience of teachers and head teachers in general (Sikes et al 1985, Nias 1989, Lawn and Grace 1991). In

response to the deafening silences and omissions within this body of work, Troyna (1994a) has argued that this discourse presents a deracialised view of the everyday world of teachers. For Troyna (1994a p 326), deracialisation involves 'the omission – deliberately or otherwise – of issues of ethnicity and more particularly, racism from the interpretative and analytic frames found in academic discourse'. Approaching the issue from a different but complementary perspective, Callender (1997 p ix) has contended that 'while debate concerning the under performance of African Caribbean heritage children has spanned the last thirty years or so, virtually no attention has been paid to the small numbers of black teachers in the educational system'.

Black and Minority Ethnic Professionals: Research, Policy and Careers

Whilst it would be almost impossible to challenge the veracity of the claims which researchers (Troyna 1994a, Osler 1997, Bariso 2001) have advanced in relation to the missing voices of black educators in UK research into the working lives and careers of teachers within compulsory schooling, it could be argued that, in keeping with the historical neglect of further education practitioners within academic research (Ainley and Bailey 1997), the existence of black educators as a subgroup of the further education workforce hardly gets a reference within critiques of mainstream de-racialised discourses around teachers and the teaching profession. In order to reconstruct a meaningful account concerning the position and experiences of black educators in both the pre and post market era, one has to rely on patchy official statistics as the Swann Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority

Groups (1985) observed, relatively small scale studies of black and minority ethnic teachers focusing on their position and experience of racism, and more recent attempts to document the professional lives and experiences of black educators in the UK (Blair 1994, Callender 1997, Osler 1997, Bariso 2001).

The relative absence of reliable statistics documenting the race and ethnic profile of the teaching profession in Britain has also been reported in relation to higher education (Carter et al 1999) and further education (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002). The evidence points to the under representation of black and minority ethnic educators in every sector of UK education (Department of Education and Science 1985). Indeed, according to data contained in the 1991 census 'there were only 2.5% working minority teachers and educational professionals' (Bariso 2001 p 68).

The omission of black and minority ethnic teachers from the UK literature dealing with teachers' professional lives has spawned a literature in recent times which has sought to address their invisibility. This development has engendered a theoretical debate within sections of the research community about its desirability and efficacy. On the one hand, Troyna (1994b), whilst acknowledging the manner in which race related concerns and issues have been relegated to the margins of research focusing on teachers' professional lives, has argued the case against the need for studies which have attempted to render visible the experiences of black and minority ethnic educators. For Troyna (1994b), studies which focus exclusively on black and minority ethnic teachers are vulnerable to the charge that they legitimate ethnocentric

conceptions of whiteness as normal, whilst (unwittingly) positioning black and minority ethnic teachers as the 'other'. On this view, such studies not only fail to mount an efficacious challenge to mainstream de-racialised research into teachers and the teaching profession, but they also discursively construct black teachers within a deficit model. On the other hand, researchers such as Callender (1997), Osler (1997) and Bariso (2001) have adopted a contrary view. Bariso (2001) has tellingly argued that more work needs to be done on the professional lives of black teachers, and has justified her position on the twin grounds that the exclusion of minority teachers' professional lives precludes their perspectives on educational discourses, and narrows issues on equal representation to attributes such as gender and class. These are important considerations which Troyna's (1994b) position obscures.

The relative neglect of black and minority educators within the UK literature on teachers and the teaching profession does not preclude the possibility of outlining the quite distinctive and specific manner in which their position and experiences have been shaped in historical and contemporary times. In terms of the former, Beryl Gilroy (cited in Callender 1997) in her published autobiography gets to grips with the plight of first generation black professionals seeking to enter professional work in 1960s Britain. Although trained as a teacher in the Caribbean, she encountered massive hurdles in terms of being allowed to practice in England. Her tenacity and determination against great odds eventually ensured that she was offered her first teaching post at a Catholic school in north London. Gilroy's (cited in Callender 1997) description

of her experience of entering the classroom for the first time makes compelling reading. She writes (cited in Callender 1997):

So when I opened the squeaking door and the class came face to face with me, there was a gasp of terror, then a sudden silence. A little girl broke it with a whimper. Some children visibly shook with fear, and as I walked across the room, the whole lot - except for two boys- dived under the table. (Gilroy cited in Callender 1997 p 61)

If nothing else, Gilroy's experiences should serve as a potent reminder of the fact that it would be a serious mistake to represent the pre-market period of schooling as constituting a golden era of racial justice and equality for black staff, students and communities.

Barriers Faced by Aspiring and Newly Qualified Black Teachers

We know from the available evidence that black students are seriously under represented within teacher education both as students and as teacher educators (Callender 1997, Osler 1997, Bariso 2001). According to evidence cited by Callender (1997), in 1996-7 only 5% of primary and 7% of secondary initial teacher training entrants were from black and minority ethnic backgrounds. Relatedly, the General Teacher Training Registry (GTTR) (1996) reported that black and minority ethnic applicants to post graduate certificate (PGCE) courses were more likely to meet with rejection (60%) and be unplaced (45%) than their white counterparts whose experiences were 40% and 26% respectively. Many studies (Commission for Racial Equality 1988, Brah 1991, Osler 1997, Bariso 2001) have reported that black teachers take longer to obtain their first established teaching post than their white colleagues, and are compelled disproportionately to settle for supply teaching, temporary contracts

or unemployment. Confirming these trends in a study conducted in the mid 1980s in the London borough of Ealing, Brah (1991) found that 21% of black teachers had to do supply teaching after qualification, as compared with 5.3% of white teachers, and the Commission for Racial Equality (1988) reported that a disproportionate number of black and minority ethnic teachers' job applications are unsuccessful in comparison with their white colleagues. In this study (Commission for Racial Equality 1988), findings showed that whereas the average of unsuccessful applications for white teachers seeking their first post was 3.8%, for black and minority teachers the rate was almost double at 6.5%.

Brah's (1991) research is particularly significant in terms of providing a purchase on the manifold nature of the barriers which confronted qualified black teachers seeking to obtain their first teaching post within compulsory schooling in the pre-market era, and arguably has a resonance which transcends the London borough within which it was conducted. This research was commissioned by the London borough of Ealing, and its overall aim was to examine the reasons underpinning the serious under representation of black and minority ethnic teachers within the context of a 1986 recruitment drive, which ostensibly prioritised participation of black teachers within the teaching workforce in the borough. More specifically, Ealing LEA was seeking to appoint 140 new teachers. The outcome was that at the end of this initiative only three black and minority ethnic teachers were recruited. In terms of contextual factors, black and minority groups comprised 25.4% of the borough's population, and the representation of black and minority pupils in local schools

was even higher, standing at 40%. In direct contrast to these statistics, black and minority ethnic teachers accounted for 8% of the teaching workforce which totalled 2,400. In addition, there were only three black head teachers and two black deputy heads within the borough's 54 schools.

Brah's (1991) analysis of head teacher responses to a questionnaire, which sought to elicit their perceptions of the reasons surrounding the under representation of black and ethnic minority teachers at the end of this recruitment drive, is particularly significant because of what these responses reveal about the attitudes of white head teachers to the employment of black and minority ethnic staff in Britain. According to Brah (1991 p 42-43), these responses could be grouped into five major categories, namely 'there is no problem', 'there are no black applicants', 'problematizing the black teacher', 'passing the buck' and 'institutional racism'. The third and fourth categories of head teacher responses are worthy of further discussion, not only because of the increased influence which head teachers exert over the recruitment of staff as a result of market driven reforms, but also in the light of what they reveal about the racialised attitudes which were embedded within the managerial cultures of pre-market schooling. Unfortunately, Brah (1991) does not reveal any information concerning the size of his head teacher sample, nor their proportional distribution across these five interpretative categories. However, the tendency displayed by some of his head teacher respondents to judge black and minority teachers as lacking the intellectual and personal qualities required to become competent teachers, recalls the manner in which black learners were

constructed as persistent underachievers within UK educational research and policy discourses on the grounds of their alleged racial and cultural inferiority.

One of Brah's (1991) respondents put it in this way:

There is a special problem of Afro-Caribbean under representation at university due to the absence of a Black middle class. There are no books at home, this makes a difference in terms of motivation. Additionally, Afro-Caribbean family problems are larger or of a different kind from the rest of the population, and this also contributes to the under achievement. They can't cope with the liberal progressive atmosphere and teaching styles of English schools. (Brah 1991 p 43)

Although admittedly, the racist diagnosis of the 'special problem' (Brah 1991 p 43) which allegedly conspires against black professional teacher formation is partly grounded in a language of class, it could be argued that within this discourse, class stands as a proxy concept for race and culture. Brah's (1991 p 43) fourth interpretative category 'passing the buck' is particularly deserving of further scrutiny and analysis. Here, Brah (1991) cites an illustrative quote from the testimony of a head teacher who claimed that:

Black teachers in this country are a new concept [sic]. Today's parents remember their teachers who were white. The problem is one of the acceptance of Black teachers. White parents meet Black people in the shops, etc., and see them having a poor command of English. They fear that with Black people as teachers, good English will not be learnt. (Brah 1991 p 43)

This is a highly pertinent quotation, since it brings into focus the enormity of the (potential) barriers which black and minority ethnic teachers faced, in seeking to enter the teaching profession in the pre-market environment, even within multiethnic school settings. The relative absence of reliable statistics documenting the race profile of the teaching profession in Britain, because such statistics were not kept until recently has also been noted in relation to both

higher education (Carter et al 1999) and further education (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002). The evidence such as it is points to the under representation of black and minority ethnic educators in every sector of UK education.

Early Career Experiences of Black and Minority Ethnic Teachers

One of the most important findings emanating from the body of work which has sought to explore the position of black and minority ethnic teachers and their experience of racism within compulsory schooling is that, even if they were able successfully to negotiate barriers to their entry to the teaching profession, discriminatory processes and practices did not somehow magically disappear (Swann 1985, Commission for Racial Equality 1988, Brah 1991, Osler 1997). Brah (1991) reported that the pattern of recruitment of black and minority ethnic teachers significantly deviated from that of their white counterparts. In this regard, the research evidence (Commission for Racial Equality 1988, Brah 1991, Osler 1997) indicated that in the 1960s, when black and minority ethnic teachers first entered the professional teaching community, they were predominantly positioned within shortage subject areas, namely mathematics and science. The Commission for Racial Equality (1988) study not only confirmed this trend, but also pointed to the fact that on average black and minority ethnic teachers in shortage areas were older than their white teacher counterparts. Taking this point further, Osler (1997) has contended that, given the disproportionate representation of black and minority ethnic teachers in shortage subject areas during this period, it is reasonable to expect that they

would have been able to advance into more senior positions. In reality, black and minority ethnic educators were to remain confined to the lower rungs of the teaching profession, as a consequence of which Osler (1997 p 53) draws the secure conclusion that 'all the evidence suggests that black and ethnic minority teachers are seen as a cheap commodity by their employers, more likely to be employed at lower pay levels and be on temporary contracts'.

The research evidence concerning the recruitment pattern of black and minority ethnic educators during the 1970s and 1980s suggests that this underwent a significant shift, in that the majority of these teachers were now to be found within two areas, namely language support, and especially multicultural support services. On the one hand, Osler (1997) has argued that this racially and ethnically demarcated role deployment of black and minority ethnic educators provided for her and a minority of other black colleagues the only means of ascending the ladders of professional opportunity, as a result of their exposure to broader professional experiences such as whole school planning and curriculum development of teachers and head teachers. Osler's (1997) own research with a sample of ten black and minority ethnic head teachers and senior managers lends support to this claim, since her findings suggest that only three had followed the traditional career path from classroom teacher to deputy head and then head teacher. The remaining seven had all been employed at some point in their professional careers in race relations posts which were funded by a ring fenced Home Office fund known as Section 11 which supported race relations projects and their staffing costs. On the other

hand, for the majority of black and minority ethnic educators deployed in multicultural support posts, their lived experience found expression in terms of professional stagnation and acute levels of employment insecurity (Blair 1994). In the first place, the majority of these posts within which black teachers were disproportionately represented, whilst carrying the burden of multicultural work, were located on the lower rungs of the pay scale and lacked any real access to a career structure. In the second place, Section 11 funding was provided on a temporary basis, and was subject to the shifting priorities of the state, such that contracts funded on this basis were constantly vulnerable to termination. The fears and anxieties of black and minority ethnic teachers employed as a result of their involvement in the multicultural curriculum or in language support work funded by Section 11 posts, were to be confirmed and legitimated in 1990. The consequences for black and minority teachers who were trapped as a result of structural constraints within this mode of role allocation have been well summarised by Blair (1994 p 7) who points to the fact that 'in 1990, new criteria were introduced by the Department for Education (DfE) for the allocation of this money, criteria which are rigidly defined not only to prevent corruption and misuse, but to put an end to its use for multicultural and antiracist work'. There has more recently been a 50% cut back of these funds, leading to the loss of many Section 11 posts, and therefore the loss of many jobs for black teachers. The government objectives for Section 11 funding which stress 'equality of opportunity, mutual understanding, respect and freedom from racial violence...sound hollow against the discrediting of antiracism and the removal of funding for multicultural antiracist projects' (Blair 1994 p 7).

There is a further and wider critical point to make concerning the deployment of black and minority educators within the multicultural curriculum in the 1970s and 1980s, which arguably has implications for their employment prospects and conditions in the post market era. It also affects and inflects the (potential) experience of black teachers in mainstream roles, who often found themselves allocated to the more difficult sets and streams within multiethnic settings in compulsory schooling. The shared problem was that both sets of teachers, as Blair (1994 p 6) has argued, were seen as 'more and perhaps only suited to working in schools with a high percentage of minority ethnic group children and to taking responsibility for "ethnic" issues'. Blair (1994) has posited that this trend could be observed in the late 1970s and 1980s when multicultural education was at its height, and many black teachers found that their only route into teaching was through the multicultural curriculum as Section 11 teachers or language support teachers. Many researchers (Blair 1994, Callender 1997, Osler 1997, Bariso 2001) have suggested that the ideological construction of black and minority ethnic educators as 'good' at dealing with the 'discipline' problems of black students effectively led to a process of de-skilling, as a consequence of the creation of 'an image of the black teacher as a 'professional ethnic' rather than as a 'teacher' with a specific 'non ethnic' skill and a broad range of experience and expertise to offer' (Blair 1994 p 6). Blair (1994) rightly argues that this blatant racialisation of black teacher professionalism not only served to obliterate the professional responsibilities which black teachers have to all pupils, but also raised important issues about the kind of professional

development which was construed as being appropriate for black and minority ethnic educators.

Summing up

UK research into black and minority teachers' access to promotion and career advancement in the pre market era makes for grim reading. This body of literature brings into sharp relief an intersecting range of discriminatory barriers, which have effectively confined black teachers to the junior ranks of the teaching profession (Swann 1985, Commission for Racial Equality 1988, Brah 1991, Callender 1997, Hubah cited in Osler 1997, Osler 1997, Bariso 2001). Research conducted by the Commission for Racial Equality (1988) revealed that white teachers were twice as likely as black teachers to be invited by head teachers to apply for promoted posts within their present schools, and to undertake in-service training. On the other hand, black teachers were encouraged to apply for posts at other schools and discouraged from attending in-service training. Many studies (Commission for Racial Equality 1988, Callender 1997, Osler 1997, Bariso 2001) have reported black teachers as claiming that promotions are monopolised by white teachers, but yet that black and ethnic minority teachers had to work harder in order to prove themselves. Work by Callender (1997) and Bariso (2001) has highlighted a tendency for white teachers to stereotype black teachers as either being too rigid or too soft in their dealings with pupils, and that this construction adversely impacts on their career progression. Taking this point further, Bariso (2001 p 173) has contended that this practice constitutes a case of racial prejudice, since 'the

same attributes are used by white teachers about one another but without any risk to their career prospects'. Finally, a number of studies (Commission for Racial Equality 1988, Brah 1991) have reported that black and minority ethnic teachers on average tend to be better qualified than their white counterparts. In this regard, Brah's (2001) study found that 67% of black and minority ethnic teachers had more than one qualification compared to 25% of white teachers. In the light of this evidence the exclusion of black and minority ethnic teachers from the senior ranks of the teaching profession can only be explained in terms of the inscription of discriminatory practices and processes within the managerial and teaching cultures in compulsory schooling.

Black Professional Narratives

Although studies which have examined the position and circumstances of black and minority ethnic teachers, have provided important, predominantly quantitative insights into their plight (Callender 1997, Osler 1997) this body of work stopped short of revealing the wider lived experiences surrounding their professional lives. To some extent this gap has been partially closed as a result of the emergence of a small but growing body of research which has sought to address the invisibility of black and minority ethnic teachers by capturing their accounts of their professional lives (Blair 1994, Callender 1997, Osler 1997), and also to interpreting the multiple responses of black and minority ethnic teachers to their plight (Osler 1997).

Osler's (1997) research constitutes a landmark work within this emergent tradition of scholarship. Her study was based on interviews with 26 experienced black and minority ethnic educators, who all worked in metropolitan LEAs and schools where there was a substantial black presence within the local population. Osler's (1997) analysis of the teachers' narratives pointed to the indisputable fact that they had all experienced personal and institutional disadvantage at every stage of their professional careers, and therefore lends weight to the findings of those studies which have examined the position of black teachers and their experience of racism within compulsory schooling during the pre-market era. Perhaps what is new in this regard is the evidence which Osler (1997) uncovers in terms of what the accounts of senior black and minority ethnic teachers reveal about their lived experience of the everyday world of teaching. Of considerable importance here is that all ten of the senior black and minority ethnic teachers reported that, although they had experienced racism in junior posts, these experiences were 'mild' (Osler 1997 p 115) in comparison to what was to come once they had ascended the ladders of opportunity and reached the upper echelons of the profession.

One of the most common themes to emerge from these accounts is that white colleagues failed to recognise and acknowledge the specificity of the lived experience of black teachers, and that black managers experience 'greater resistance from their white colleagues, even from those who are 'liberal' or 'anti racist' (Osler 1997 p 139). According to Osler (1997), this resistance mainly found expression in terms of non-compliance as opposed to blatant and overt

hostility, although the latter was by no means rare. Osler's (1997) evidence suggested that white educators' resistance to senior black staff was gendered, in that (influential) white male staff perceived senior black females as less of a threat than their black male counterparts. On the other hand, many white female managers were reluctant to accept black female managers, since to do so would require shifts in their priorities and agendas. For Osler (1997 p 140) 'the root difficulty, as stressed in many narratives, is that of accepting black people as professionals with a particular expertise and authority'. One of her respondents put it in this way:

What you find very often is that there is almost this surprise on their part that you can do something; that you are educationally-minded, that you can teach, and that you do know your business about education, how to monitor and evaluate progress, how to measure attainment, how to assess good quality. (Osler 1997 p 140)

At the centre of Osler's (1997) work is a theoretical commitment to avoiding the trap of portraying black and minority ethnic teachers as victims, and the concomitant denial of their agency which such a construction would inevitably entail. Hence, while documenting the role which race and racism play in shaping the professional lives and careers of black educators, Osler (1997) is equally concerned with the generation of a form of understanding which is sensitive to the complex and dynamic ways in which black and minority ethnic teachers make sense of and respond to their lived experience, as revealed by the analysis of their personal narratives. In the first place, Osler (1997) developed a conceptual framework which pivots on a distinction between racial and professional identity. For Osler (1997) racial identity signifies a dual recognition on the part of black teachers, that they (and the wider communities

from which they originate) have been ascribed to a racially defined category, and as a consequence share a common experience of marginalisation and exclusion within the social relations of compulsory schooling. On the other hand, professional identity as an analytical category speaks to the process of becoming and feeling like a teacher as a consequence of the acquisition of the professional skills and knowledge base which underpin the professional formation of teachers, as well as the norms of behaviour which are deemed as appropriate for teachers. At issue here is the fact that the racialisation of black educators, learners and communities by a predominantly white educational community creates tensions for black teachers in terms of reconciling notions of black identity with their professional identity as teachers.

In the second place, Osler (1997) suggests, somewhat surprisingly, that the black and minority ethnic teachers within her sample did not have an awareness of their racial identity until they began their careers, and were forced to face up to the harsh realities of racism and discrimination within multicultural educational settings dominated by white perspectives. Whilst not necessarily seeking to challenge the veracity of this finding, it is fair to argue that this evidence contradicts the findings of UK ethnographic research dealing with (white) teacher black pupil interactions, in which a range of researchers have reported that the latter interpret and respond to perceived injustice by engaging in elaborate celebration of their racial and cultural identities. Osler's (1997) final move is to posit that her research evidence pointed to the crystallisation of six racial identity types, or orientations, which defined the way in which black

educators responded to their lived experience of racism and other structural barriers within compulsory schooling. Osler (1997) designates these orientations as rejecting, conforming, reforming, affirming, challenging and transforming. It is to an examination of the construction of black and minority ethnic educators within post compulsory education to which the next section turns.

Black and Minority Ethnic Educators within UK Higher Education

In an important study published at the end of the 1990's, Carter et al (1999 p 4) pointed to the fact that the literature on ethnic equality and higher education is at present extremely limited. One dimension of this gap highlighted by these researchers was the absence of reliable statistics which would allow judgements to be made about the historical and contemporary representation of black and minority ethnic practitioners within UK higher education. In recent times, this situation has been partially remedied in so far as the Higher Education Statistical Agency (HESA) collects data on academic staff by ethnic group, based on returns from individual higher education institutions. However, in a context where indication of an individual's ethnic identity is an optional matter, Carter et al (1999) reported that prior to the 1996/7 HESA return, as a reflection of staff resistance, the HESA data sets failed to shed light on the position and circumstances of black and minority ethnic staff in comparison with their white academic counterparts.

The findings emanating from the work of Carter et al (1999) on ethnicity and employment in higher education paint a picture which reveals striking parallels between the position circumstances and experiences of black academics within this sector of education and their counterparts in compulsory schooling. In the first place, black and minority ethnic academics make up just over six per cent of the higher education academic workforce. However, non-British nationals account for just over half of this total. Second, British black and minority ethnic academics were highly concentrated in research only posts and on fixed term contracts. Third, reflecting the experience of their counterparts within compulsory schooling, black and minority ethnic academics are predominantly located within the lower echelons of the higher education workforce. Fourth, Bangladeshi, Pakistani and black Caribbean educators were significantly under represented in academic posts. Fifth, 30% of minority ethnic respondents reported that they had been discriminated against in job applications. Finally, the black and minority ethnic respondents within this study expressed their resentment and frustration at being stereotyped 'and argued for the importance of white academics reflecting on assumptions they held of minorities. Such assumptions and the practices they were manifest in resulted in the marginalisation of minorities and their concerns' (Carter et al 1999 p xii). The position and circumstances of black educators within higher education in the UK stands in contrast with the representation of black and minority ethnic students within the student population, in that the latter are twice as well represented as their white student counterparts (Carter et al 1999).

Race, Research, Careers and Studentship in UK Further Education

Although the over representation of black and minority ethnic students in UK further education had begun to be acknowledged by the start of the 1980s (Craft and Craft cited in Tomlinson 1983, Tomlinson 1983), it was to take a further two decades before the position and lived experience of black learners and educators within this sector of education became the object of sustained academic research attention. As a consequence, we know very little about the race profile of the further education academic workforce before and immediately following its marketisation in the early 1990s. This having been said, the under representation of black educators within further education has been documented by research which did not specifically set out to deal with the position and circumstances of black educators within further education (Osler 1997, Bariso 2001). This pattern of almost total neglect of issues around race and further education by the academic research community was finally addressed with the publication of a report by the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002). It is for this reason that this section now focuses on the findings and conclusions of this report, and in so doing begins by examining the political context out of which the report emerged.

Commission for Black Staff in Further Education

This intervention can best be understood as a response to the Report of an Inquiry by Sir William Macpherson (1999) which was essentially an attempt critically to examine the way in which the Metropolitan police handled their inquiry into the murder of the black teenager Stephen Lawrence in south east

London. This report found evidence of institutional racism not just in the police and criminal justice system but also in the public service including education. More specifically, a number of sponsor organisations including the Association of Colleges (AOC), the National Association for Teachers in Further and Higher Education (NATFHE), the Network for Black Managers (NBM) and the Learning and Skills Council (LSC) acknowledged and recognised the need to tackle and address institutional racism within UK further education. To realise this aim, these lead bodies agreed to establish a Commission with the task of undertaking research into the position and experiences of black and minority ethnic staff within UK further education, and to produce findings and recommendations for the sector and the individual institutions within it. Clearly, the work of this Commission was informed by antiracist conceptions of educational reform.

The commissioned research which formed the basis of the final published report (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002) drew on a range of quantitative and qualitative techniques in order to document the position and lived experience of black staff. The Commission defined 'black' to include 'members of African, African Caribbean, Asian and other visible minority ethnic communities who may face racism' (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002 p 13). The survey evidence revealed that black staff account for a mere 6.9% of the further education work force, a situation which stands in sharp contrast with the fact that minority ethnic students accounted for nearly 14% of the 3 million students within this sector of education. It is of

considerable interest that this study found that even in colleges (particularly in London) where black students constituted the majority of the student population, and the communities from which they originate formed a significant dimension within college catchment areas, black educators remained a relatively invisible presence. It is therefore unsurprising that this study found that within the 412 colleges which made up the further education sector in the UK, the academic workforce of the majority of colleges displayed black participation rates of less than 5% (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002).

One of the ways in which the invisibility of black educators within further education has to be understood is in terms of the fact that traditionally part-time teaching has provided one of the principal routes through which permanent contracts have been secured, and opportunities to obtain the former have been allocated on the basis of informal word of mouth recruitment practices. The problem here is that the resort of white dominated institutions to informal recruitment practices engenders exclusionary effects in terms of the access of black and minority ethnic staff to employment opportunities, since they are unlikely to be part of the social network from which part time teachers are recruited. In this regard evidence cited by the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) suggested that the majority (58%) of further education colleges in the UK employed informal recruitment methods in order to fill part time posts.

In terms of their representation within the further education teaching community, black staff are over represented in junior teaching positions, and within the ranks of the hourly paid part time workforce in comparison with their white colleagues. In contrast, the evidence collected by the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) highlighted the relative invisibility of black staff in managerial positions, a finding which is in keeping with the evidence regarding compulsory schooling and higher education (Osler 1997, Bariso 2001). The Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) also revealed that, within further education, black and minority ethnic staff are concentrated within certain curriculum areas, especially basic skills adult education, English for speakers of other languages, and to a lesser extent in maths and science. At the level of career advancement and progression, the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) found that the entrapment of black staff in the lower echelons of the teaching workforce could not be explained with reference to qualifications, since as was the case with their counterparts in compulsory schooling, black staff were better qualified than their white colleagues. In this regard, 55% of black and minority ethnic staff in the further education sector were educated to at least first degree level compared with 49% of their white counterparts (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002). One of the most significant findings highlighted by this report is that, whilst black staff are under represented within managerial positions in the further education sector, this pattern of relative invisibility conceals significant regional variations. Of particular importance here is that, whereas the highest proportion of people from minority ethnic groups reside in

London and the South East, the Commission found that black staff were particularly under represented in managerial positions in London. Hence, whereas 12% of white staff in London occupied managerial positions, only 5% of black staff were similarly deployed. In direct contrast with the situation in London, the Commission reported that black staff were more evenly represented within managerial positions in the West Midlands (10% of black and minority ethnic staff compared with 10% of their white colleagues). Finally, the Commission found evidence of chronic under representation at principal and senior management levels. In relation to the former issue, there were only four black principals within UK further education, accounting for less than 1% of the cohort.

The qualitative evidence amassed by the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) provides us with deep and penetrating insights into the lived experience surrounding the careers and professional lives of black and minority ethnic staff, and in so doing substantiates the quantitative evidence previously outlined. The Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) reported that black staff perceived that racial bias was embedded within recruitment and selection processes for internal and external appointments, and that even in colleges where formal established procedures existed, these were quite often ignored or circumvented to the detriment of black educators. As a subgroup of the professional teaching community within UK further education, black staff felt that white colleagues failed to acknowledge their qualifications, experience and contribution within the context of promotion and progression. In this regard,

many of the black respondents within this study 'regarded progression from the middle to senior management positions as especially difficult, with the 'glass ceiling' acting as a severe barrier' (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002 p 56).

The Commission's evidence highlighted real tensions in the relationships between black and minority ethnic staff on the one hand, and students and white colleagues on the other. In the first place, the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) found that in urban colleges where there was a significant proportion of black and minority ethnic students and a visible black staff presence, black students often perceived such settings as offering second rate educational provision. In terms of white students (particularly in predominantly white colleges) black staff were perceived as lacking the professional knowledge base and skills to practice as educators, and displayed a tendency to be dismissive of issues around race and racism. Taken together the responses of (some) black and white students within these contexts engender legitimate grounds for concern, since arguably they have the potential to influence managerial dispositions in terms of the recruitment, selection and progression of black and minority ethnic practitioners within particular contexts. This issue will be taken up in greater depth in the next section, since the specific ways in which race and markets collide and clash provides the analytical backdrop within which the present study is located.

In the second place, the narratives of black staff within this study (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002) reveal significant tensions in their relations with white colleagues and managers. Running through these accounts are expressions of resentment and frustration at being stereotyped in ways which brought into question their competence, status and qualifications, and the pressure of having to prove themselves on a day to day basis. Somewhat worryingly, black staff complained about being harassed and bullied, and of the way in which (white) managers failed to acknowledge and recognise the reality of these issues particularly in predominantly white institutions. In relation to the latter issue, one of the respondents put it this way:

Senior managers seem to be either in denial...or frightened of staff feeling threatened by their attempts to deal with the issue...
Consequently, management seem to be very defensive about any mention of racism and the issue is not discussed in any meaningful way.
(Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002 p 57)

Turning to the experiences of black managers in UK further education, the Commission's evidence revealed that in many contexts their day to day realities are thoroughly saturated with the effects of race and racism (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002). Black managers reported that the market driven reforms within the further education sector had affected them in a quite distinctive manner. More specifically, the evidence suggested that black managers are more vulnerable to redundancies in the context of mergers and organisational restructuring which have become defining hallmarks of college life in the era of post incorporation, as colleges are forced to deal with the market pressures of profit and loss. There is also evidence that in some contexts senior posts previously held by white staff have been downgraded

before being allocated to black managers, who are then expected to do more than previous (white) incumbents in return for lower status and pay. For these reasons, the Commission contended that 'further research is needed into the impact of restructuring on specific groups within the sector' (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002 p 60).

Black Students in UK Further Education

Whilst the position and experiences of black and minority ethnic staff in UK further education constituted the main focus of the Commission's research, the narratives of the former shed light on the experience of black learners within this sector of education. Black staff reported that many of their white colleagues routinely displayed stereotypical attitudes towards black and minority ethnic learners, and that in certain contexts these dispositions engendered confrontation leading to the exclusion of black learners (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002). Several black educators within this study highlighted a tendency among white colleagues to depict the ethnically demarcated dialects and accents of some black learners as indicative of barriers to academic learning and development. Finally, black staff pointed to the predominantly monocultural nature of the curriculum within many colleges, and the under representation of black and minority ethnic educators within the majority of settings. In relation to the latter issues, black staff contended that this deprived black (and white) students of the experience of being taught by a wide range of role models (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002).

Critiquing the Commission's report

At one level it appears almost churlish to subject the work of the Commission to the language of critique since, as has been previously argued, this study constitutes the first sustained attempt in research terms to explore discourses and practices around the intersection of race and UK further education. At another level, casting a critical lens at this study is an absolutely vital task, if the purpose of educational research is understood as being centrally concerned with improving the experience of institutions, actors and communities. More specifically, this research is vulnerable to criticism at the technical, political, and theoretical levels. In the first place, the manner in which the qualitative findings have been reported is in the nature of 'sound bites', thus precluding any serious academic engagement with rigorous analysis. The political weaknesses relate to the fact that the research treats the market oriented reforms to UK further education as unproblematic and in so doing embraces the naive assumption that the disclosure of racial inequalities in the staffing of this sector can create the necessary and sufficient conditions for improving the position and experiences of black educators. At one level, this is understandable given that, as Pettigrew (1994) has argued, the terms under which government sponsored research is commissioned often results in controls being imposed on the way in which research is constructed and reported. However, at another level, the possibility that a marketised environment might result in producers creating new kinds of racialised inequalities or magnifying other ones are questions which need to be kept open in any rigorous inquiry into the position, circumstances and experiences of black educators in UK further education. The Commission

can also be criticised on theoretical grounds in that it falls prey to the charge that the dominant discourse within which its depiction of black staff is secured is one in which black educators are portrayed as victims of racism and racialised practices. As a consequence, we do not get a sense of how black and minority ethnic staff adapt and respond to their situation, and of how this varies between individuals and across individual careers. This concern is central to the manner in which the present study has been designed, and in this sense mirrors one of the main features of Osler's (1997) work with black educators within compulsory schooling, which was reviewed in an earlier section of this chapter.

Progressing the Commission's Recommendations

Following the report of the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) a number of recommendations emerged, addressed both to the LSC and to colleges, identifying ways in which black staff could be attracted into further education and supported in terms of career development. In 2005, Sir Andrew Foster was invited by DfES to conduct a review of further education which included an inquiry into the progress made in implementing the recommendations of the Commission. The review concluded that insufficient progress had been made in improving both the overall representation of black staff within the further education workforce, and in increasing the numbers of black staff in management and governance positions. Accordingly, the DfES published a White Paper entitled *Further Education: Raising Skills, Improving Life Chances* (2006) which laid out three measures to be undertaken. The first measure posited that the LSC would use 'an executive search firm who will

specialise in strengthening the numbers of employees from diverse backgrounds coming forward for competitive interviews in non-executive and senior management roles' (DfES 2006 Annex 1 p 2). Whilst on the one hand this recognition of the need to increase the numbers of black managers in further education is to be welcomed, on the other hand this recommendation would appear to overlook and ignore the legitimate career aspirations of existing black staff to achieve promotions within the colleges where they currently work. The second measure suggested that colleges should send more black staff on subsidised management training programmes in the expectation that this would lead to their advancement to management positions. This recommendation is welcome at one level but appears to ignore the findings of the Commission which reported that aspiring black managers were disproportionately affected by mergers and restructuring processes, and were more likely to lose their positions than to achieve promotion to management or senior management positions. Neither of these two recommendations took any account of the testimony provided by black staff to the Commission in which their lived experiences of racism, racial stereotyping and hostility were detailed. The recommendations appear to be based on the assumption that head hunting and training would provide solutions to improve the representation of black staff in colleges of further education. The final recommendation in the White Paper (DfES 2006) was that the LSC should support diversity awareness training within colleges. This has been interpreted by colleges to include gender, age and disability awareness training as well as race equality training, and thus the specific focus on race equality issues which were foregrounded by the

Commission are at risk of being submerged within generic equality discourses, although the Race Relations (Amendment) Act 2003 does require colleges to have a specific race equality action plan as part of their equality and diversity policies and plans.

At this juncture it is necessary to examine academic research and discourses concerning the impact of marketisation on race within the contexts of schooling and post compulsory education in the UK in order to demonstrate their relevance to the concerns of the present study, and this will be the focus of the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

MARKETISATION, RACE AND RESEARCH

Introduction

This section seeks to elaborate on the central theme of the two previous chapters. The concern there was to recover and demonstrate the manner in which issues around race have been handled within the UK research literature dealing with race and education in the pre-market era, and what these discourses reveal (or fail to reveal) about the position, circumstances and experiences of black educators and learners. In this regard, the chapter reviews and critically examines selected key theoretical and empirical studies which have engaged with the market behaviour of producers and consumers in the school and post-compulsory education markets, inaugurated by the passage of the 1988 Education Reform Act and subsequent legislation including the 1992 Further and Higher Education Act. As a broad generalisation, it would be fair to argue that this genre of research has tended to operate within a deracialised discourse, and in so doing has prioritised the analysis of the potential and actual effects of market forces on class and gender relations, and on second order issues of social justice and equity. However, to set the context for this discussion, it is important to conceptualise the notion of marketisation in order to signal the meaning which it is intended to convey within the confines of the thesis. Next, I explore the origins of policy choice in 1980s Britain, and its connections with issues around race and education. Building on these foundations, the chapter proceeds to position the concerns of the thesis within theoretical debates between proponents and critics of UK market oriented

reforms. Against this backdrop, the mainstream research literature which has examined the impact of market forces on school and college settings is reviewed, in order to highlight some of the key research themes and questions which have informed the design of the present study and which will be tested within the context of the fieldwork.

Interrogating the Concept of Marketisation in English Education Policy and Reform

There is a consensus amongst commentators on marketisation that, as a concept, it denotes concerted moves by governments in Britain and elsewhere to dismantle what were previously constituted as near monopolistic systems of welfare provision, and to replace them with individual units competing for the custom of consumers within a market or more precisely a quasi market environment. Gewirtz et al (1995) have noted that the restructuring of educational services along market-led lines has been associated with a number of distinctive features. First, the devolution of budgets to the level of the institutional delivery site. Second, the inscription of the social psychology and culture of competition into the assumptive worlds of educational practitioners in order to reshape educational practice so that it is in conformity with market pressures and principles. Finally, Gewirtz et al (1995) have pointed to the manner in which educational institutions have been forced to adopt the methods and techniques of entrepreneurial management. To this list might be added the massive increase in public accountability and state

regulation which have been associated with the marketisation of education in England.

To reiterate, the significance of this momentous shift in recent and current educational policy from a social democratic or welfare model to a market based approach is that it created the potential for the market values of efficiency and choice to displace and deligitimise the value concerns of the pre-market era with equal opportunities and racial justice issues.

The UK literature dealing with the implementation of market driven reform in education and other parts of the welfare state is replete with references to the concept of marketisation, and yet the concept is often deployed as though its meaning is self evidently obvious. In this regard Tooley's (1996) work provides a useful starting point. Tooley (1996) highlights the existence of two polar opposite models of educational provision, either of which could provide the basis for organising, managing and administering national systems of education. These are the state intervention and market models. In seeking to clarify the distinction between these two approaches, Tooley (1996) argues that the state can intervene in education or any other area of welfare in three ways, regulation, provision and funding. Regulation involves the state in providing a legal context for the delivery of educational provision which would embrace issues such as contracts and ensuring the rule of law. State intervention in provision denotes its involvement in the direct production of education, goods and services. Tooley (1996) contrasts

this model of educational provision with a pure market model where the state would limit its activities to minimalist regulation, and the provision of funding for the education of those who were, as a consequence of their material circumstances, unable to meet its costs.

Whatever their theoretical or political persuasion, academic writers are at one in accepting the claim that the system of educational provision which was established in Britain as a consequence of the 1944 Education Act, and which remained in place for nearly five decades thereafter, embodied the features of Tooley's (1996) state intervention model. It was a model which was underpinned by the social democratic values of universal provision, equal opportunities and expansion.

However, the breakdown of the social democratic settlement over education which found expression in the 1988 Education Reform Act and subsequent legislation led to the removal of the insulation of state schooling from the market pressures of profit and loss. The architects of UK market led reforms vigorously championed the benefits and virtues of a market driven system of educational provision as against the perceived costs and disadvantages of public monopoly provision (Le Grand and Bartlett 1993). The response by the academic community to these reforms has been a great deal more cautious, even amongst writers such as Tooley (1996) who are avowed supporters of educational markets.

In this regard, whilst none of these writers would attempt to dispute the claim that the recent reforms to education have introduced market elements in the

organisation management and delivery of state education, the consensus within the research community is that, taken together, these changes, for example formula funding, devolved management, choice and competition, have not provided the conditions for the operation of a conventional market (Ball 1990, Le Grand and Bartlett 1993, Troyna 1994a, Gewirtz et al 1995, Tooley 1996). In this regard, Ball (1990 p 63) has tellingly argued that whilst on the one hand, the reforms have laid the basis for what he has termed 'a proto- market' in education and other areas of collective consumption, on the other hand this shift fails to meet one of the most fundamental prerequisites which determines the creation of a real and authentic market. In this regard Ball (1990 p 63) has contended that 'the choices made by the consumers do not impact directly upon the income or well-being of the producers; in other words there is no financial exchange. A real market is driven by rewards and failure'. In developing this argument Ball (1990) cited the work of Schumpeter who in drawing attention to the inherently brutal nature of (real) market systems contended that they are underpinned by 'competition which strikes not at the margins of the profits and the outputs of the existing firms but at their very lives' (cited in Ball 1990 p 63).

Impact of Marketisation on Further Education

Having offered a definition of marketisation, it is necessary to provide a number of examples to illustrate its transformative nature. In whatever manner the shift from welfarism to neoliberalism is conceptualised, be it as 'proto-markets' (Ball 1990

p 63) or as 'quasi-markets' (Le Grand and Bartlett 1993 p 13), even if the purchasing power of the consumers does not find expression in financial terms, the transformative nature of recent and current market oriented educational reform should not be underestimated. In the case of further education, there is a small but growing body of literature (Ainley and Bailey 1997, Randle and Brady 1997, Shain and Gleeson 1999, Gleeson 2001, Lumby 2002) documenting the generic effects of the reforms on institutions, actors and particular constituencies. Whilst this literature will be reviewed in a subsequent section, at this point I note that the reforms have changed the relationship between managers and lecturers, between lecturers and students, and between institutions and the communities whose needs they are supposed to serve (Ainley and Bailey 1997). In terms of the social relations between managers and lecturers there is a consensus within the literature that in pre-market schooling (broadly defined) managers were perceived as senior colleagues embedded within a professional community in which they had taken on additional administrative responsibilities. However, as Fergusson (1994) has argued, the role of managers has been fundamentally altered in the era of marketisation in that they have become distinctive and key actors within a managerialist system in which they are responsible for the implementation of externally driven business methods and objectives, whilst ensuring the compliance of staff. This reconstruction of a section of the professional workforce from professionals to managers has led inevitably to the hardening of what was previously a weak line of management connecting managers and staff, and as Fergusson (1994 p 101) has argued, 'the gross under-representation of black

teachers in the workforce especially in management gives managerialism an even stronger race dimension'. It could be argued that this move potentially opens up threats to the experience of black educators in terms of equitable role allocation, career development and also their treatment in the context of restructuring and mergers which have become commonplace within the marketised context of UK further education. In terms of the latter set of issues, Gleeson and Shain (1999a) have contended that, whilst on the one hand further education shares much in common with other areas of the public sector which have been restructured along market and managerial lines on the principle of 'more for less', on the other hand

what distinguishes FE from other sectors is the widespread exodus of staff from the sector in the six years since incorporation in 1993. A reported 15,000 lecturers (a fifth of the entire workforce) have been made redundant or retired early since colleges left local authority control. (p 55)

Whilst Gleeson and Shain (1999a) did not provide any information on the racial and ethnic makeup of staff who left the system of further education during the period in question, as we saw in the previous chapter, the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) reported that black staff have been disproportionately affected in the multiple restructurings and mergers which have impacted on further education colleges in England.

Impact of the Market on Black Students

In terms of students, the market and funding led reforms have resulted in their commodification, a shift which has engendered the emergence of a hierarchy of desirability in which working class (and especially black) students are perceived in

some contexts as less desirable than other kinds of students (Gewirtz et al 1995). Gewirtz et al (1995) remind us that whilst the selection of 'desirable' students by schools and colleges on the grounds of race and class predates the emergence of educational markets, a market environment ideologically legitimates and practically facilitates this trend. In this regard there is a growing body of evidence (Gewirtz et al 1995, Blair 1994, Tomlinson 1998) of a kind which suggests that popular and oversubscribed schools and colleges, in a determined attempt to protect their image and reputation within the market-place, have resorted to exclusionary practices in order to remove students whose presence is perceived either as disruptive to the smooth running of the institution, or as having a constraining effect on the ability of other students to achieve. Tomlinson (1998 p 216) has cogently argued that traditionally in the UK referral to special education provided one of the ways in which minority (and particularly black) students have been removed from mainstream education. Further, Tomlinson (1998) asserted that black students 'were four times over represented in the stigmatised category of 'educationally subnormal' and as 'emotionally and behaviourally disturbed" (p 216). Tomlinson (1998) proceeds to suggest that exiling students to the periphery of compulsory schooling via special education involves a lengthy process. This being the case, in a marketised system where attracting and keeping desirable customers becomes an institutional imperative, quicker ways are needed to remove those students who have been ideologically constructed as undesirable. In this regard Tomlinson (1998) points to the increasing use by schools of exclusion as a means of getting rid of students who are perceived to be troublesome and concludes that:

Social class, race and ethnicity, special educational needs and behavioural problems have become filters through which the desirability or undesirability of particular students is understood. On most counts, minority students, particularly black Afro Caribbeans, are less likely to be regarded as desirable students by the majority of schools. (Tomlinson 1998 p 216)

Research conducted by Gillborn (1997) lends weight to the arguments and conclusions which Tomlinson (1998) has advanced in relation to the specificity of the experience of many black working class students in the era of marketisation. Gillborn (1997) makes the entirely valid point that the architects of these reforms justified their political project for restructuring compulsory education along market lines on the grounds that it would raise standards and levels of attainment for every child. At the same time, Gillborn (1997) noted that the introduction of these policies was secured within what was essentially a deracialised discourse, so that issues around racial and ethnic diversity were delegitimised and ignored. It is a significant point to note that Gillborn's (1997) work was published almost a decade after the forces and discipline of the market had engulfed the system of compulsory schooling in England, and as a consequence Gillborn (1997) stands on firm ground in his insistence that this context provides a safe terrain upon which the claims of key policy and political actors that the inherently beneficial effects of market oriented reforms would improve the lot of black students could be assessed.

In pursuing this line of enquiry Gillborn (1997) was principally concerned with the impact of market reforms on racial inequalities in education, which as we have seen in a previous chapter had been widely documented in research studies conducted in the premarket era of compulsory schooling. More specifically,

drawing on statistical data and other relevant literature, Gillborn (1997) poses and attempts to answer two major questions. In the first place, how have the reforms affected racial inequalities in achievement between minority ethnic (and especially black) pupils and their white counterparts, as reflected in the racially demarcated levels of attainment in post 16 examinations? In the second place, Gillborn (1997) noted that during the market era black pupils have been disproportionately represented in permanent exclusions from compulsory education, and that this process has entailed devastating consequences not only for their educational careers, but also for their future life chances. On this basis, the particular issue which Gillborn (1997) raises concerns the impact of the market form on this aspect of black/white pupil experience. Gillborn's (1997) findings and conclusions arguably engender doubts in relation to the claim advanced by market advocates, that educational markets provide the most efficacious arenas for improving the schooling experience and attainments of students in general and black students in particular.

Turning to Gillborn's (1997) data dealing with the comparative attainment of all ethnic groups in compulsory schooling, during the first decade or so of marketisation, the first major finding reported by Gillborn (1997) is that using the benchmark of five or more higher grade (A*-C) passes at GCSE for high achievement, since 1988 levels of attainment have undergone an overall improvement. In this regard Gillborn's (1997 p 69) data suggests that between 1988 and 1995 'the proportion of school leavers gaining five or more higher grade

passes rose from 30% to 43%'. However, this overall improvement in levels of attainment has not been equally shared by all ethnic groups, and as Gillborn (1997) points out, the evidence suggests that the black/white gap in average attainment actually widened during the early years of marketisation.

Gillborn (1997) contends that whilst there were no comprehensive data sets which monitored exclusions by ethnicity during the premarket era, in areas of the country where such statistics were collected black pupils were consistently reported as being disproportionately excluded. His evidence concerning patterns of exclusion in the early years of marketisation suggests that the general rate has dramatically increased. Drawing on the findings of a government sponsored survey conducted by Parsons (cited in Gillborn 1997), Gillborn reported that this study showed that 'the number of permanent exclusions tripled over a three year period, reaching more than 10,000 per annum in 1993/4' (Gillborn 1997 p 57). Unfortunately this survey failed to reveal the ethnic origins of excluded students, a discursive strategy which Gillborn (1997) rightly contends is in line with the deracialisation of educational policy discourse in England. Nonetheless, Gillborn (1997) was able to capture a glimpse of the racial dynamics framing patterns of exclusion from English schools, by drawing on a range of smaller scale locally based LEA statistics. In particular, data gathered in the London borough of Croydon covering a five year period (1989-1994) revealed a number of findings which lend weight to the contention that in relation to exclusion from mainstream state schooling, the experience of (some) black learners has undergone a qualitative shift in the

overlap and collision between race and market forces within contemporary state education in England. First, black students were over represented in exclusion statistics in every year of this five year period. Second, irrespective of age, the proportion of excluded black learners was greater than could be predicted from their representation within the school population. Finally, and somewhat worryingly, the proportion of excluded black pupils was highest in the most recent statistics within this survey. Whilst it could be legitimately argued that these findings do not necessarily reflect national trends, Gillborn (1997) cites the findings of an anonymous 1993 London wide survey conducted in twelve boroughs for the BBC First Sight programme (1994, cited in Gillborn 1997). This programme reported that black pupils were over represented in exclusion statistics in all these boroughs, and that in one they were over represented seven times above the level that could be predicted from their representation within the school population.

Gillborn (1997 p 78) suggests that, whilst there are no definitive explanations in relation to the growing black-white gap in achievement and the over-representation of black pupils in exclusion statistics, many commentators 'see a natural link with recent reforms and the marketisation to exclusions'. Gillborn (1997) cites a survey conducted by MORI and reported in the BBC television documentary First Sight (1994, cited in Gillborn 1997) in which 42% of LEA Directors of Education thought that the increase in exclusion was due to the heightened market competition between schools. Gillborn (1997 p 78) argues that in these circumstances schools place a high premium on their reputations and are more prone to 'remove

troublesome or over-demanding students'. Finally, Gillborn (1997) makes the telling point that excluding pupils who are perceived as being unable to achieve higher grade passes enhances the placement of individual schools within the performance league tables.

Relating the Underachievement and Race Debate to a Further Education

Argument

One way of interpreting the argument advanced thus far around the market driven shifts that have taken place in relation to black pupils' experience of state schooling could be that markets always work to the detriment of black pupils and the communities from which they originate. This position represents an oversimplification, for as Tomlinson (1998 p 218) suggests, 'Black and Asian middle-class parents are, where possible, taking advantage and making similar choices to white middle-class parents'. This having been said, Tomlinson (1998) proceeds to insert two important caveats. In the first place, most black and minority ethnic groups are structurally located within the lower rungs of the class structure. Second, Tomlinson (1998 p 219) points out that educational success on the part of a minority individual or group 'does not necessarily lead to expressions of admiration from the majority society and instead can increase xenophobia and racism'.

Professional Identity and Performativity

The final area in which I wish to demonstrate and illustrate the profoundly transformative nature of marketisation is in relation to its effects on professional identity. In this regard, the work of Ball (2003), located within the theoretical current of performativity, is particularly relevant, although subsequently it will be argued that his failure to take account of issues around race and ethnicity constitutes a considerable flaw in terms of his overall analysis of these issues. Ball (2003) notes that the reforms to English education have been powerfully driven by the policy technologies of markets, managerialism and performativity, which have displaced the premarket policy technologies of professionalism and bureaucracy that were more or less loosely based on public service values. In this important article Ball (2003) is primarily concerned with the effects of performativity at the level of the individual educator as opposed to the organisational and procedural changes which it inevitably engenders. Ball (2003 p 215) defines performativity as a culture which 'requires individuals to organise themselves as a response to targets, indicators and evaluations'. Ball (2003) contends that, within a performative environment, educational practitioners are systematically steered along a trajectory which requires them to abandon their personal values, beliefs and commitments, and to pursue a professional life based on calculation.

An important consequence of this reconstruction of professional identity is that 'the new performative worker is a promiscuous self, an enterprising self, with a passion for excellence' (Ball 2003 p 215). For Ball (2003), performativity breaks down pre-

existing collectivities and solidarities based on a shared professional identity and common trade union membership, and therefore functions to individualise the professional workforce. One of the paradoxes which performativity creates is that, whereas it opens up the possibility of occupational and class mobility for the managerial stratum of the workforce, 'for others, it portends inner conflicts, inauthenticity and resistance' (Ball 2003 p 215). Taking the argument further, Ball (2003) suggests that performativity in conjunction with the other policy technologies associated with marketisation have not only changed the nature of educational practice, but dictate, prescribe and proscribe the specific forms of professional identity which can be taken up by practitioners within educational settings. Ball (2003 p 217) writes 'within each of the policy technologies of reform there are embedded and required new identities, new forms of interaction and new values. What it means to teach and it means to be a teacher (a researcher, an academic) are subtly but decisively changed in the process of reform'. Within this scenario which Ball (2003) depicts, the professional affiliation of educational practitioners shifts away from the professional community within which she or he is embedded towards the corporate culture and the values of competition, survival and self interest which it embodies.

At one level Ball's (2003) work constitutes a very important contribution to debates around the way in which market forces are shaping and reshaping professional and institutional identities within UK educational sites. However, at another level it is vulnerable to a number of important criticisms. In the first place, it could be

legitimately argued that Ball (2003) provides an overly determinist and pessimistic account which is premised upon an almost total denial of the agency of educational practitioners. This is evident in Ball's (2003) claim that market forces over-determine the forms of professional identification which educational practitioners are then forced to take up. On this view there is no space for individual agency in the production and reproduction of professional identity.

Performativity and Black Educators

Whilst it is debatable as to whether Ball's (2003) account offers a convincing interpretation of the manner in which market forces are transforming the professional identities of white educational practitioners, its applicability to black educators is, to say the least, highly problematic on a number of interrelated grounds. First, black educators originate from communities where the influence of black religious traditions in shaping communal values remains an enduring reality (Mackay and Etienne 2006). In so far as the market values of self interest and calculation cut at right angles with traditional black religious concerns around honesty and truth, it may well be the case that (some) black educators might be ill-disposed to embracing the new identities, which the market-led restructuring of education requires. Whether or not this is the case is a matter for empirical investigation and necessarily eludes an approach such as Ball's (2003) which appears to be underpinned by the premise that the educational workforce in England is monocultural in terms of its composition. In taking this position it is not intended to suggest that (some) black educators might not be well disposed to

marketisation and the new subject positions which it engenders. Indeed Blair (1994) reminds us that within black and minority ethnic communities there is a range of political and ideological positions around the issue of marketisation.

In the second place, Ball's (2003) work obscures the specificity of race in shaping the quite distinctive experience of black educators and learners and the manner in which this could potentially shape the disposition of black educators in terms of their take up of forms of professional identification in both the pre and post market era. In terms of their lived experience, Callender (1997 p X) has argued that black educators have to 'resolve the push-pull effects of being members of a profession which is seen to fail black children whilst simultaneously being members of the failing community'. We saw earlier in the chapter that research conducted by Gillborn (1997) suggests that the marketisation of state schooling has intensified racial inequalities in achievement and experience, so that if anything Callender's (1997) argument becomes even more compelling. Turning to their lived experience of education across all sectors, a previous chapter documented the relegation of black educators to the lower ranks of the profession, and revealed that racism and racialised practices framed their interaction with white colleagues. To the extent that this pattern of experience continues to flourish or becomes magnified within managerial regimes in the era of marketisation, then it opens up the possibility that race could provide a site for the construction and elaboration of black professional community solidarity and identifications against performativity.

Of course, this is an issue which requires empirical investigation, and it constitutes one of the central themes which informs the present study.

At this stage in the analysis, a number of important questions and themes arise which need to be tested within the context of the fieldwork. In the first place, what have been the effects of market forces on the access of black educators to employment opportunities in UK further education? Second, what has been the impact of recent and current reforms on the experience of black educators in relation to training, professional development, appraisal and career progression and advancement? Third, how do black educators interpret and make sense of their day to day experience of individual managerial climates? Fourth, what do the accounts of black educators reveal about the lived experience of black students within the changed historical and institutional circumstances of UK further education as colleges respond to what Ball (2003 p 215) has termed an 'epidemic' of market led reforms? Finally, what subject positions are being taken up by black educators as they adapt and respond to what Ball (2003 p 217) has described as a climate of the 'subjectivities of change, and changing subjectivities'?

Having presented a definition of marketisation it is now necessary to position the concerns of the thesis within theoretical debates between supporters and opponents of the neoliberal reforms to English education.

Debating Neoliberal Reforms in Education

The UK research literature dealing with the insertion of market mechanisms into school and college settings falls into two distinctive camps. The first strand of this body of work deals with the origins of policy choice in Britain, in a way which directly links this development to the New Right critique of educational institutions and professionals (Ball 1990, Avis 1993, Avis et al 1996, Gleeson and Shain 1999b), and their blandishment of market and business oriented reforms as the (alleged) solution to Britain's relative economic decline. Whilst the details of the New Right critique of what was disparagingly referred to as the 'educational establishment' (Avis et al 1996 p 5) need not detain us, it is necessary to register a number of seminal points. In the first place, representatives of a range of interest groups including business, education, organised labour and the major political parties constructed a dominant discourse within which education and training policies became causally linked to Britain's economic competitiveness (Gleeson 1996, Ball et al 1998). Secondly, it is important to note the manner in which this discourse and its proponents ignored alternative interpretations of Britain's economic decline which emphasised the role of macroeconomic policy, and chose instead to prioritise alleged supply side labour market deficiencies (Finegold and Soskice 1988, Hutton 1995). Thirdly, so profound was the New Right's distrust of education professionals that under the influence of conservative neoliberal social philosophy, market mechanisms were portrayed as the only viable policy solution to Britain's economic misfortunes. The key assumption here was that the exposure of educational institutions to the discipline of the market would release Britain from

the alleged grip of complacency by creating enterprising individuals and institutions, and that this process would improve the country's ability effectively to compete in global markets. Finally, in relation to race oriented concerns, it is important to reiterate the point that commentators on this phase of educational policy have noted the manner in which the multicultural and antiracist educational projects were demonised by the New Right architects of educational reform. It is partly for this reason that Myers (cited in Troyna 1993 p 45) suggested that the discourse surrounding recent reforms of education and training systems were conducted within an atmosphere of 'equiphobia'.

The second strand of theoretical work dealing with issues around the insertion of market forces into education (and the public services more generally) is a great deal more abstract than the first tendency which was reviewed in the previous section. This genre of literature can be subdivided into work which argues the case either for or against the introduction of markets into public service provision. Commentators such as Ball (1990) and Gewirtz et al (1995) have persuasively argued that the neoliberal paradigm represents a qualitative shift in the economics of education policy in general, and point to the fact that its intellectual roots can be traced to a range of quite specific theoretical and political traditions. These include contemporary attempts to rework the ideas of conservative philosophers like Adam Smith and Edmund Burke, and to weld this project to the free market thinking of Friedman and Hayek, and the libertarianism of Nozick and his advocacy of a minimalist state in order to avoid intrusion into individual liberty. Whilst by no

means exhaustive, it is not difficult to highlight some of the central themes within this discourse. First, the notion that individuals pursuing their naked self interest within a deregulated market environment make decisions which better promote the public interest than the decisions which are made by bureaucrats and professionals within the context of public monopoly provision of education and other welfare services. This position is based on the claim that, within the latter domain, producer capture results in bureaucrat-professionals making decisions which, whilst ostensibly being based on altruism and public service values, are driven by the needs and self interest of these groups, so that service provision is inevitably inefficient and the producers are both insensitive and unresponsive to the needs of their service users. Second, neoliberalism posits that state intervention into the provision of public services stifles the innovation, creativity, enterprise and autonomy of the producers. On this view, decentralised markets produce the opposite effects. Third, market advocates assume that within this environment consumers are empowered via the market mechanisms of voice and exit to such an extent that producers have no alternative apart from basing their policy decisions on the choices of consumers, since their institutional survival will depend on taking this course of action. Fourth, neoliberal proponents acknowledge that market forces inevitably engender inequalities based on race, gender, class and other social attributes, but defend this position on the grounds that since the effects of markets are not intentional, market forces are not gendered or racialised in terms of their effects and outcomes. In terms of the issue of race, it could be argued that for market advocates, market forces are colour blind, so that if this

claim is valid one would expect that the marketisation of further education would not make a discernible difference to the employment experience and professional lives of black educators within this sector of UK education. This is an issue which will be tested during the fieldwork phase of the research.

At this juncture it is necessary to outline some of the key arguments which have been advanced by critics of policy choice, who reject the neoliberal claim that schools and colleges can only be improved if education is treated as though it was a private good and subjected to the unconstrained interplay of market forces.

Critiquing 'Choice'

The attack which has been mounted over the last two decades or so, in relation to the restructuring of UK education and training systems along market and managerial lines, has been both sustained and wide-ranging. As a consequence, constraints of space do not allow a comprehensive rehearsal of the arguments which have been advanced by critics of these reforms and which have been framed at varying levels of abstraction. What will therefore be attempted is an outline of some of the key criticisms which have been proposed. In this respect Blair (1994) has drawn on the work of Carr in order to emphasise a distinction between the meaning of citizenship in market and moral democracies. More specifically, Blair (1994) has contended that within a marketised system, the social rights of citizenship can only be secured via a competitive struggle in which individuals are rewarded for their industry and efforts. In these circumstances, the

regulatory role of the state and notions of collective citizenship are conjured out of existence by a political rhetoric which assumes that opportunities are equally available to all. Blair (1994) has made two further points which are extremely relevant to the analysis at this stage. In the first place, she has reminded us that the social relations of contemporary British society are structured by unequal power relations and divisions based on gender, class and race, so that individuals do not start off from the same position in terms of their access to life chances and opportunities. Finally, Blair (1994) contends that the endorsement of raced, gendered and classed structures which is a paramount feature of recent educational reforms obliterates principles of equality central to the notion of citizenship in a moral democracy. In a similar vein to Blair (1994), Apple (1998) has argued that market oriented reforms to education in both the UK and USA have reduced democracy to a set of consumption practices, and citizenship has been reduced to possessive individualism - and a policy based on resentment and fear of the 'Other' (Apple 1998 p 24).

Other critics (Ball 1990, Edwards and Whitty 1992, Blair 1994, Gewirtz et al 1995, Whitty 2002) have challenged the notion of 'choice' which lies at the core of market ideology. One line of criticism has found expression in the claim that education and training systems which are based on the principle of choice empower advantaged parents and their children, whilst reinforcing the inequalities which afflict the disadvantaged. In this regard, Tomlinson (1998) cites a 1994 report by the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) which

concluded that global choice policies have resulted in an increase in social class segregation between schools. Tomlinson (1998 p 211) also points to UK work by Noden and her colleagues which indicated that 'non-white families were less likely to attend schools with higher examination performance, despite their expressed preference and high aspirations for their children'. Ironically, if the findings of this body of work are well founded, then they disrupt and negate the neoliberal argument advanced in the USA by Chubb and Moe (1990), Moe (1994) and Pollard (1995) in the UK that choice systems work to improve the education attainment of disadvantaged communities.

A further criticism which has been advanced by a range of commentators (Edwards and Whitty 1992, Blair 1994, Tomlinson 1998) holds that there are factors which operate on both the supply and demand side of educational markets which prevent black (and disadvantaged) parents and students from exercising their (alleged) entitlement to 'choice' within the marketplace. In relation to the former, successful schools (and colleges) tend to opt for and select students who are perceived to bring the lowest level of 'risk' and the highest potential to attain 'good' examination results (Gewirtz et al 1995). Of course one of the consequences of these processes is that having effectively been deselected by 'successful' schools, black children will find themselves over represented within the less successful urban schools, the very schools which neoliberal proponents argue have failed black and minority ethnic pupils.

On the demand side, critics of the neoliberal reforms to English education have raised a number of objections to the claim that choice policies enhance equality and improve standards. In the first place, it has been argued that the ability of working class (black and white) parents to exercise choice, is limited and constrained by factors such as location, cultural capital and access to information (Blair 1994, Gewirtz et al 1995, Whitty 1997). This state of affairs is at variance with the tendency of the neoliberal project to assume that parents are an undifferentiated category. Although its applicability to the British context is at present uncertain, research conducted in American cities suggests that many black parents limit their choices to local neighbourhood schools, and do not consider 'successful' suburban schools (Parker and Margonis 1996). Parker and Margonis (1996) contend that such racialised choices are based on the fear of the racism which operates in suburban white majority schools. Finally, Edwards and Whitty (1992) have advanced a very powerful and insightful critique concerning the implementation effects of policy choice reforms in England and the USA. One of their principal arguments which is relevant at this stage of the analysis is that empowering parents to relocate their children from low performing to high performing schools cannot be grasped as constituting an exercise of marginal choice. On this view, in a context where funding follows students, the exit of children from schools in the former category has negative effects on the children and the schools left behind. More specifically, if the exit of children is substantial then it opens up the possibility that educational opportunities will be reduced, and such schools are denied effective parental voices for change. At this stage in the

discussion it is necessary to explore the issues around race and staffing as they have been represented within the discourses of proponents and critics of recent and current educational reforms.

Interrogating Discourses around Race, Staffing and Markets

Advocates on both sides of this ideological divide operate with divergent assumptions concerning the impact of market forces on the experience of black people as consumers. Hence, whereas those who favour educational markets envisage improved 'standards' for black students, their critics draw the opposite conclusion. However, what both these positions share in common is that they adopt a colour blind approach to the (potential) experience of black people as professionals, when the market form is introduced into education and other areas of the welfare state. This is a blind spot which mirrors the exclusion of black and minority ethnic educators from the mainstream UK literature documenting the professional lives of teachers. In this respect, the work of Blair (1994) represents a notable exception to this trend. In an important article Blair (1994 p 264) has argued that 'black and ethnic minority teachers are differentially positioned in relation to white teachers in the discourses of the market'. In developing this line of argument, Blair (1994) has posited that the emphasis which current educational reforms place on parental choice, might induce some schools (and colleges) to assign priority to the perceived acceptability criteria of white parents, and in so doing militate against the employment and career advancement of black and minority ethnic staff.

Although at one level Blair's (1994) scepticism concerning the alleged beneficial impact of market forces on the experience of black educators and communities might appear to be well founded, the possibility that market conditions could work in the opposite direction had to be kept open, not least, as the studies of educational markets in England have concluded, that there is no single market (Gewirtz et al 1995). What exist are a series of localised markets which in their composition display a great deal of diversity in terms of ethnic and social class make up, history, social geography and so on. So the possibility that market conditions in particular contexts might work in the interests of black staff, students and communities was a proposition which had to be addressed in the design and execution of this research. This having been said, it is necessary to insert the important caveat of perverse equal opportunities, in situations where colleges appear to be prioritising racial equity issues in terms of service provision.

It is entirely conceivable that courses could be offered which are based on stereotypical assumptions concerning the alleged educational and training needs of black and minority ethnic learners. In such circumstances, whilst colleges might be able to recruit learners and attract funding, progression opportunities for the learners might be limited or non-existent. Taking the argument further, black and minority ethnic staff employed to deliver such provision could find their careers ghettoised in the sense that their particular expertise is not relevant to more mainstream roles and opportunities within the sector. Of course these are empirical issues which need to be tested within the context of the fieldwork.

Having reviewed the theoretical literature which argues the case for and against the introduction of educational markets, it is now necessary to engage with the final strand of enquiry. This body of empirical research has centralised a focus on the implementation effects of market driven policies, on institutions, actors and particular constituencies.

Interrogating the Role of Race within Research Discourses dealing with the Effects of Marketisation on School and College Settings

Constraints of space do not permit a comprehensive review of the relevant literature, so this section will focus on the findings and conclusions of selected studies, dealing with the responses of schools and colleges to the demands of the market. In the case of compulsory schooling, research conducted by Blair (1994), Gewirtz et al (1995) and Tomlinson (1998) constitute the main sources of evidence which will be examined. In a similar manner, work by Ainley and Bailey (1997) and Ball et al (1998) will underpin the review of research around the market behaviour of producers and consumers within the post compulsory sector of UK education and training.

The exemplary status of the study of the English educational market conducted by Gewirtz et al (1995) can be deduced from the way in which it is referenced by virtually every subsequent study of the English educational market. In their review of the early literature around the implementation effects of educational markets, Gewirtz et al (1995) helpfully suggest that it falls into three main camps. In this

respect, they point to specific studies dealing with supply, demand and the distributional effects of markets on issues of social justice and equity. This having been said, they also note that some studies straddle these divisions, and that other work examined the operation of particular market mechanisms such as City Technology Colleges (Whitty et al 1993). On the one hand, Gewirtz et al (1995) acknowledge some of the advances in understanding which have been secured within this research. However, on the other hand, they are critical of much of this work on the basis of the argument that it is 'captured by the discourse of the market' (Gewirtz et al 1995 p 6). This assessment is based on the claim that these early studies of the UK educational market were shot through with sociological and political naïveté, in terms of the conception and execution of these studies, as well as their representation of findings and conclusions.

The empirical research which informs the work of Gewirtz et al (1995) was conducted in London between 1992 and 1995. One of the key findings which these researchers reported in relation to the supply side was that choice policies increase social class segregation between schools. More specifically, social class differences between consumers in the market which they studied enabled 'privileged choosers' (Gewirtz et al 1995 p 165) to discriminate between schools, and avoid schools with negative reputations. Their evidence suggested that 'privileged choosers' (Gewirtz et al 1995 p 165) were predominantly white middle class parents, who possessed the cultural capital and educational knowledge to emerge as winners. The 'semi-skilled choosers' (Gewirtz et al 1995 p 165) within

this study were mainly working class parents, who had a strong inclination to choose. However, they lacked the necessary cultural capital and educational knowledge to secure educational advantages for their children. Finally 'disconnected choosers' (Gewirtz et al 1995 p 165) were almost entirely working class parents. This group of parents lacked car ownership and were deeply attached to their locality. Gewirtz et al (1995) go to great lengths to point out that whilst these parents cared about the education of their children, their choice making was expressed in terms of a preference for the local comprehensive school.

Although race features as an important category in the conception and design of this study, it assumes a secondary role in terms of the analysis which is presented. This is because the primary concern of these researchers (Gewirtz et al 1995) was to examine the impact of market forces on class (and to a lesser extent) gender relations. Nonetheless, their evidence revealed that 'there is a racial dimension to the segregatory effect of the market, and 'racially informed choosing' does take place' (Gewirtz et al 1995 p 165). In this regard, race was a factor which influenced the choices of white parents regardless of class, although privileged white middle class parents were more adept at concealing the role which race played in their choice making.

Further evidence concerning the manner in which racial dynamics shape (white) parental choice of school, is contained in a study conducted by Bagley (1996).

Bagley (1996) points to the fact that the segregation of UK schools along racial and ethnic lines predated their restructuring by the market driven reforms. This phenomenon reflected the residential settlement and concentration of black and minority ethnic groups within Britain's inner cities. In these circumstances, LEA allocation of school places based on catchment area policies ensured a relatively high degree of segregation in terms of the composition of schools. The main focus of this study was to examine the influence of race in shaping white parental choice of secondary school, and the reasoning which underpinned such decision making. The main quantitative finding which emerged from this study suggested that enhanced parental choice would 'not necessarily result in multiethnic schools failing to attract white parents or white parents choosing white schools on the basis of their ethnic/racial composition' (Bagley 1996 p 574). In this respect, the quantitative data suggested that race oriented considerations played a relatively minor role in shaping white parental choices. On the other hand, the qualitative evidence indicated that race was a crucial factor in white parental selection of multiethnic schools. Interviews with senior staff and parents with children attending the three case study schools highlighted the significance of race in shaping white parental decisions in terms of the selection of the multiracial Newcrest School.

On the whole, UK literature dealing with the implementation effects on the supply side of the educational market has tended to ignore issues around race and staffing. In this regard, the work of Gewirtz et al (1995) goes some way towards addressing this gap but in a way which is largely implicit. Gewirtz et al (1995)

contend that much public and academic debates around the market display an almost exclusive concern with extrinsic as opposed to intrinsic evaluation. By this they mean that 'issues of input and output are the objects of analysis rather than the values, processes, practices, languages and relationships, which constitute educational provision' (Gewirtz et al 1995 p 8). For these researchers, market forces and pressures have profound effects on internal schooling processes, practices and procedures.

Two aspects of this dimension of Gewirtz et al's (1995) analysis arguably bear directly on our understanding of the interplay between race and staffing within post market schooling. In the first place, their study revealed that the combination of devolved management and per capita funding had greatly enhanced the duties and responsibilities of governors and senior managers. Hence these distinctive actors are responsible for the survival of their institutions, amongst which is the power to appoint, deploy and dismiss staff. Second, their study revealed that during the course of the fieldwork phase, decision making in all the case study schools became increasingly driven by commercial and away from social justice and equity considerations.

Unfortunately, Gewirtz et al's (1995) study does not provide any evidence regarding the disposition of governors and managers in their case study schools, towards the recruitment and selection of black staff. Nor is it possible to gauge the specificity of the experience of black staff who were employed in any of the schools

where the research was conducted. It is necessary to look elsewhere for evidence regarding the impact of the reforms on race and staffing issues. In this respect, in her study of devolved governance within the context of state schooling, Deem et al (1994) reported that issues of social justice were accorded little weight by governing bodies dominated by business and commercial interests. At this juncture it is necessary to turn to an examination of the research literature on the marketisation of further education, in order to explore the way in which issues around race and ethnicity have been handled.

Further Education, Marketisation and Race

Recent years have witnessed the emergence of an academic literature addressing the impact of the market driven reforms on UK further education (Ainley and Bailey 1997, Hartley 1997, Randle and Brady 1997). On the one hand, this research can be criticised on the grounds that with few notable exceptions (Ball et al 1998, Mackay and Etienne 2006) it has failed to address racial and ethnic issues. In this regard, it appears to be premised on two equally untenable assumptions. Firstly, that further education is monocultural in terms of its staff and student composition. Secondly, that the effects of the reforms have been uniform across the participant actors within this sector of education. On the other hand, it could be argued that this body of work implicitly raises themes and concerns which are central to the focus of the present study. It is towards an examination of these issues to which this section now turns.

One of the central themes revealed in early studies of the effects of the reforms to further education finds expression in the claim that they have opened up a gulf between senior managers and lecturing staff. An early study conducted by Randle and Brady (1997) suggested that the funding mechanism had led to a bifurcation of values and orientations among senior managers and lecturers within the sector. According to Randle and Brady (1997), whereas senior managers have embraced market ideology and its associated business principles of economy, effectiveness and efficiency, most lecturing staff remain wedded to professional values concerned with meeting the needs of students. Along broadly similar lines, research by Gleeson and Shain (1999b p 462) revealed that middle managers within the sector found themselves positioned to act as 'buffers' in this clash between managerialism and professionalism. Gleeson and Shain's (1999b) study, along with earlier work by Ainley and Bailey (1997), also suggests that middle managers are by no means homogenous in terms of their responses to markets and managerialism. In the former study, the largest group of middle managers adopted a stance of 'strategic compliance' (Gleeson and Shain 1999b p 482), whereas the rejection of market ideology and practices by others engendered a subject position based on 'unwilling compliance' (p 479). A third group adopted a stance of 'willing compliance' (Gleeson and Shain 1999b p 474) and as a consequence were well disposed towards working closely with senior managers in the construction of a corporate identity. It is not clear whether there were any black middle managers within this study, and if so how they positioned themselves within this configuration of professional identities.

Arguably, the turbulence engendered by the structural reforms to UK further education renders problematic any attempt at drawing hard and fast conclusions about the nature of staff and management relations within this sector. However, there are indications from more recent studies that the conflict between the managerial and professional paradigms might have abated to some degree. In this respect, Ainley and Bailey's (1997) study suggests that although the majority of lecturing staff remain opposed to the reforms, new entrants to the profession and existing staff in expanding areas of the curriculum are more inclined to be supportive of managerialism. From a slightly different perspective, more recent studies (Simkins 2000, Lumby 2002, Simkins and Lumby 2002) have questioned the suggestion contained in earlier studies, that middle managers are forced to take up a position on one side or the other in the conflict between managerialism and professionalism. In this respect Gleeson (2001) has suggested that senior managers have acknowledged that a hard edge, private sector managerialism had failed to bring about the desired changes, and Lumby (2002 p 3) concluded that a 'light touch managerialism' might be more palatable and appropriate.

Whilst the experiences of middle managers as a subgroup of the FE workforce have been the subject of research attention, issues around the specific and distinctive experience of black middle managers have remained invisible until quite recently (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002, Mackay and Etienne 2006). A recent study by Mackay and Etienne (2006) based on an examination of the narratives of seven black middle managers brings into sharp

relief the manner in which their careers have been shaped in the clash and collision between race and market forces within UK post compulsory education. These researchers point out that the discipline of the market renders it imperative for colleges to engage in a constant search for efficiency and effectiveness. All the respondents in this study worked in colleges where organisational change involving restructuring and mergers resulted in layers of management being stripped out alongside the creation of new but reduced managerial roles and opportunities. Whilst these dynamics constrained the possibility of managerial progression for all staff irrespective of their racial group membership, their effects on black middle managers were particularly acute. At issue here was the fact that access to primary managerial roles was heavily dependent on membership of informal professional networks from which black middle managers in this study were entirely excluded. In these circumstances, black middle managers who were fortunate enough to retain employment were forced to accept 'secondary' managerial roles which rendered them more vulnerable to redundancy than their white middle management counterparts.

Mackay and Etienne (2006) highlight a range of issues which framed the day to day experiences and working lives of their sample. In the first place, black managers expressed feelings of isolation and of not being valued and recognised by (white) staff and managers within the institutions in which they worked. Many of the individual narratives revealed that white staff displayed a lack of trust in black managers, which Mackay and Etienne (2006 p 15) link to 'the lack of shared

personal experience and/or lack of common cultural experience'. Second, many of the respondents within this study cited incidents which appear to suggest the lack of professional acceptance by (white) staff and managers at work. Illustratively, one of the respondents spoke about the profound sense of unease which she experienced having gained promotion when she introduced herself to her new peer group for the first time. She commented that 'they probably looked down on me and thought, my God, they have sent this black woman in and what does she know?' (Mackay and Etienne 2006 p 16).

Finally the black managers interviewed by Mackay and Etienne (2006) noted that whilst black staff in general were better qualified than their white counterparts, this did not impact positively on their career progression. They pointed to many examples of bad recruitment practices where white colleagues were the beneficiaries. One research participant reflected on the disproportionate failure of black staff to obtain employment during the process of a restructuring exercise, and posited that:

Caucasian staff who got jobs seemed to do so without the being advertised and without them being internally advertised. I thought 'where did that job come from?' If any black staff went for a job, it was the whole works – application form, shortlisting, panel interview, etc. It was very overt if black staff were applying for anything. When we complained through a staff survey how staff were getting these jobs we got a reply reading 'the Chief Executive has the power to appoint staff by a variety of means'. (Mackay and Etienne 2006 p 20)

Thus far the focus of the analysis has been constructed around the complex interplay between race and market forces, and the manner in which the resultant dynamics have shaped the working lives and careers of black staff. It is now

necessary to explore relevant work dealing with the market perceptions and behaviour of providers and consumers in the post-16 educational market. To some extent this is a difficult task since it is an underinvestigated area of research.

Race, Consumers and Provider Perspectives on Further Education

In a groundbreaking study of an ethnically diverse and competitive post-16 market in London, Ball et al (1998) report their findings and analysis concerning the market behaviour and perception of providers and consumers within this particular area. The local market under investigation extended over an inner city suburban locale. On the one hand, the inner city dimension of this market was located in the north and east of the area covered by the research, and its population contained a high proportion of black and minority ethnic families. The suburban component of this market was located in the south and west of the region. Significantly, black and minority ethnic groups were defined by their relative invisibility within this part of the local education and training post-16 market. The specific issues which this study explored were around provider recruitment and marketing, access to courses and retention, and student choice. More specifically, the main aim of this study was to set the race oriented thinking of colleges as they attempted to recruit students 'over and against the "race thinking" of students in their choice of college' (Ball et al 1998 p 171). Somewhat ironically, Ball et al (1998 p 187) report that 'we did not set out to highlight racial issues as opposed to class, gender or disability'. However, their research data led them to the inescapable conclusion that this local market was 'suffused, structured and inflected by ideas of "race" and racism' (Ball et al 1998

p 171). Put in a slightly different manner, the market perceptions and behaviour of choosers and providers was heavily racialised, albeit in a complex but patterned way.

In terms of significant findings, Ball et al's (1998) research highlighted a range of issues which are directly relevant to the focus and concerns of the present study. On the supply side of this post-16 market, the evidence indicated that provider institutions displayed polarised responses regarding the recruitment of minority ethnic students in particular. In this regard, the empirical evidence revealed the recruitment of black students was 'constructed by some providers as a "problem" and by others as an "opportunity"' (Ball et al 1998 p 171). These oppositional responses were shaped by the market position and spatial location of four colleges. These colleges were strategically and carefully selected, in order to illustrate the way in which race plays out within the market dynamics of competition and the pursuit of institutional survival.

One of the colleges was located in the heart of the inner city, and had no alternative but to maximise its recruitment from a predominantly black and minority ethnic catchment area. A second college was spatially positioned within a predominantly white suburban area in close proximity to the inner city, but developed an identity as a 'black college', as a consequence of the fact that black students constituted the largest proportion of its student intake. It is also significant that this particular college tended not to figure highly in the choice making activities

of local white middle class students within its catchment area. The remaining two colleges were geographically situated within the suburban milieu of this local market and were surrounded by almost exclusively 'white colleges' as a consequence of their location and the social and ethnic make up of their student populations.

Ball et al (1998) argue that the nature of the funding regime to which the case study colleges were forced to respond imposed severe pressures on colleges to recruit and retain students. In their responses to race and market forces, the two 'black colleges' strategically reshaped their curricula, ethos and student support services, in order to support the participation of black students. In addition, their recruitment and marketing initiatives were designed in ways which were aimed at maximising the recruitment of black students. Ball et al (1998 p 176) conclude that 'the responses are presented as a fallback position rather than as inherently worthwhile'.

In the same way that the two 'black colleges' engaged in niche marketing, the two 'white colleges' pursued a similar strategy, except that the racialisation of their accommodation to the marketplace was aimed at recruiting white middle class students. This focus was justified by college staff on the basis of expressed white parental concerns and anxieties around the alleged detrimental effects that the presence of black students would have on the education of their children. In this regard Ball et al (1998) write:

While college staff may be shocked by the comments made or concerns expressed by some parents, within the constraints of the market regime they find it difficult not to take them seriously. The market rewards expedience rather than principles and produces a moral environment within which financial decision-making and institutional survival are to the fore. Where there is competition to recruit, non-market values and professional ethics are being devalued and displaced by the 'need' to 'sell' schools and colleges and make and manage 'image' in the market place. (Ball et al 1998 p 178)

It is safe to argue that the illustrative evidence provided by Ball et al (1998) demonstrate beyond reasonable doubt that racial dynamics pervade the supply side of this educational market. However, the manner in which race plays out depends on the market position and location of provider institutions.

Race and Consumer Perceptions and Behaviour within a Local Post-16 Education and Training Market

The empirical data which is reported in the study by Ball et al (1998) was based on interviews with a single cohort of students from a multiracial secondary school and two Pupil Referral Units (PRUs). This dimension of the research explored the role played by race in the choice making activities of students as they negotiated their transition to post-16 education and training within their local market. Ball et al (1998 p 182) contended that whilst the evidence suggested that race was not the predominant factor in shaping the choices of students, 'it is embedded in and interrelates with a range of concerns, worries, priorities and interests'. According to Ball et al (1998 p 171), choice making was 'both enabled and constrained by the complex interplay of material spatial practices (e.g. housing patterns, transport, social networks) and the perceptions and imaginings of space (e.g. mental maps,

the 'friction of distance', familiarity and fear). These dynamics engendered two very specific and distinctive patterns of racialised choice making. In the first place, many black students rejected post-16 institutions within the inner city, and opted instead for educational sites in that part of white suburbia which bordered the inner city. In the second place, Ball et al (1998) identified a process of 'white flight' as local white middle class students responded to the entry of black students by taking their custom to colleges which were located in the far south and west of this suburban dimension of the local market.

Critiquing the work of Ball and his colleagues

At one level the work of Ball et al (1998) represents a timely and important empirical and theoretical contribution to the small but growing body of literature dealing with the implementation effects of markets in UK further education. This is particularly the case since, as it has been previously argued, the small but emergent body of literature around markets and further education has tended to ignore racial and ethnic issues. However, this study can be criticised on the ground that it renders invisible the manner in which the managerial regimes within the case study colleges interpreted and responded to issues of race and staffing. This omission stands in sharp contrast to the rich and nuanced evidence and insights which the study provides in relation to provider responses to the recruitment of black students within this local market.

Taking the argument further it is perhaps of some significance to note that one of the white male managers interviewed by Ball et al (1998) touched on the issue of black staff under-representation, in a manner which could be interpreted as at best slightly complacent. He took the view that 'I am sure, like in any other institution in the country basically, we reflect the values of outside and we are predominantly a white staffed organisation, apart from, you know, security and cleaners' (Ball et al 1998 p175). This manager was employed in the case study college which was located at the heart of the inner city, and which sought to centralise and maximise the recruitment and retention of black students.

This definition and analysis of the transformative nature of marketisation sets the context against which this study was conceptualised and conducted and constitutes its theoretical component, as an integral element of the research project, and the interaction of theory and fieldwork data. It is now necessary to move on to explain the methodology which underpinned the research, and the fieldwork methods which were adopted in its implementation.

CHAPTER FIVE

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Introduction and Overview

This chapter both justifies and critically evaluates the research methodology which underpinned this study. The selection of appropriate approaches has to be determined by the aims and objectives of the research, which were outlined in the Introduction. This explained that my study aimed to interpret and theorise the narratives of black professionals working in the further education sector as they reflected on the impact of recent policy initiatives on their career development. The research comprised two parts: an in-depth theoretical and conceptual phase, and an empirical phase of fieldwork. The theoretical and conceptual phase involved a more than usually detailed and historically grounded literature review, and a critical analysis of research on race, and research specifically on marketisation and further education. The focus of this chapter is on the qualitative study. The empirical phase consisted of a small scale qualitative survey to facilitate a theory-data 'conversation'. It comprised ten black professionals who were requested to complete a questionnaire relating to key features of their curriculum vitae, and were then interviewed individually using a semi-structured interview format. Additionally, I held a number of informative but unrecorded dialogues with a number of black professionals working in further education who expressed interest in the research. These informal discussions were wide ranging, taking place at meetings of the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education, the Network for Black Managers, and at local, regional and national conferences relating to race equality in further education. I also attended a number of community

meetings where discussions took place about the experiences of black professionals and black students, which are issues of considerable interest and concern within the black community. Whilst the views and experiences of these additional participants have not been used in any formal sense, they did serve to confirm to me the characteristics of the various typologies of black professional identities which were revealed during the analysis of the narratives. They also served to demonstrate to me the value of this research study, in that the levels of interest and the desire to participate in the research revealed the extent to which black professionals in further education felt marginalised and excluded. They all welcomed the existence of a study such as this, which might render visible their professional experiences within the marketised environment of the modern system of further education in Britain.

Justification for the Research

The theoretical and empirical components of the study constitute an attempt to describe, explain and interpret the narratives of black staff in further education, in relation to the impact of recent educational reforms on their professional identities and working lives. My interest in and conceptualisation of the research problem was grounded in personal academic and political concerns. As a member of Britain's black communities, at the point when the research began in a formal sense, I had worked within the system of further education for more than a decade. This period coincided with the latter phases of direct local authority influence over the governance, management and organisation of further education colleges, and the transition of colleges towards incorporated status under the Further and Higher Education Act 1992. My experience of this policy departure led me to draw dolorous conclusions in terms of its impact on

the way in which black staff, and black communities more generally, would experience these market led reforms. Informal discussions with colleagues working in similar roles across the country confirmed my own institutionally based perceptions that equal opportunities and race equality issues would be accorded lower priority than that which was witnessed before the onset of incorporation. However, the research began to crystallise in a more rigorous and systematic manner after I joined the doctoral programme some three years after the onset of incorporation. Having engaged with different genres of academic literature within what might broadly be called education studies, I was struck by the gaps, omissions and silences in relation to race orientated concerns in general, and the consequences of recent educational reforms for black educators in particular.

Positioning the Research in Relation to the Fieldwork

The literature dealing with research methodology attests to the existence of a dichotomous tradition in relation to the systematic empirical investigation of social and educational phenomena (Carr and Kemmis 1986, Bryman 1988, Cohen and Mannion 1989) which is captured in the nomenclature of ethnography and positivism, although labels do vary between writers and across disciplinary boundaries (Bassegy 1995). These research traditions employ different ontological, epistemological and methodological assumptions concerning the nature and purpose of social research, and have become associated with distinct methods and techniques. Having said this, it has to be acknowledged that, whilst these positions advance different views concerning the grounds upon which claims to knowledge can legitimately be established, at

the level of research practice decisions concerning the selection of specific research procedures are based on the nature of the problem under investigation.

Bassey (1995) has drawn a distinction between two styles of empirical research which helps to illuminate the distinctiveness of positivism and ethnography as approaches to the study of social and educational phenomena. On the one hand, positivism is concerned with the study of relatively large populations, and in so doing pays attention to appropriate research techniques of sampling and measurement. The purpose of research within the positivist tradition is understood as being fundamentally concerned with the production of generalisations 'which can be used to predict what will occur in other situations' (Bassey 1995 p 7). On the other hand, ethnographic research as defined by Bassey (1995) is quintessentially bound up with the study of singularities, and in so doing deploys relatively small samples which are selected not on grounds of their representativeness, but because of their particular interest to the researcher. The aim of this style of research is to produce findings which the intended audience can relate to their own situations. It is partly for this reason that the design of this study lies within Bassey's (1995) delineation of the ethnographic research paradigm.

The second reason which accounts for the location of the study within the ethnographic research paradigm as defined by Bassey (1995) is bound up in the way in which the research problem has been conceptualised. To reiterate, essentially it is concerned with describing, explaining and interpreting the

narratives of black staff in further education in relation to the impact of recent educational reforms on their professional identities and working lives. As a consequence, it was necessary to situate the study within a research tradition which is sensitive to, and capable of, capturing the meanings and experiences of research respondents from their perspective. This study is interpretative research using qualitative interviews for a situated case study, fitting Bassey's (1995) category of ethnography. For Bassey (1995), ethnography is broader than the frequently used definition of immersion in a setting, and embraces a study such as this one. Intellectually, ethnography draws its inspiration from various strands of interpretative sociology which concur in their rejection of 'the stimulus response model of human behaviour which is built into the methodological arguments of positivism' (Giddens 1976 p 7). Accordingly, the ethnographical research tradition has insisted that the most distinctive feature of social reality is its meaningful nature. The methodological standpoint has inclined the study towards qualitative research tools such as semi-structured interviews, which allow researchers to get close to the meanings and experiences of research respondents. In the event, the use of semi-structured interviews enabled me to explore key themes with respondents, and at the same time afforded respondents ample opportunities to explain and analyse their professional experiences.

There are, however, limitations regarding ethnographic studies such as this one. I do not claim that the findings are generalisable because the respondents who took part in this study, whilst they were all black professionals working in further education, cannot be said to be representative of all black staff in further

education. The ontological assumption which underpins my study is that social reality is subjective, and the epistemological stance is to accept that social research will always be affected by the values and expectations of the researcher. Thus the findings are based on my interpretation of participants' experiences as they defined and described them to me. They are valuable, I would argue, because they can help to illustrate how black professionals experience working in further education, and how the dynamics of marketisation have affected their career development. The study provides insights which are relatable to the experiences of other black educators, and adds to what is known about the experiences of black staff in further education. Further, it proposes new ways of analysing the identities of black professionals within further education through the identification of the four typologies which emerged during the analysis of the narratives. Additionally, it opens up themes where there are opportunities for further research on cognate issues which can broaden and deepen understandings of the responses of colleges in different settings, and how these have impacted on the experiences of black educators. Therefore, despite the limitations of a small study such as this one, I would argue that it makes a valuable contribution to knowledge in a field where very little research has previously been undertaken. By focusing on black staff, a group largely ignored in qualitative research surrounding further education, this study renders visible the experiences of a group of black educators, and adds to what is known about the effects of managerialism on the professional lives and careers of black educators within the further education sector.

Grounded Theorising

The overall conceptualisation of this research is an exploration of the professional lives of black practitioners in further education, and as such it is, I would argue, a phenomenological study. There is, however, a strand of inquiry within the second research question which required a grounded theory approach (Glaser and Strauss 1967), and this relates to my approach to the interpretation of the narratives to reveal the identity positions which the ten respondents adopted in responding to their professional experiences within UK further education. The literature review reveals the paucity of studies of black professionals within UK further education, so the findings which relate to my second research question could not be located within any existing theory of black professional identity. Therefore, my approach was to collect the data through the interviews, and to use the narratives as the analytical source for the generation of theory (Denscombe 2003). This approach led me to conduct a pilot, which is detailed later in this chapter, and through this it became clear that I needed to ensure that the sample included black staff with experience of management, so that I could test the emerging typology across both teaching and management roles. This selection of the characteristics of the respondents reflected the developing nature of the theory, and helped me to confirm, through the cumulative analysis of the narratives, the emergence of the typology of four black professional identities which is presented in the findings in chapters six and seven. Thus, perhaps unusually, this study is both theoretically informed with regard to race and marketisation, while also being open to unexpected, emergent and new themes grounded in the data itself. Taken together, this enables a robust conversation in which theory 'speaks' to data, and data

'speaks back' to theory. Data is neither atheoretical, or theory free-floating from actual lives and history.

Race of Interviewer Effects

It has been argued (Daniel 1969, Rhodes 1994) that racialised difference between a research participant and the interviewer affects the nature and extent of the disclosures, particularly with regard to topics which include race. The logical extension of this argument is the need to have black researchers interviewing black respondents in order for findings on race issues to have any validity. This essentialises researcher and researched identities by assuming that only like can research like. However, in a major intervention, Troyna and Carrington (1990) have challenged this stance, asserting that what is important is not the ethnicity of the researcher but rather their values. Indeed, it can be dangerous to assume homogeneity of values bases solely on race, as the findings of this research study reveal. Osler (1997) posits that if researchers are matched with participants in terms of ethnicity, a greater degree of trust is engendered, but a new issue may arise where such matching exists. The respondent may assume that there is a shared and tacit understanding with the researcher, such that the respondent may fail to develop certain arguments or detail certain issues, because he or she assumes a consensus with the researcher. This then presents the researcher with difficulties in analysing narratives and presenting findings.

In this study, I found it very helpful that I was both black, and a further education practitioner. These shared identities created a basic rapport and trust with the

respondents which enabled me fully to investigate my research questions. Respondents appeared relaxed during the interviews, and consistently asserted the importance of this study to themselves and to the black professional community within further education, welcoming the opportunity to make their voices heard. They were willing to enter into detailed discussions relating to issues around race, and they revealed experiences and shared opinions in ways which might have been unlikely if they had been interviewed by a white researcher. In particular, given assurances of anonymity, several respondents felt free to critique black colleagues, black managers and black governors during the interviews, a practice which in my experience black professionals do not engage in with white professionals. However, although the respondents and I shared a common racial identity, it became clear as the research progressed that there was no homogeneity in terms of professional identities, as the findings reveal. I found that I developed a much greater rapport with some respondents than with others, because of the various professional identities which they revealed during the interviews and the correlation, or lack of correlation, between these and my own professional identity. This illustrated to me the validity of the critiques of essentialism (Dolby 2001) where it is argued that one cannot know what a person stands for just because they happen to be black or white, and that race is a site for the construction of multiple identities.

Research Instruments

I constructed three research instruments for the study, namely a letter (Appendix 1), a questionnaire (Appendix 2) and an interview schedule (Appendix 3). The interviews were conducted between May 2001 and

November 2002. Respondents were formally introduced to the study by the letter which thanked them for agreeing to contribute to the study and set out the aims and objectives and the terms of involvement . The letter made explicit the emancipatory aims of the research in that it revealed the aspiration that the research findings would be presented to policy makers to seek to influence developments in further education, particularly as they affect black students and black staff. The letter also confirmed the practical arrangements for the interviews.

Questionnaire

Along with the letter, respondents were sent a copy of a questionnaire for completion prior to the interview. The questionnaire served a number of purposes. First, it enabled me to collect information about each respondent's college, including data on the racial composition of the staff, students and governors. This enabled me to prepare for the interviews with some contextual knowledge concerning each respondent's working environment. Second, it provided me with background biographical information so that I could avoid using interview time to collect such data, and third it served to introduce respondents to some of the broad themes around which the interviews were to be conducted. It was hoped that this would fully engage respondents from the outset, and enable them to begin to think about their responses to some of the issues for discussion during the interviews. In the event, this approach proved very useful. Nine out of the ten respondents completed and returned the questionnaires prior to their interviews so that I was able to prepare for the interviews knowing the professional backgrounds of each respondent. This

made it possible to maximise the time afforded during the interviews to access the views and experiences of participants.

Interviews

Whilst the typologies of interview formats range from highly structured through to totally unstructured, these formats are appropriate to investigating different research questions (Robson 2002). I decided that the use of a semi-structured interview format (Robson 2002) would best suit the aims and purposes of the research, because it would enable me to approach the task of interviewing respondents in the knowledge that the conversations would be thematic, thus enabling me to create data around the themes during the process of analysis. Therefore the interview schedule consisted of a series of themes or prompts relating to the research questions around which I encouraged respondents to engage in discussion, to describe their experiences, and to input their ideas. These themes, which are analysed in the literature review chapters, embraced the ways in which recent shifts in educational policy had impacted on respondents' personal career histories, and their understandings of institutional, managerial and professional issues, as well as their perceptions regarding better policy for the further education sector if the experiences of black staff and students were to be the predominant concern. This semi-structured approach enabled respondents to expand on those themes and issues where their experiences warranted more detailed discussion. This was empowering to respondents who valued the opportunities to render visible their experiences, concerns and insights relating to the themes and issues, and welcomed the

space afforded to them to make their personal contributions to a research study which they unanimously adjudged to be important.

Having engaged with the literature dealing with the issue of reflexivity (Burgess 1985, Walford 1987) within social and educational research. I was aware that research is not a technician and prescriptive exercise (Halpin and Troyna 1994) and expected specific lines of inquiry to evolve dynamically as the research progressed. I was particularly mindful of the impact of my own identity and positionality on the interviews, the analysis and the findings. For this study, I am an insider both in terms of my professional position and in terms of my race. This having been said, I was also aware of my own tendency to incline towards collegiality with those respondents who revealed identities within the typology of black collectivism, and for the interviews with them to reveal shared understandings. I therefore took great care to follow up issues raised by other respondents who revealed identities within the other three typologies as fully as I could, so as to gain fuller understandings of their perspectives to enable me to represent these with proper integrity in the findings.

Pilot Phase

After the research instruments had been designed, I conducted a small pilot with three black lecturers, and found that the instruments were fit for purpose, and respondents were readily engaged with the issues and very keen to take part in the study. During the pilot phase, I realised that, whilst the respondents in the pilot phase were all enthusiastic, their roles as lecturers gave them only a partial view of the practices of the institutions in which they worked, and I

needed to ensure that the study included black staff whose roles and experiences gave them wider insights so as fully to address my research questions. This was helpful in determining who to include in the study, given the high levels of interests shown by black professionals who came to hear about the study. The pilot phase was useful in convincing me that the themes identified for discussion were deemed relevant and important to the respondents, and as issues were raised in early interviews, I was able to pursue these through interrogation of respondents in later interviews. This added to the richness and depth of the data. I also piloted the use of a tape recorder as a means of recording the interviews, to ensure that a full and accurate record was made to support my field notes, and I was able to hone my own interview skills during the pilot phase.

Fieldwork

The interviews were all recorded on tape, they each lasted between one and one and a half hours, and were professionally transcribed. They took place in various locations to meet the needs of each respondent, including college sites, my own home, the homes of individual respondents, and in a hotel conference centre. I took field notes to support the tape recordings so that, if the clarity of the tape was flawed, I would have my own notes to assist me. I found all the respondents to be both willing to give of their time to take part in the research, and excited by the prospect of their voices being heard as a group of black further education practitioners, for what they all felt to be the first time in their professional lives. Indeed, the length and depth of most of the interviews afforded me far too much information to include in this thesis.

Ethical Issues

The British Educational Research Association (BERA) Revised Ethical Guidelines for Educational Research (2004) informed and underpinned my approach to this study. My own position as a black further education practitioner has been explicit within all phases of the research study. The key ethical issues for my study related to consent and confidentiality, and my approaches to these issues are detailed below.

Voluntary Informed Consent

All the respondents in this study were involved as volunteers. Respondents were all made fully aware of the aims and objectives of the study through a process of engagement in which I spoke to all potential participants to explain why I was undertaking the study and what outcomes I hoped to achieve. This was then summarised in the letter sent to all respondents prior to their further engagement in the research. I reinforced this in the course of preliminary conversations with all the respondents at the start of the interview process, so that voluntary, fully informed consent was secured. All respondents were also made aware of their right to end the interview or withdraw from the research at any time. In the event, no-one wanted to withdraw, and almost all respondents contacted me from time to time after their interviews to inquire how the research was progressing and to reiterate its importance to them and their black colleagues in further education. Respondents' commitment to maintain contact with the progress of the research reinforced the importance of the study, and I was happy to brief them regularly as the research progressed. Several took the opportunity to read early drafts of the findings, and continued to engage in

discussion with me about their position and experiences as black educators within further education. Even after I had concluded the data collection phase of the study, I continued to be contacted by further would-be contributors as word of the research continued to spread within the community of black professional educators.

Confidentiality

Respondents were assured of confidentiality in my use and analysis of the data. All respondents were given a pseudonym which is used throughout the research, and the real names of people, colleges and places were disguised so as to protect the anonymity of respondents. This was important in a context where black staff are disadvantaged within the further education system, and the research was investigating some of the issues surrounding such disadvantage. I needed to create a supportive and secure climate in which to conduct the interviews, and to ensure that respondents felt confident to share their concerns and experiences with me without fear of retribution from those whom they critiqued during the interviews.

This commitment to confidentiality also extended to the professional administrator, herself a black woman, who transcribed the tapes and who was made aware of the aims and objectives of the research study and the ethical framework within which it has been conducted. I was mindful of the requirements of the Data Protection Acts, so once transcribed, all tapes, disks and field notes have been kept securely by me at my home. Access to this data has been restricted to me and to my supervisors at the university.

Research Respondents

Respondents were identified from an opportunistic sample whereby contacts were made within my own network of black professionals in further education, with a request for the aims and purposes of my research to be disseminated across other networks. Through this snowballing process, a number of proposed respondents identified themselves. As news of the research project spread, further black professionals contacted me to find out more about the research, and many respondents suggested other potential participants at the times of their interviews. There was considerable interest within the community of black professionals in further education, and the number of people who expressed an interest in participating was far greater than the scope of the study allowed. I therefore had to make choices about who could be included. Thus the sample is both random and purposive. I wanted to include black professionals who were at differing stages of their careers. More experienced practitioners, especially those with experience of further education management, could reflect on the changes brought about by the incorporation of colleges in 1993 and the introduction of the market to management discourses. Those who had entered further education more recently could reveal their understandings about career prospects for black staff within the marketised and managerialist culture of modern further education. I wanted the sample to include practitioners from a range of curriculum backgrounds, to reflect various age groups, and to include women and men. In the event, the sample included respondents from eight further education colleges, spread throughout the Midlands and London area. Nine out of the ten respondents are Afro Caribbean and one is African. With regard to this latter respondent, whilst

in strict terms his recent roots were in Africa, and the other respondents' recent roots were in the Caribbean, I would argue that in significant respects that distinction is lost within the managerialist cultures of further education.

In designing this study, I gave consideration to the question of whether I should include a control group of white further education practitioners. The benefits of this could be that analysis of the narratives might reveal differences in the impact of managerialism on the careers of white practitioners and on their black counterparts. However, I discounted this for a number of reasons. Firstly, the literature review demonstrates that there already exists a body of research which explores the experiences of white further education practitioners in the context of post incorporation. Secondly, as a part time researcher in full time employment, I was daunted by the logistics of conducting a study on such a scale, although I recognise that such a study has value and may inform my own future research interests. Thirdly, and more significantly for me, the literature review had revealed the paucity of rigorous research into the professional lives and identities of black further education practitioners. The prospect of conducting such a study excited and energised me, and after discussions with other black professionals, I determined that my study would focus on giving voice to a group of black educators, and rendering their experiences visible within the further education research literature.

All respondents have been given a pseudonym by which they are identified throughout the study, and a profile of the ten respondents who comprised the sample is presented below.

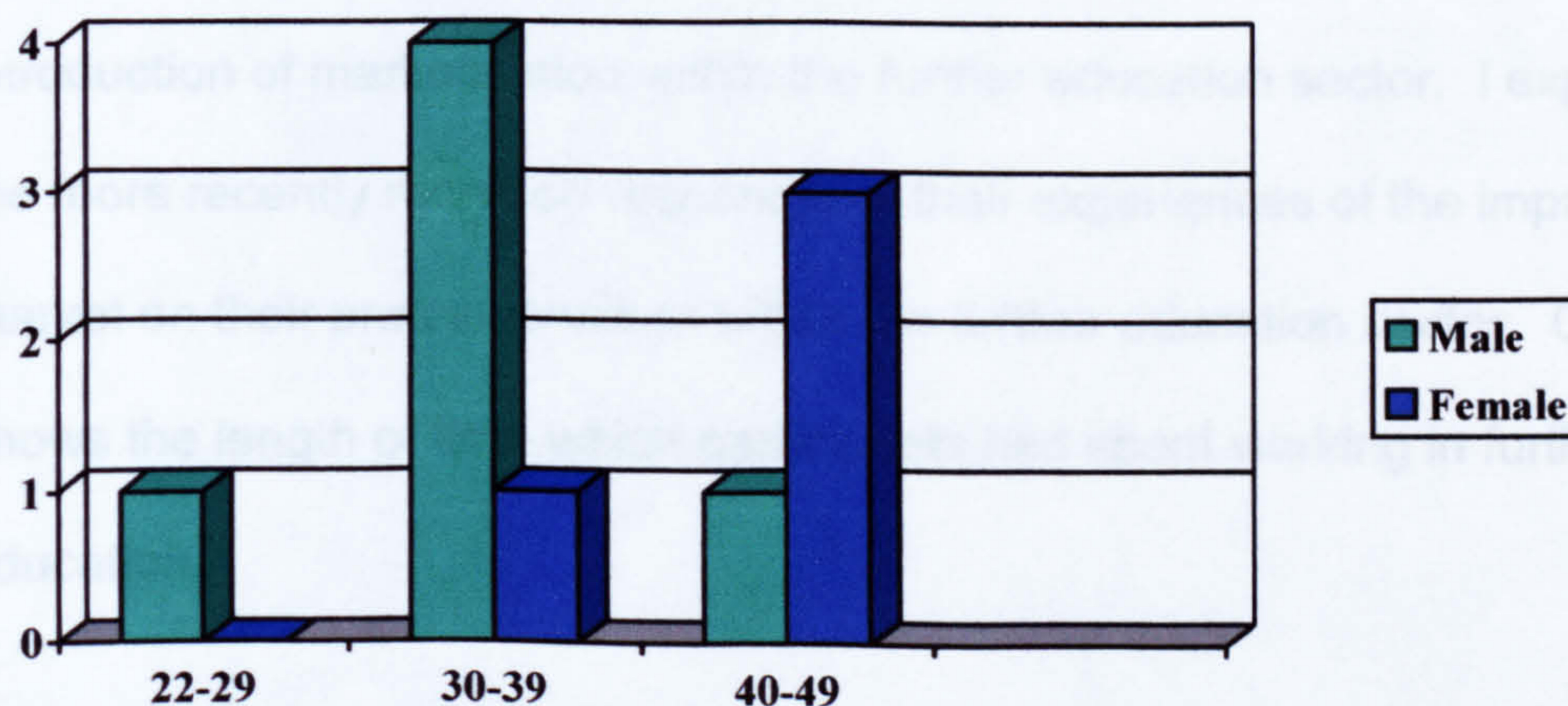
Table 1: Introducing the Respondents

Pseudonym	Ethnicity	College Location	Date of Interview
Anthony	Afro-Caribbean	Midlands	May 2001
Desmond	Afro-Caribbean	Midlands	May 2001
Edward	Afro-Caribbean	Midlands	November 2002
Everton	Afro-Caribbean	Midlands	June 2001
Fiona	Afro-Caribbean	London	August 2001
Henderson	African	Midlands	August 2001
Jane	Afro-Caribbean	Midlands	October 2001
Janice	Afro-Caribbean	London	August 2001
Nancy	Afro-Caribbean	Midlands	June 2001
Sebastian	Afro-Caribbean	Midlands	June 2001

Characteristics of the Sample

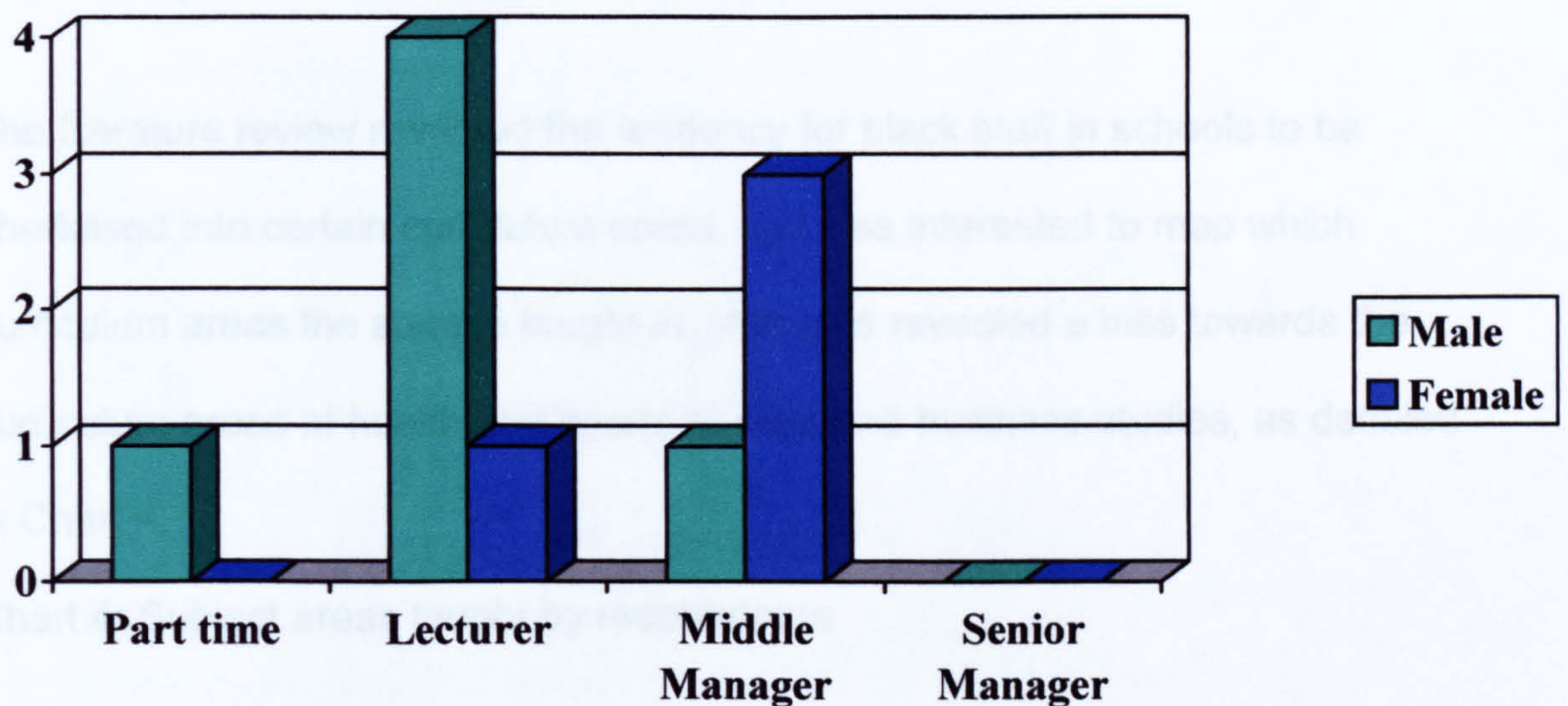
The sample consisted of a mix of women and men from different age groups as illustrated in Chart 1. It was noteworthy that only one respondent, Everton, was aged under 30, and the female respondents tended to be older than the male respondents.

Chart 1: Age and Gender of Respondents



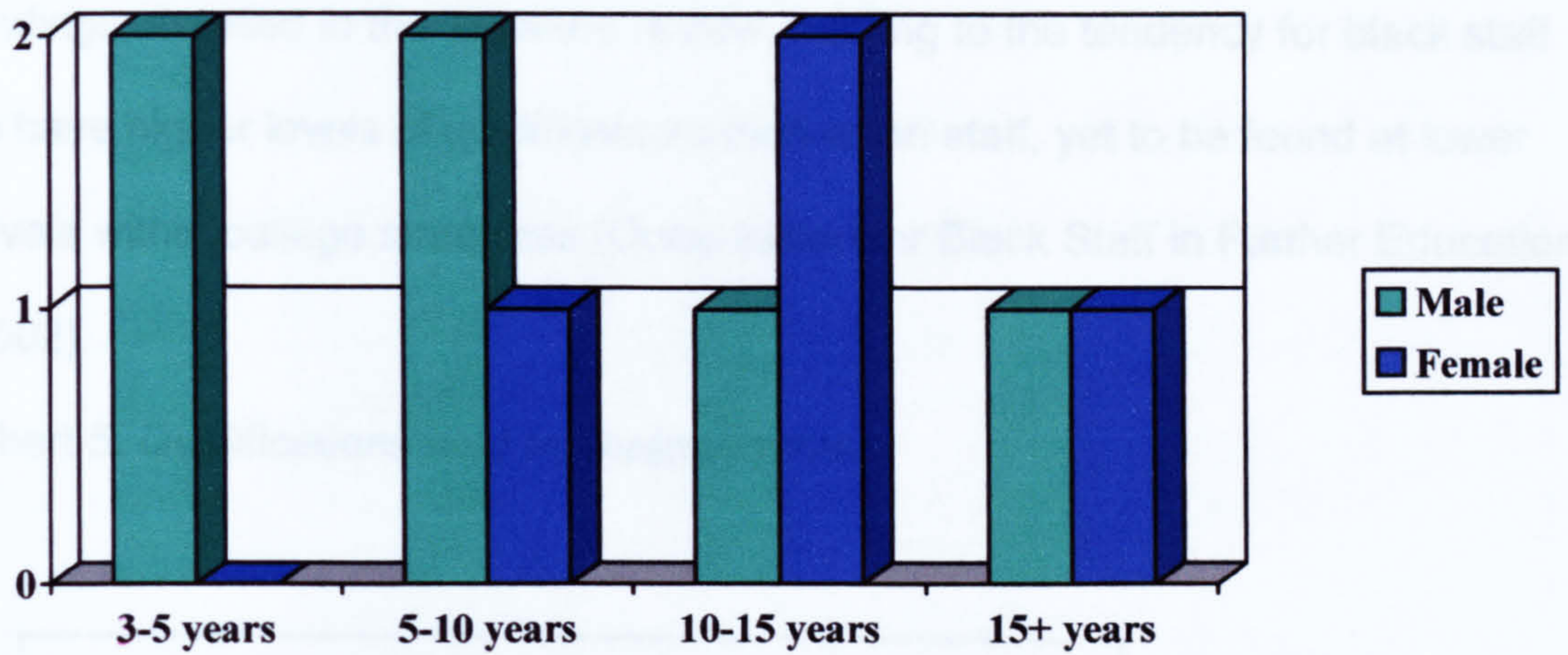
In order to gain insights into a range of perspectives from black staff working at different levels within colleges, the sample included respondents working as both lecturers and middle managers as detailed in Chart 2. The pilot had revealed that the lecturers had less knowledge of institutional stances than had the respondents who were managers, and more knowledge of section or departmental practices.

Chart 2: Positions held by respondents at the time of being interviewed



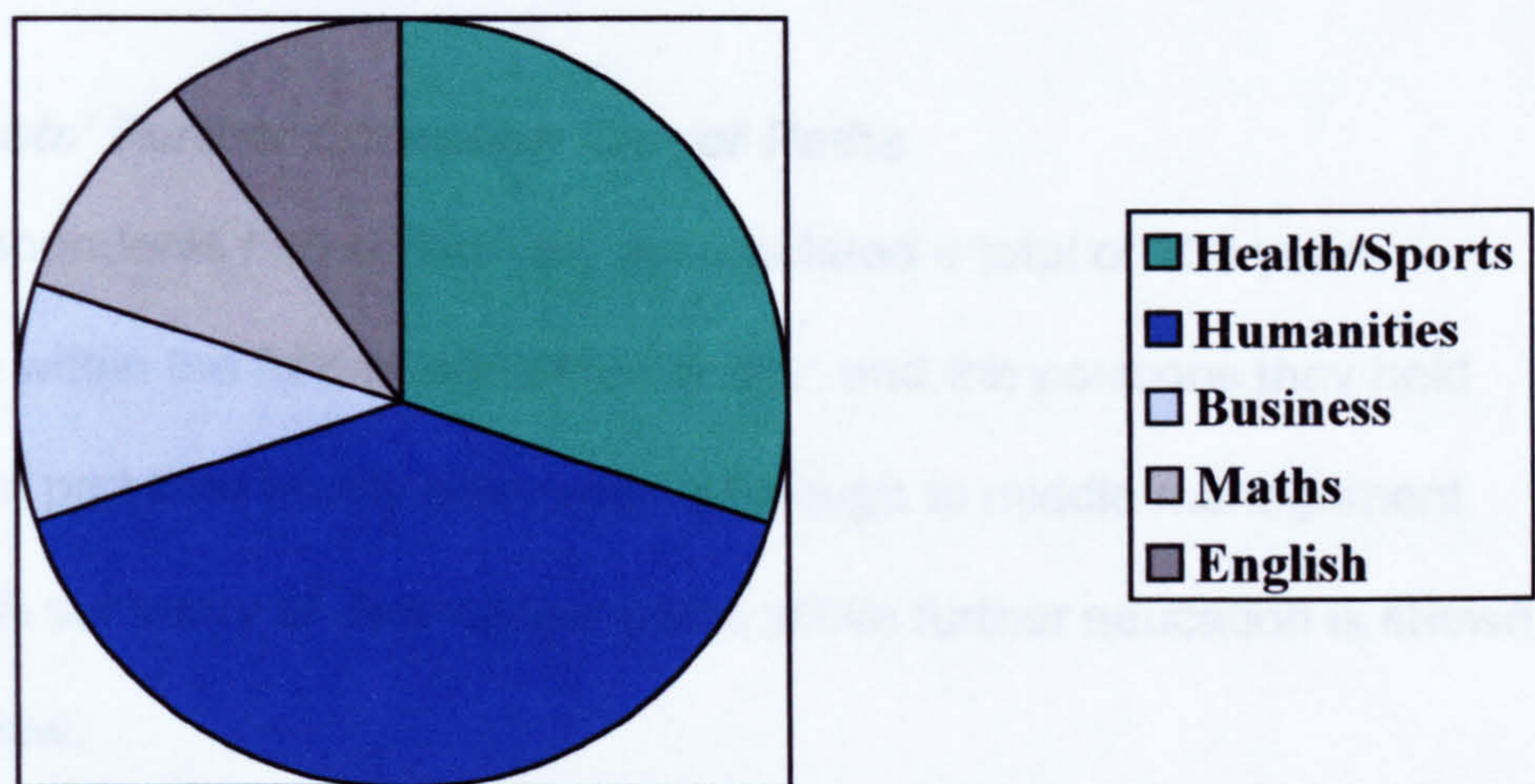
The sample included some respondents who had worked in further education prior to incorporation in 1993, and some who had joined the sector more recently. I wanted to explore with the more experienced respondents the changes to their professional lives brought about by incorporation and the introduction of marketisation within the further education sector. I explored with the more recently recruited respondents their experiences of the impact of the market on their professionalism within the further education sector. Chart 3 shows the length of time which participants had spent working in further education.

Chart 3: Number of years respondents had worked in further education at the time of being interviewed



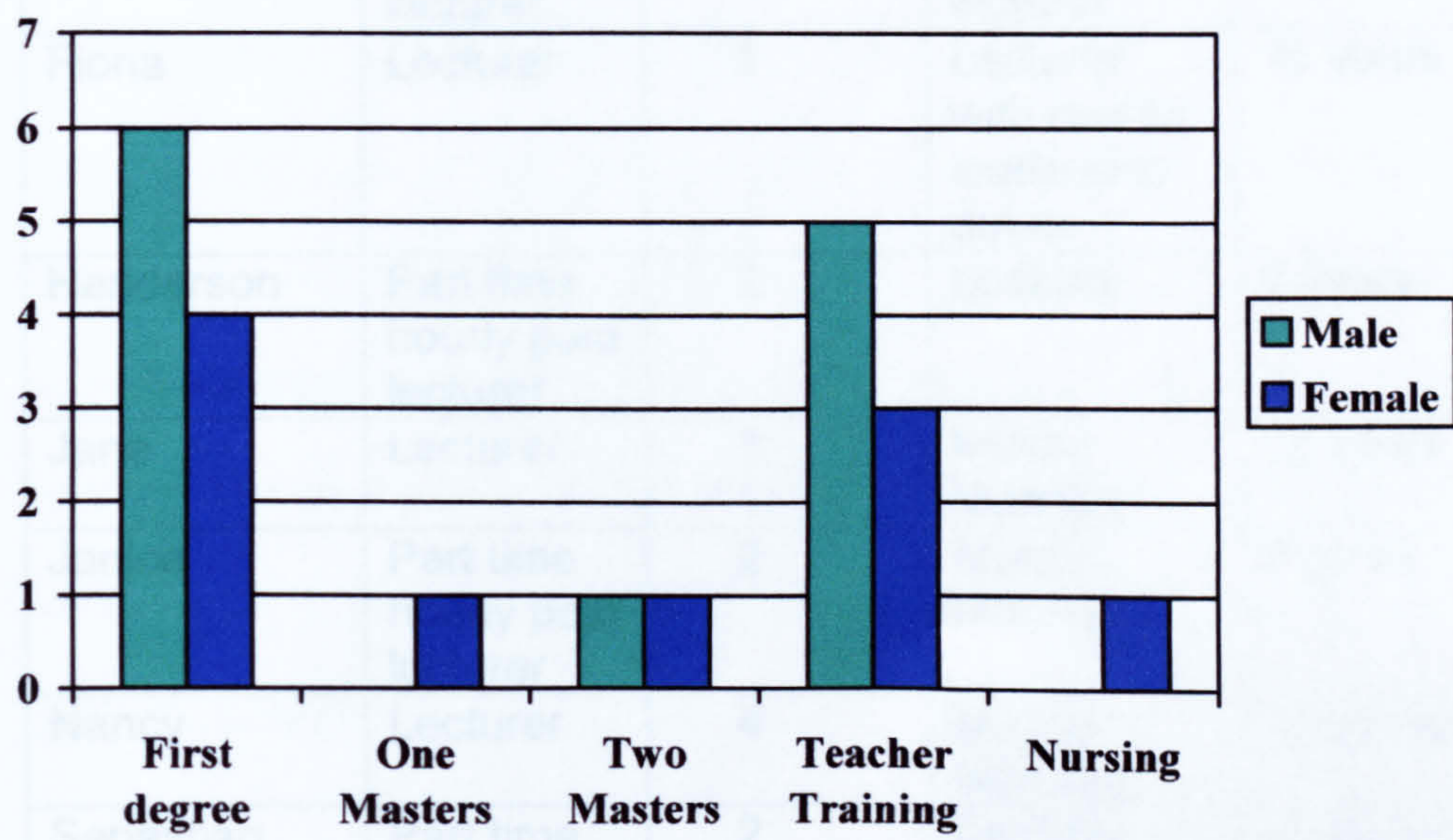
The literature review revealed the tendency for black staff in schools to be ghettoised into certain curriculum areas, so I was interested to map which curriculum areas the sample taught in. Analysis revealed a bias towards the curriculum areas of health and sports studies and business studies, as detailed in Chart 4.

Chart 4: Subject areas taught by respondents



I collected information regarding the post school qualifications of the respondents. This data, detailed in Chart 5, is important because of research findings, detailed in the literature review, relating to the tendency for black staff to have higher levels of qualifications than white staff, yet to be found at lower levels within college structures (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002).

Chart 5: Qualifications held by Respondents



Respondents' Further Education Career Paths

The ten respondents had collectively accumulated a total of 103 years experience within the further education sector, and the positions they held ranged from part time hourly paid lecturer through to middle management positions. A summary of their career paths within further education is shown in Table 2 below.

Table 2: Respondents' Career Paths in Further Education

Pseudonym	Position on entry to FE	Number of colleges worked in	Current Position	Number of years worked in FE
Anthony	Lecturer	1	Lecturer	12 years
Desmond	Lecturer	2	Lecturer	7 years
Edward	Part time hourly paid lecturer	2	Middle Manager	17 years
Everton	Part time hourly paid lecturer	1	Part time hourly paid lecturer	4 years
Fiona	Lecturer	1	Lecturer with course leadership duties	16 years
Henderson	Part time hourly paid lecturer	2	Lecturer	7 years
Jane	Lecturer	1	Middle Manager	13 years
Janice	Part time hourly paid lecturer	2	Middle Manager	8 years
Nancy	Lecturer	4	Middle Manager	15 years
Sebastian	Part time hourly paid lecturer	2	Lecturer	4 years

Profiling Individual Respondents

This section introduces each respondent individually, and presents a short portrait highlighting key aspects of their professional experiences within further education.

Anthony

Anthony, a business graduate with a teacher training qualification, began his career in further education after several years working as an advisor to young people. He saw this change as a significant career move, yet at the time of the interview he was still working as a lecturer on the same grade as he started in the college where he began his career in further education twelve years previously. He described his college as being situated in a multiracial catchment area, yet he could only identify three other Afro-Caribbean lecturers throughout the college, and no Afro-Caribbean managers. At the time of the interview, he was the only black lecturer in his department, and he was very demoralised by his treatment and experience in the college. He reflected that his potential for career advancement had been blocked by both institutional barriers and by lack of management support, and he was pessimistic about his perceived lack of future opportunities for his own career development within further education.

Desmond

Desmond, a sociology graduate with a teacher training qualification, had decided to become a further education lecturer after his positive experiences as a further education student taking 'A' levels. At the time of the interview, he worked as a lecturer in a large urban college situated in a multiracial catchment area, with 40% of the students being members of minority ethnic groups. Desmond could identify several other black and minority ethnic lecturers, but asserted that there were no black managers in the college. He had previously moved from his lecturing position at a neighbouring college because of the

absence of any prospects there for promotion, but after a total of seven years teaching in further education, he had experienced so many barriers that he had decided to leave further education to go and teach within the schools sector.

Edward

Edward had spent 17 years working in further education, having started as a college youth worker before progressing to become a part time lecturer. A graduate with a teacher training qualification, he had worked in two colleges and progressed up the career ladder so that, at the time of the interview, Edward worked as a middle manager in a large multiracial institution. He did not know how many black lecturers in total worked in his college, although he knew that there were none in two of the curriculum schools, but he was certain that there were no black senior managers. He spoke positively about the commitment of the senior managers in his present college to promote equal opportunities, and he acted as an informal mentor and role model to other black lecturers. Edward intended to remain in further education and reported that his present college was, in his view, more committed to race equality than other neighbouring colleges in the area in which he worked.

Everton

Everton, a leisure and tourism graduate with a teacher training qualification, had spent four years as a part time lecturer in a further education in a college in a predominantly white area. He entered further education immediately after graduating, but at the time of being interviewed for this research, he had failed to secure a full time position and was disillusioned by his experiences. He

described having been regarded as a token black teacher by the managers in his department, and how they had neglected his concerns to achieve a full time position, overlooked his development needs and marginalised him. He was therefore intending to leave further education and change to a career in leisure management.

Fiona

Fiona was very highly qualified. She held a first degree in mathematics, a masters degree in education and a second masters degree in counselling, and was studying for a doctorate in education at the time of the interview. She had initially begun her career teaching in schools. She had then entered a large multiracial further education college, anticipating that she would be able to build her career and progress through to management. However, at the time of being interviewed Fiona had spent 16 years in further education, working at the same college throughout and was still on the lecturer grade. Despite numerous applications for promotion, Fiona had failed to make career progression following a merger three years previously and had actually moved backwards in terms of her responsibilities. She felt suffocated and overlooked by the management, and accordingly, she had decided to leave and return to school teaching.

Henderson

Henderson, the only African amongst the respondents, was also one of the most highly qualified respondents, having a first degree, two masters degrees, a teacher training qualification, and having undertaken part of a doctoral

programme at the time of the interview. He started his teaching career in the primary school sector, and had struggled to gain entry into further education after taking a number of what he referred to as odd jobs. He was compelled for economic reasons to work as a part time lecturer in two colleges simultaneously before securing what was initially a temporary full time lecturer's post which later became a permanent position. Henderson worked in a college which he described as being situated in a white area. He was one of only two full time black lecturers in a college with no black managers, and he described his professional isolation together with instances when he had been used as an institutional token by the white senior managers. Henderson was pessimistic about his own future in further education, and about the prospects for other black staff who might wish to develop successful careers in further education.

Jane

Jane had initially graduated in English and trained as a school teacher, but left the schools sector to undertake community work with a black voluntary organisation. She entered further education when she saw an opportunity advertised in a large multiracial college after her baby was born. She remained in this same college for 13 years, advancing her career to become a head of school at the time of her interview for this research. Jane had initially flourished through working as part of a multiracial team who shared common ideals about how further education can support community development. However, she and other members of her team had suffered professionally as a result of a merger between her college and a neighbouring college, having seen the values of the new (white) managers to be very different. Her position was taken over by a

colleague who was prepared to abandon the community service values, and she was being made redundant.

Janice

Janice was very well qualified, holding a first degree, a master's degree, a nursing qualification and a teacher training qualification. At the time of the interview, she had worked in further education for eight years at two colleges, in the first case as a lecturer with course management responsibilities, and in the second case as a programme manager. Both colleges were in multiracial areas, but whereas the first college had a large cohort of black staff, albeit mostly on lecturer grade with only two black managers, the second college had only eight black staff of whom only one was a manager. Janice felt isolated and under enormous pressure in this second college, and had lost key colleagues through organisational restructuring. She had decided to quit her career in further education and to return to her nursing career because she felt that there was more genuine commitment to equality of opportunity in that arena.

Nancy

Nancy graduated in social sciences and completed three years study towards a PhD which she was unable to complete because of insufficient funding. Her initial career in community relations followed by a race equality research post developed an interest in training, which led her to enter further education as a community outreach lecturer/advisor. She completed her teacher training qualification whilst working as a lecturer, and then moved to a promoted post in another local college from which she was made redundant in a restructure. She

was able to secure a middle management position in another college within the area, and maintained an optimism that her career would continue to develop within the FE system.

Sebastian

Sebastian, a graduate in sports studies, had started his career in further education as a part time lecturer, moving to a full time lecturer post in another college where he completed a teacher training qualification. His current college was a large urban college situated in a white area, with only four black lecturers and three black managers. Sebastian was surprised by the small numbers of black staff within further education, and had encountered several instances where lack of resources and lack of opportunities had impeded his students. Accordingly, he had become active within his trade union, and was intent on setting up a black staff group in his college to campaign for equality of opportunity and improved resources. Sebastian intended to remain within further education for the foreseeable future.

Analysing the Narratives and Producing Data

The analysis of the interview transcripts drew upon the well established techniques of coding and constant comparison, which are commonly used in qualitative educational and social research (Denscombe 1998, Robson 2002). It soon became apparent that these analytical procedures were indispensable in terms of the generation and testing of conceptual frameworks, and in making important decisions about the collection of further research data. For example, after the first six interviews had been conducted, transcribed and coded,

analysis revealed a very clear typology of emergent black professional identities within UK further education. This informed decisions about the selection of future research informants, and provided a great deal of purchase in terms of the way in which the analysis of the data is structured and presented. It also led me back to the literature and further explorations of research into race and education in particular.

I quickly discovered that the questionnaires and interview transcripts afforded me more data than can be reported within the confines of this study, so I refined my research questions accordingly. However, it is my intention to analyse the remaining aspects and present these to a variety of audiences. This is important ethically for me, since both the respondents, and other black professionals who became aware of this study, all emphasised the importance of the study and the need for the experiences of black educators within further education to be rendered visible to researchers and policy makers alike.

In interpreting the narratives and producing data, I strove to ensure that the various viewpoints were fairly represented, that the voice of each respondent was clearly articulated, and that the findings are presented in a fair and balanced way. This having been said, I have adopted a broadly phenomenological approach in that I have sought to analyse critically each respondent's narrative and to identify consistencies and inconsistencies in their stances. In undertaking these tasks, I acknowledge that the findings represent my own interpretation of their views and I also acknowledge that my own professional identity as a black collectivist will impact on my interpretation. All this having been said, those participants who maintained close contact with me

throughout the research and who read drafts of the research findings were unanimous in asserting their perceptions of the integrity of the findings.

Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of my approach to the research study, and attempted a justification of the ontological, epistemological and methodological stances which I adopted. I concluded that a qualitative study would best enable me to explore my research questions, and I have outlined how I engaged in this endeavour. I have revealed my own position in the research, and made clear that the findings in my study are not claimed to be representative of black professionals generally within further education. Their value lies in the fact that they serve to illustrate some of the identities adopted by black professionals in the marketised climate of modern further education, and render visible some of their experiences. Both the respondents and a wider network of black professionals have endorsed my assertions of the value and importance of my work, which for me is an important measure of the quality and significance of this study, and I now move on to present my findings.

CHAPTER SIX

REFORMS, MARKETS AND THE EXPERIENCES OF BLACK PRACTITIONERS

Introduction

This chapter begins to present the analysis and interpretation of the narratives, linked to the themes developed within the three literature review and theoretical perspectives chapters. In particular, it seeks to capture and interpret the experience of this sub-group of the FE workforce as race and market forces overlap and collide within the institutional setting of UK further education.

Pseudonyms are used throughout for the names of people, places and colleges so as to maintain confidentiality. The analysis will reveal the professional experiences of the respondents set within the context of the marketised environment within which they enact their professional lives and create their professional identities. Respondents' understandings of the current priorities within the further education sector will be mapped, and their demands for policy changes to improve the experiences of black staff and black students will be articulated.

In presenting these findings, the analysis sets the experiences of the respondents within my own adaptation of three aspects of a career framework posited by Gronn and Ribbins (1996), and further developed by Gronn (1999) and then Ribbins (2003), which identifies four key stages in career development, namely formation, accession, incumbency and divestiture. Analysis of respondents' career development within the first of these four phases, the formation phase, when school and family influences are explored, is not addressed within the thesis, although some early biographical data was

collected in the pre-interview questionnaire issued to the respondents. This information may be used to contribute to a future study. The focus of the analysis in this study is on the other three phases of the career development framework, namely the accession phase, the incumbency phase and the divestiture phase (Gronn and Ribbins 1996), which I have adapted to meet the aims of this research. The accession phase focuses on initial career choices, which for the purposes of this study is interpreted as the reasons surrounding respondents' entry to employment in further education. The next phase of career development, the incumbency phase, explores respondents' experiences as they settle into their professional identities, which for this study means their identities as black further education practitioners. The final phase of career development, divestiture, relates to leaving and moving on, which in this case has been interpreted to mean career aims following on from the positions held by the respondents at the time of being interviewed for this study. Thus the main focus of the analysis will be on the accession, incumbency and divestiture phases of the respondents' careers in further education, as defined for the purposes of this study, articulating with marketisation and managerialism introduced by the Further and Higher Education Act 2002 (Ainley and Bailey 1997), and shaped and influenced by processes and experiences of race in education and society. Throughout the presentation of the findings in this and the subsequent chapter, pseudonyms have been used for the respondents and for the names and locations of the colleges in which they worked.

The Accession Phase - Becoming a Further Education Practitioner

In terms of the accession phase, the entry of the majority of respondents in this research to further education occurred by accident as opposed to design. This

finding has been reported in other studies of the further education professional workforce (Gleeson and Mardle 1980, Gleeson et al 2005). Most of the respondents entered the further education profession by different routes from, for example, teaching in compulsory schooling (Desmond, Fiona, Henderson and Jane), the black voluntary sector (Nancy), careers and youth work (Anthony and Edward), and the national health service (Janice). Everton and Sebastian were the exceptions in that they were each offered part time lecturing by their tutors just after their graduation, so their first employment was in further education.

According to Gleeson et al (2005 p 450), 'the transition into further education is often not a smooth one, and it frequently coincides with lifestyle changes, career breaks, redundancy, divorce and relocation'. In this regard the experience of Jane was quite typical. Although she had trained as a secondary school teacher, she became very disillusioned with teaching in schools as a result of her experiences of racism. In telling her story, Jane recalled her circumstances.

Having had a baby I was looking for something that was convenient in a sense, my parents lived close by the college...I just applied purely by chance, never really thought about it...then was quite surprised to get it. (Jane)

Amongst the five respondents who entered the further education sector prior to incorporation in 1993, namely Anthony, Edward, Fiona, Jane and Nancy, there was evidence of a commitment to public service values as well as to personal career development in making this transition, as Nancy's account illustrates.

I had a great interest in improving the education and training of ethnic minorities particularly. That was always a very strong interest of mine, and I felt that I could really make a difference. (Nancy)

Common themes which were expressed included wanting to make a difference, putting something back into the community, and helping black and other disadvantaged students to realise their potential. It was very clear that these respondents understood teacher professionalism in terms of the kinds of values identified in Randle and Brady's (1997 p 231) study, which included 'a "public service ethic" where the prime concern is to provide "quality educational opportunities" for students'.

Desmond, Everton, Henderson, Janice and Sebastian entered the further education sector after incorporation. Everton and Sebastian had each been offered casual lecturing work by their tutors on graduation, and this motivated them to seek more permanent work within further education. Janice was similarly recruited to undertake some part time teaching in further education whilst she was a mature undergraduate student, and encouraged to progress to full time employment in the same college on graduation. Such informal recruitment methods were noted by the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) as characteristic in the majority of colleges. The Commission also reported that black staff are more likely to be found in temporary part time work than their white counterparts, who tend to obtain permanent full time posts more readily.

Desmond was the only member of the sample who had made a conscious decision to become a further education practitioner. Having failed at school to obtain qualifications that would facilitate his transition to higher education, he obtained his academic qualifications as a further education student. Desmond was initially employed as a full time school teacher, and his transition to further

education was driven not only by his desire to become a further education practitioner but also by the negative experiences which he endured as a black practitioner operating within a multi-ethnic school dominated by white perspectives. Desmond recalled his thinking.

To be honest, I always wanted to work in FE. When I did my 'A' levels I was fascinated by the sort of teaching and learning experiences that went on, and I developed a really good rapport with my lecturers. I enjoyed my time – sort of as opposed to school, and I thought, yeah, I really want to work in that kind of area. (Desmond)

Desmond's, Jane's, Janice's and Henderson's experiences of being a black teacher within compulsory schooling replicated the findings of Blair (1994), Callender (1997), Osler (1997) and Bariso (2001) which are detailed in chapter three.

The one respondent, Henderson, who adopted a different stance in relation to the decision to work in further education had been predominantly educated abroad. Henderson explained that, as a relative newcomer to the country and to the further education sector, he had no real understanding around issues to do with the provision and delivery of further education. Hence, on obtaining his first position, albeit as a visiting or part time lecturer, he was simply relieved that he had gained the opportunity to work within further education, as he explained.

One afternoon, I turned to a newspaper and saw the college advertising for visiting lecturers, and I responded to that ad and fortunately I was accepted into the college as a visiting lecturer. (Henderson)

What he did share in common with the rest of the sample was a very clear commitment to a subject identity, and the conviction that his teaching expertise and skills would enable him to be an effective further education practitioner.

Career Expectations on Accession

The narratives revealed that all the respondents had been, and in the cases of Edward, Nancy and Sebastian still were, ambitious to develop their careers within further education. Illustratively, Fiona recalled her high hopes for the future as she embarked on her new career.

When I first came in there was a hierarchy, and I thought that I would get off it. I really thought that by two or three years I would have been the head of section, principal lecturer, and then gone on to be head of department. That was my career structure. (Fiona)

Respondents expected to enjoy positive experiences of working in further education, and they assumed that there would be other black staff with whom they would network and from whom they would receive support. However, many were profoundly disappointed by what they found. Everton soon discovered that his expectations on joining his first college were not met.

There were no black teachers at the time in the department... There was no-one here of ethnic minority, or black or Asian. (Everton)

Jane, who had left school teaching because of racist hostility and isolation, also recalled her disappointment on taking up her first post in further education. Her initial impressions were that it would be as difficult for her to develop her career within further education as it had been in the schools sector.

I was surprised at the lack of black senior staff in the system. I thought that FE would be probably better than schools in that respect. (Jane)

These findings echo those of Osler (1997) relating to the experiences of black staff in schools, and mirror the findings of the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002). The hopes and expectations of career development within a context which valued diversity did not come to fruition for the majority of the respondents, as will be revealed in the subsequent sections in this chapter.

Incumbency Phase – Experiences as a Black Educator in Further Education

Analysis of the narratives revealed that respondents' early experiences in settling into further education varied. Some of the differences related to whether they entered the sector prior to or post incorporation, and it was also noticeable that there were idiosyncratic differences based on the culture within individual institutions. However, all the respondents were able to testify to the impact of marketisation, and they gave testimony to the effects of the associated managerialism on college priorities, and on their own and their black colleagues' career development.

Incumbency Prior to Incorporation

Five respondents, Anthony, Edward, Fiona, Jane and Nancy, had started their further education careers before incorporation in 1993. For Edward, Fiona and Jane, first impressions were favourable in some ways. In moving from a school, Fiona found that further education afforded opportunities for the implementation of her commitment to race equality because of the focus at that time on developing provision for this section of the student market.

I had a lot more freedom to develop what curriculum that I thought was beneficial. And at the time, and in the area that I worked in, it was looked on very positively. Working with black women and developing courses specifically for black women. (Fiona)

Jane too felt that her links with the local black communities were welcomed in the initial phase of her further education career.

I am from the local area, and because it was my local college I felt that I had something useful to offer...And certainly my commitment and my knowledge of the kinds of students we have was used to its fullness. (Jane)

It appeared that some colleges were, prior to incorporation, committed to developing curriculum responses designed to meet the needs of black and minority ethnic students. Black educators were able to benefit from institutional initiatives targeted at this sector of the market in similar ways to those which Osler (1997) identified amongst staff working in Section 11 funded posts in schools. However, both Fiona and Jane discovered that their colleges' views of the value of their work changed following incorporation, as will be revealed later in the chapter. In other colleges, these types of initiative had always been resisted, and black staff charged with the responsibility for such developments found themselves working unsupported in hostile environments. Anthony and Nancy did not report the same sense of euphoria arising from their early experiences, as Nancy's account highlights.

The first college that I went to...it was a very elitist college... So you were battling against the grain. Bringing in under-represented groups was seen like a can of worms for them...It was always a struggle, a real battle to get things off the ground, to get change, to get new provision for this client group... There was this lack of support. (Nancy)

These struggles illustrate the kinds of images of black staff as 'professional ethnics' (Blair 1994 p 6) which Blair's (1994) research identified in school based studies, and provide examples of the kinds of barriers faced by black educators which Osler (1997) highlighted.

Impact of Incorporation on Equality of Opportunity

All the respondents who worked in further education at the time of incorporation in 1993, namely Anthony, Edward, Fiona, Jane and Nancy, recognised the fundamental changes which were introduced. In particular, four out of the five respondents in this category cited the abandonment of previous commitments

to equality of opportunity as a critical change. Fiona and Jane found that the same managers who had encouraged and supported them in developing community links and in the delivery of education and training in outreach settings had radically revised their commitment and priorities, as Fiona explained.

Afro Caribbean children – students – were not the flavour of the month anymore. So the funding of that section was never paid, posts were withdrawn. (Fiona)

Jane analysed how the priorities of the managers at the college where she worked had changed, and described the impact which this had on the development of courses for the local black communities.

What happened is that it got turned to the way of making money. And the ethos and the philosophy behind what I had set up along with my colleagues was totally lost. (Jane)

This focus on financial issues was highlighted in Randle and Brady's (1997) study as a typical managerial 'obsession' (p 232). Anthony also became disillusioned as he settled into his role as a lecturer and discovered that the college values were not what he had been led to expect.

I remembered when I actually had my interview, there was a push to try and convince me that equal opportunities was something that the college would adhere to very strongly, and obviously I was very pleased with that. It was only a few months down the line that I realised that this was quite the opposite. (Anthony)

Like Anthony, Nancy also recalled the abandonment of the commitment to equality of opportunity at the college where she then worked, which she linked specifically to incorporation. Nancy had progressed to hold a middle management position in what she called a sub-college, by which she meant a separate annexe situated in a different location from the main college. This sub-college was located in an inner city area, and the students were almost all

recruited from the local black and minority ethnic communities. Although initially her impressions of the changes brought about by incorporation were negative, Nancy had recently begun to feel more positive about these changes in so far as they affected the implementation of equality of opportunity initiatives.

I think recently the college is now looking at its equal opportunities training. I think for a long time equal opportunities had been dormant. ...So now there is a major push towards equal opportunities as a result of the new legislation. So equal opportunities is back on the agenda.
(Nancy)

In marked contrast to his counterparts who entered further education prior to incorporation, Edward was the only respondent who wholeheartedly welcomed incorporation. Edward also reported that the senior management team in the college where he worked was fully committed to the implementation of equality of opportunity measures.

I think the senior managers are very passionate and positive about it...I think the organisation has put the mechanisms in place in terms of the equal opportunities policy, the equal opportunities committee, the strategic planning process, the operational process. (Edward)

Like Nancy, Edward had also progressed his career to become a middle manager in his college, in his case following a merger and three restructures. It was clear from the narratives that Edward and Nancy were the only two respondents who had experienced positive outcomes from the changes brought about by incorporation.

Incumbency after Incorporation

Those respondents who entered further education after incorporation, namely Desmond, Everton, Henderson, Janice and Sebastian, also reflected on their early experiences. Initially, Janice, who joined further education in 1993 at the time of incorporation, formulated a favourable view of the sector, but this

changed as the impact of marketisation took hold and her college established a new structure in which she failed to gain promotion to a programme manager's post, despite her experience and previous successes. Janice described the impact of this.

So it ended up being a situation where ...you would do all the work, and at the end of the year you would hand over all your paperwork and he (the programme manager) would go and say, look, I have done this, and I have done that, and everything is wonderful for me. But you would be the one sitting up nights. (Janice)

Janice's account of the increased administrative workload has resonance with Ainley and Bailey's (1997) study of two colleges, in which staff at every level complained about the post incorporation burden of administration as 'management by memo' (p 71). But the context within which Janice worked was particularly demoralising for her because of her realisation that race equality issues were no longer perceived as important by college managers, and her own career aspirations had thus been blighted. Desmond explained his antipathy towards what he perceived was the prevailing culture amongst college managers.

Now I think colleges are a law unto themselves, they can just hire and fire who they want...If your face fits and they like you, they can take you on. But there is no compulsion to say, well, as the student body is 30% ethnic minority, let's have 30% ethnic minority teaching staff. It just doesn't work that way. (Desmond)

The impact of incorporation also revealed itself starkly to Sebastian, Janice and Henderson on their entry to further education, when they encountered the managerialist priorities within the college. Sebastian described his discomfiture when he discovered these priorities.

But I thought FE would be a lot about students being there, and I didn't realise a lot of the funding issues involved and whatever. But then I came to realise very very quickly that a lot of FEs are about funding and about making money. (Sebastian)

Henderson also became disillusioned about the prospects for black staff in the managerialist culture within the two further education colleges in which he had worked.

I am a bit pessimistic about the likelihood of black staff being employed...because of the desperate state of FE at the moment... Financial concerns have become the dominant approach. (Henderson)

Overall, like their counterparts who had worked in the sector before incorporation, these more recently recruited black practitioners regretted the impact of marketisation on their college management priorities, and in particular on the abandonment of commitment to equality of opportunity. They recognised the adverse impact of the distinctive features of marketisation which Gewirtz et al (1995) identified, and the implications for their own careers, and those of their black colleagues.

Career Development during Incumbency

One of the significant themes running through most of the narratives is that, in the early part of their professional careers, all the respondents had personally invested in the meritocratic notion that committed and effective teaching would result in their career advancement. In the majority of cases, as they settled into the incumbency phase of their careers in further education colleges, these hopes, desires and aspirations proved to be stillborn, as Desmond explained.

I think I came in expecting a career structure of some kind. I was not super ambitious and thinking I want to be head of department...but you do expect after being a few years in the game to see some glimmer or openings...But from my own experience, that doesn't happen. (Desmond)

It was at this point that feelings of powerlessness, despair and frustration began to be displayed by the interviewees. The data revealed that at the point when

disenchantment with their inability to advance their professional careers set in, many of these black educators perceived that they had been institutionally cast by white managers and staff as illegitimate competitors for promoted posts. These experiences matched those of school based staff in Blair's (1994) study. Illustratively, Everton had not been able to secure any sort of contract from his college for the next academic year, having been a casual part time lecturer for nearly five years at the time of his interview. He concluded that he stood no chance of gaining any kind of career progression, describing his circumstances in similar ways to those depicted in Osler's (1997) school based study which revealed racially and ethnically demarcated role deployment.

The college is very hierarchical. It's very structured. It's very white. For someone to be put in a senior position and to get through the board of governors, for them to be of an ethnic minority – the earth would have to shake for that to happen! (Everton)

Anthony, too, was convinced that, in the college where he worked, black staff were deliberately excluded from consideration for promotion by white managers. This position reflects the findings of the Commission for Racial Equality (1988), and those of Callender (1997), Osler (1997) and Bariso (2001). Anthony explained his understandings.

I think black staff now see themselves as a sub-sub-group within the institution, because they feel that they are even further from management. And if there is going to be any recruitment of any sort, they will always be the last group to be actually looked on as possibilities. (Anthony)

Fiona had experienced career demotion following a merger with a neighbouring college, and this stalled her career development. She had previously been a lecturer with leadership responsibilities for a project targeted at Afro Caribbean women, but had been sidelined after the merger. Inevitably, these experiences

served to engender feelings of not being valued and of being effectively excluded from membership of the professional communities within which the respondents practised. The perceptions that their chances of ascending the ladders of professional opportunity were at best extremely limited were reinforced as a consequence of the manner in which they made sense of a number of inter-locking processes, as Desmond explained.

I learned the rules and roles quite quickly, and you begin to see the picture that emerges, and basically you learn to see that it doesn't matter how good you are in the classroom, your career basically remains there.
(Desmond)

In the first place, the respondents noted the almost total absence of black and minority ethnic educators in managerial roles within the individual colleges in which they worked. This situation pertained despite the fact that all of the colleges in which the respondents worked had ostensibly adopted formal equal opportunities policies. These observations were affirmed by the findings of the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) which highlighted the underrepresentation of black managers within the sector. Alongside and reinforcing this observation, most of the respondents noted that black professionals were also underrepresented within lecturing posts, even where they were located in areas where there were high concentrations of black and minority ethnic families. Illustratively, Anthony expressed his disquiet.

It was very very minimal, in the sense that I could not see any other black faces. And I was thinking, within the area where I live there is a high proportion of black people, but this was not represented when I entered further education, so I thought something must be wrong here.
(Anthony)

In the second place, the respondents acknowledged that promotion opportunities had become increasingly limited for all college staff irrespective of

their racial group membership. This was understood and interpreted by the black educators as the inevitable consequence of colleges having to respond and accommodate to the forces and disciplines of the market, and a funding model which made cost reduction an on-going imperative (Ainley and Bailey 1997, Randle and Brady 1997). However, most of the respondents expressed dismay in relation to their perception that white colleagues appeared to have a monopoly on promoted posts as and when these positions became available. These perceptions were similar to those revealed in Osler's (1997) schools based study. Janice had witnessed the impact of practices which appeared to favour incompetent white staff over herself and her black colleagues.

Well, I think it is easy for some people – you know, if their face fits... They are being heavily supported in those jobs. And I am not saying that should be the experience of black staff, but I don't think many black people would get into that position, where they were being supported to do jobs they weren't capable of doing. (Janice)

In direct contrast to perceptions of the career opportunities open to white staff, interrogation of the individual narratives revealed that black staff perceived that at best they were restricted to entry level jobs. Osler (1997) found that black staff in schools were similarly placed. On this specific issue, the manner in which Desmond made sense of his experience typified the responses which were elicited from the sample. When asked whether he thought that his view was the generic experience for all the professional groups who become lecturers, Desmond was clear in distinguishing between the experiences of white and black staff in his response.

No, I wouldn't say so at all...I have seen people come in at the same time as myself and after, and go through the ranks, be promoted. I don't know exactly what the magic ingredient is because they certainly don't offer anything else in the classroom different to myself and they are not more qualified than myself. There are certain features of certain people that seem to carry them through to the next level as it were. (Desmond)

Desmond's account of his early career experiences brings to the surface and renders visible a number of themes which are present in the narratives of most of the research participants during the incumbency phase of their careers in further education. First, the realisation that racism and discrimination constituted significant barriers to the career progression of black educators. Second, the existence of different career patterns for white and black and ethnic minority staff. These experiences have been described by Thomas and Garbarro (cited in MacKay and Etienne 2009 p 24) as 'constituting two different tournaments' for black and white practitioners within the further education field. Third, the fact that black educators in UK further education tend on average to be better qualified than their white counterparts, with 55% of black staff educated to degree level compared with 49% of white staff (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002). Several of the respondents undertook part time study for masters degrees or teaching qualifications soon after obtaining their first posts within the further education sector, and they were all well qualified, as illustrated in chart five in chapter six. The fact that this did not necessarily stand them in good stead in relation to career progression and development is a reality which mirrors the experience of black educators within compulsory schooling (Commission for Racial Equality 1988, Brah 1991).

Impact of Isolation and Hostility

For almost all respondents who entered further education before 1993, namely Anthony, Edward, Fiona, Jane and Nancy, there was an overwhelming feeling of isolation. At that time, there were very few black staff and virtually no black managers (Bariso 2001, Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002),

and respondents encountered a culture which did not welcome diversity. Nancy described the impact of her isolation.

Some of the lecturers thought they were very elitist...I think I was one amongst a few black members of staff, so that was most strange for them. So they weren't at all very welcoming...The support was not at all there...There were moments when I was almost in despair because of the lack of support. (Nancy)

The feelings of isolation were accompanied in some instances by a feeling that, as black practitioners, respondents were at risk of being used by college managers as institutional tokens. Anthony recalled the impact which his isolation had on his confidence in settling into his new job.

At times you feel extremely isolated, you feel as if you are actually on your own. You feel as if you are a visual aid, because there are very few black staff around...So you just feel isolated. At times you say, you know – why am I here? (Anthony)

Those respondents who entered further education after incorporation, namely Desmond, Everton, Henderson, Janice and Sebastian also found themselves working in relative isolation. Desmond recounted a recent incident when he was racially abused by a white colleague. Despite the fact that the college disciplinary procedures were successfully invoked against the abuser, Desmond did not get support from college managers, and felt even more isolated as a result.

There was this general willingness from the college to take his side, even though I had a witness...Eventually, the conclusion was reached that I was telling the truth...But there was still the thing that I was the outsider. I was the troublemaker, I was different. He was a nice guy, he never said this thing before...When push comes to shove, it is obvious which side people take, and it is not the side of the black person who is telling the truth. (Desmond)

Within the sample, four respondents (Edward, Jane, Janice and Nancy) had succeeded in progressing to middle management positions, although two of the four (Jane and Janice) were in the process of being made redundant at the time

of being interviewed for this study. Illustratively, Nancy described the additional pressures which a management position imposed on a black manager, because of racist assumptions by white colleagues.

Just because you are in a management position doesn't mean you forget racism. You know the barriers you are up against, you know the various comments you are up against. (Nancy)

The Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) received witness statements from many isolated black staff who reported similar experiences to these respondents. This sense of isolation, together with the experiences of racist hostility, served to reinforce almost all respondents' views that they were unlikely to succeed in career development within the further education sector.

Henderson's account summed up the social and moral expectations of all of the respondents.

There is no reason why black people cannot be accepted for who they are. In other words, given the cultural differences, we must appreciate those differences. I mean, if I can appreciate white culture, there is no reason why a white person should not appreciate my culture.
(Henderson)

In order to combat some of their isolation, several respondents sought to establish networks with other black educators, or to join existing support groups, and their experiences in so doing unleashed even more hostility.

Management Opposition to Black Networks

The narratives speak to respondents' experiences of being excluded from informal career enhancing (white) professional networks within the workplace.

Fiona's account illustrates the difficulties she and her black colleagues faced in entering into any dialogue with managers at the college where she worked,

because their network centred on meetings in public houses, which for cultural reasons Fiona and her black colleagues did not attend.

If you are not in the pub with your line manager, you don't develop that relationship. Therefore you don't have that choice, because you don't go to the pub, because that is where a lot of the decisions are made.
(Fiona)

However, despite the widespread existence of white networks such as the one described by Fiona, the majority of the respondents in this study found that their attempts to establish black networks were viewed by college managers with suspicion, and in some cases with outright hostility. The tendency of college managers to approach black and white networks differentially was a feature of several of the narratives. This served to reinforce feelings of isolation and marginalisation, as Fiona explained when she described the problems which were encountered when black staff in the college where she worked attempted to establish a black network.

And the principal wouldn't allow us to meet unless we gave him the minutes of the meeting, and of course that wasn't what the group was set up for, so we wouldn't give him the minutes, and so we couldn't meet. The leaders of the group were then given redundancy, and the group diminished because people were afraid to join it, because they saw the leaders ousted really. And so we didn't meet. We were afraid to meet.
(Fiona)

However, Edward's experiences were in total contrast to those of all the other respondents in that he reported that he was encouraged to attend external meetings with other black professionals. Despite this encouragement, Edward's perception of the benefits of such networks was somewhat ambivalent.

But I think also there's a downside to that because the fact that you have a body or a pressure group or an organisation working and pioneering and taking things forward for black staff in a very positive and constructive way – I think the downside of that is staff look at themselves and say well – why do we need a network in black managers? What signals is that sending? (Edward)

Edward preferred to offer individual guidance and support to black colleagues in his college in an informal way, considering that in many respects such support was more advantageous than a formal network, because many black staff knew that white managers were opposed to black networks, and so were reticent about joining them.

I also think there's a nervousness amongst black staff in terms of making their feelings known. Because obviously then one may become identified as a problem maker, all that type of stuff. (Edward)

None of the respondents reported any experiences of working in colleges where black networks met openly and regularly.

Impact of Marketisation and Managerialism

The immediate post incorporation decline of management commitment to equality of opportunity policies and structures has been illustrated already.

However, the narratives revealed concerns relating to much broader issues of race equality. In particular, respondents described frequent episodes of internal restructuring, sometimes aligned to mergers with neighbouring colleges which were used by college senior managers to give priority to certain types of curriculum, and consequently to the staff who worked within those areas. Some respondents asserted that, in so doing, the changes introduced were intentionally detrimental both to black students and to black staff.

Impact of Mergers and Restructures on Black Professionals

The Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) found that black staff were reported to be forced to carry a disproportionate share of demotions and redundancies within the context of college merger and restructuring processes. The narratives revealed that this was the case both amongst the

sample itself, and within the colleges where these respondents worked. Out of the sample of ten, five respondents had experienced a merger or a restructure, and four had suffered professionally as a direct result. Nancy had been made redundant during a restructure at a previous college, and Jane was in the process of being made redundant following a merger and restructure. Henderson had been informed that he should not apply when a middle management position was created as part of a restructure in the department where he worked.

I felt I could do the job...I was told politely that I was a very good co-ordinator...you are very successful at that...We would rather you keep it...So I knew that somehow they had the view, or a different view, of what it takes to be a team leader, or that race was an issue here.
(Henderson)

Fiona had entered further education prior to incorporation, successfully developed new provision, and was on the way to achieving promotion to middle management when her college merged with a neighbouring college. As a result she found that her high hopes for career development were dashed

The shocks were that the merger came along. ...Since then I have been unable to get any sort of promotion within the institution through all the changes... It's my sixteenth year in further education... And I am talking about where there has been vacancies for senior lecturers, head of department. I have put myself forward and haven't got them. (Fiona)

Jane described the impact of a merger on black staff in the college where she worked. She was convinced that white managers had taken advantage of the merger to break up the small team of black practitioners whom she had recruited to work in her department.

Whether you talk about restructuring, mergers or whatever, people who actually want to make a difference are being taken out...When I first started you could progress black staff...Now, as a result of the merger and the restructuring, people are pulling all that apart. (Jane)

Jane explained that this had affected the confidence of other black staff in the college, who were now afraid for their own futures, and she was absolutely certain that the college managers would not retain any black educators who demonstrated collegiality with their black colleagues. Jane's understanding of the merger and restructuring process was that the managers were removing black activists for political reasons under the guise of a restructuring exercise.

Edward had experienced a merger and three restructuring exercises, and was the only member of the sample who had maintained his position and progressed his career as a result these. Despite this, he explained his understandings of the adverse impact of restructuring on black staff because of their professional disadvantage in the labour market.

I'm not saying black staff come off the worst, but they go through particular elements of stress, which perhaps a white member of staff doesn't entertain. Because they go to that next extreme, in terms of, I'm a black member of staff. Who's going to employ me? Am I going to be able to get a like for like job elsewhere? (Edward)

These experiences, together with a set of issues relating to the impact of managerialism on the curriculum as detailed in the next section, shaped the future intentions of the interviewees in terms of remaining in or leaving the further education service, which are explored in the divestiture section later in this chapter.

Post Incorporation Curriculum Changes and their Impact on Black Students

All the respondents reported concerns at the impact of incorporation on the changes to the curriculum offered by colleges, and the consequences for

students generally, and for black students in particular. Whilst Ainley and Bailey (1997) had reported on the tendency of the curriculum changes to impact adversely on student choice generally, these researchers have not taken account of the particular impact of the changes on black students. The four respondents who held management positions at the time of being interviewed for this research, namely Edward, Jane, Janice and Nancy, described the changes they had been required to implement, and their understandings of the reasons for and impact of these changes. Edward began by articulating his concerns about what he understood to be a fundamental philosophical shift away from being able to offer unaccredited first steps provision for local adults. In his experience, black and minority ethnic adults formed the majority of potential adult students within the catchment area of his college.

I think the major difference for me is the values of open access. Are colleges just institutions of accredited learning? Or are they places where local people can gravitate, associate themselves...But the new FE is towards accredited programmes...And that's the only issue I have...Is open access still the key? We talk about widening participation...And, you know, when you look at an area such as this, where else can people go? Where else? (Edward)

Nancy explained that her understandings of the rationale behind the curriculum changes which had been implemented at the college where she worked related to funding, and this had led to a review of course entry requirements. She explained that full time students wanting to take 'A' levels and to progress to higher education were required to have achieved GCSE passes at grade C or above. In acknowledging that many black students did not achieve such results at school, Nancy explained that they therefore could not enrol for 'A' levels but instead had to join GNVQ programmes. She was aware of the implications of this, saying that 'I know that GNVQs are being less accepted by HE institutions'.

Accordingly, black students on GNVQ courses who still wanted to progress to higher education were advised to undertake additional qualifications, thus facing further barriers to progression.

From my experience, students who have done GNVQ and really want to go into HE, they can do their GNVQ and one additional 'A' level. (Nancy)

Henderson reported identical trends which impacted in racist ways on black students in the college where he worked. It seemed that some colleges were excluding black students from prestigious 'A' level provision, and directing them on to vocational courses such as GNVQ which have to be combined with additional qualifications for entry to higher education. These accounts illustrate the impact of the kinds of practices which Gewirtz (1995) revealed when some students are seen as less desirable than others, often on class or racial grounds.

Interestingly, Jane had initially seized upon the opportunities which she perceived were afforded by the new funding arrangements in order to maximise the benefits to local students, introducing new courses to attract non-traditional students from local black community groups. She explained how she had set about this.

Incorporation in a sense freed up finance...When we went into the FE funding methodology, if you are creative and if you are smart, you can see the ways of using it...So in a sense it gained power to the communities. Communities could demand the kind of programmes and training that they wanted. So I think the market force was quite useful...We actually used the incorporation and the market forces as a lever. (Jane)

However, despite this initial optimism, Jane soon discovered that the college senior management team was unsupportive of the ways in which she and her team were using the funding to bring more black students into the college. She

described their reactions, asserting that 'They didn't have any choice. They hated it. They didn't like it'. Although they initially depended on this work for financial reasons, Jane found that the college senior management team gradually reduced the funding available for community provision, preferring to build up what they considered to be more prestigious courses delivered on the main college campuses. Jane interpreted this as a racist method of resource allocation.

Like Jane, Janice experienced a reduction in the resources available to support her in teaching the full time students in her area, who were predominantly black. Linked to this reduction in resources, Janice had also witnessed curriculum manipulation which operated to the detriment of black learners. College managers had divided national professional qualifications into individual modules, and instead of students gaining the national qualifications, they were awarded less prestigious certification through their local open college network. Janice explained her concerns.

I am not sure how well that really served black communities, because it would be OK if they were going to come back and get the other bits to make up the full qualification. But if they are not – having two fifths of a GNVQ, OK, it's better than nothing, but it's not really going to help you in terms of the job market or getting into any other kind of education.
(Janice)

Janice was also concerned that the college management had decided to replace accredited courses for adults within the local communities with programmes which did not lead to recognised qualifications. She understood this move to be based on stereotypical assumptions of the capabilities of black learners, combined with the college's expectation of attracting higher levels of funding. Further, managers at the college where Janice worked introduced

music courses where the opportunities open to white students were markedly superior to those available to black students.

They were very keen on setting up a music course... So things like DJ-ing, mixing and so on. In that department you could see a very obvious split. You would have white kids in there who brought guitars and saxophones and played instruments, and you would have black kids who messed about on decks with records and talking over the microphone. But there is nothing wrong with that, but you could really see a difference in terms of qualifications people were going out with... I am not quite clear how well that benefits the general black child. (Janice)

The narratives of these four black managers raise serious issues about the impact of incorporation on the opportunities available to some black students within the further education sector. Whilst these findings are not generalisable, they serve to illustrate the potential for colleges to exercise racial discrimination through manipulation of the curriculum on offer. They also demonstrate how Connolly's (1995) findings relating to school practices which restrict the educational opportunities open to black pupils can also apply within further education, and provide further examples of the racialised practices which Avis (1988) identified in his research within further education.

Respondents who were employed as lecturers rather than managers had also witnessed the impact of curriculum changes. Whilst they had less understanding about funding issues, they were nevertheless equally convinced that black students were suffering disadvantage as a result of such changes, as Sebastian explained.

I honestly think there is more of a readiness to wash your hands or to give up on black and Asian students, African Caribbean male students in particular, than there is on white students. (Sebastian)

All of these accounts, together with respondents' experiences of isolation, hostility and insecurities arising from restructures and mergers, served to engender feelings of alienation and despair amongst the majority of these respondents.

The Divestiture Phase - Envisioning the Future

The divestiture phase explored whether the respondents intended to remain in further education or whether they intended to pursue their future careers elsewhere. This is an important issue, given the underrepresentation of black staff generally, and black managers in particular, within the further education workforce (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002). The narratives revealed that, because of negative experiences during the incumbency phase, seven out of the ten respondents had reformulated their career intentions and had either made plans to leave further education, or were desirous of so doing. These intentions are summarised in table 3.

Table 3: Respondents' Future Career Intentions

Pseudonym	Position at time of Interview	Future Career Intentions
Anthony	Lecturer	Would like to leave FE because of isolation and lack of career progression. No specific plans at the time of being interviewed.
Desmond	Lecturer	In the process of leaving FE due to lack of promotion prospects after 7 years, to take up a post teaching in the schools sector.
Edward	Middle Manager	Intends to remain in further education management.
Everton	Part time hourly paid lecturer	Looking for a new career due to inability to gain a full time position in FE after 4 - 5 years. Intending to leave FE and considering a career in leisure management

Fiona	Lecturer with course leadership responsibilities	In the process of leaving FE due to lack of promotion prospects after 16 years, to take up a post teaching in the schools sector.
Henderson	Lecturer	Would like to leave FE due to lack of fulfilment and fear of redundancy. No specific plans at the time of being interviewed.
Jane	Middle Manager	In the process of being made redundant following college merger and restructure. No job to go to.
Janice	Middle Manager	In the process of working out her notice having accepted voluntary redundancy due to disillusionment and high workload. Returning to previous career in health visiting.
Nancy	Middle Manager	Intends to remain in further education management.
Sebastian	Lecturer	Intending to remain in FE for the foreseeable future

This table reveals such a stark position in terms of the experience of these black educators within further education that it is worth examining more closely what lay behind the decisions summarised in the table.

Respondents in the Process of Leaving Further Education

Desmond, Fiona, Jane and Janice were working out their notice to leave their positions in further education at the time when they were interviewed for this study. Fiona described her feelings regarding the racist climate in her college.

Suffocated. Absolutely suffocated and muzzled. There is no channel to actually voice how you feel as a black person, because that is not flavour of the month...If you listen to what people say to you when you walk into a room or you are engaging in some conversation, and the type of comments that are made, you will see that there is still this problem about blackness, and black people achieving. (Fiona)

Jane had been placed under enormous pressure to accept a so-called voluntary redundancy package within the context of a merger with a neighbouring college.

She, too, was clear in asserting that her stances as a black manager in terms of her commitment to race equality and community development were the key reasons why she was being made redundant following the merger of her college with neighbouring college.

I know – I am convinced – that I could do some really great things in the sector with the right kind of people around me, but I don't think that is going to happen now... Whether you talk about restructuring, mergers or whatever, people who actually want to make a difference are being taken out, and people who basically do as they are told are being retained. And I think that is dangerous. (Jane)

The fourth respondent within this category, Janice, also had no option but to leave her post and to accept a voluntary redundancy package. It is worth remarking the racialised dynamics which culminated in her departure from a middle management position. Having worked as a lecturer in her first college for several years, Janice applied for a deputy curriculum manager's role at her present college. Within weeks of taking up her new role, the curriculum manager resigned and Janice was asked to take over his position on an acting basis. Over the next 18 months Janice found herself stretched to breaking point as a consequence of the fact that the senior management team refused to fill the post which her temporary promotion had created. In addition, they responded negatively to constant pleas from Janice for her teaching responsibilities to be reduced in order for her adequately to address her management responsibilities. Events came to a head when the curriculum area for which she was responsible received a moderate inspection grade. This outcome was used by the senior management team as the justification for removing her from her post. Janice took the view that she had been deliberately set up to fail by the senior management team. In so doing, she noted that the other white middle managers with curriculum responsibilities had

been treated in a different and more supportive manner by the senior management team in the college from which she was about to depart.

Whilst Janice perceived that she was a victim of institutional racism, (defined by Macpherson (1999 p 28) as 'processes and practices, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people'), she felt unable to mount any kind of serious defence in order to maintain and preserve her position within the college. In part, this was due to the fact that she had been worn down by the personal and professional struggles which defined her experience as an isolated black female manager in a hostile environment. In addition, her response was partly shaped and conditioned by the logic of performativity. This is to say that within a performative environment results are paramount, and debates around issues to do with social and racial justice become de-legitimised.

Respondents Desirous of Leaving Further Education

Three respondents, Anthony, Everton and Henderson, expressed a wish to leave the further education sector, although at the time of being interviewed for this research, they had not crystallised their plans. Everton expressed the frustration that, after almost five years as a part time lecturer, and notwithstanding the fact that he undertook a considerable amount of unpaid work, the possibility of securing a permanent post had never been raised. Like Everton, Anthony too had considered his future in further education. Having worked in the same college as a full time lecturer for more than a decade, his career had remained stagnant, a state of affairs which had engendered a great

deal of frustration and resentment on his part. Anthony highlighted the contradiction between the positive messages about equal opportunities which were conveyed during his initial interview, with his and other black members of staff's lived experiences of implementation.

There was nothing really to do with equal opportunities. And again you would only have to look around the college to see there were only very few black faces... There was nothing there to show they were taking on board what they are actually saying. (Anthony)

Anthony displayed a certain degree of ambivalence in terms of his future career plans and intentions. On the one hand, he expressed a desire to leave the sector as a result of his perception of the acute and distinctive barriers which black educators face in relation to career progression within further education. On the other hand, he felt that his age might act as a considerable constraint in terms of obtaining employment within another field. This having been said, Anthony had not ruled out the possibility of setting up and running his own business at some point in the future. Henderson also reported that he was unlikely to remain within further education.

I must say from my experience at the moment where I am now, I would like to be out of FE as soon as I can... So, the point of your fulfilment, yes, I would like to give up FE as soon as possible. (Henderson)

Given the underrepresentation of black staff in further education (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002), it is a matter of concern that such a high proportion of these respondents did not envisage remaining within the further education sector.

Remaining in Further Education

Three remaining members of the sample, Nancy, Edward and Sebastian were all committed to remain within the further education sector, although analysis of

the interview transcripts reveals a significant and marked disjuncture between the reasoning which under-pinned the decision making of Nancy and Edward on the one hand, and Sebastian on the other. Nancy and Edward had progressed to middle management positions within their respective colleges and both had embraced market thinking, although in Nancy's case this was done with some misgivings as will be highlighted in due course. Both held a positive orientation towards their futures within further education, as Nancy revealed when asked whether she envisaged remaining in further education.

I do. Having been in FE for such a long time...I think I have now reached a point in my life and in my career where all the traumas I experienced initially, all the barriers which I had experienced, I experienced initially...I think it was a process I had to go through...But in my current position I am not experiencing those barriers. I feel that I am valued, I feel that the contribution that I make is recognised and I feel that there is a role for me in the institution that I work in currently. So I don't envisage any other occupation or any other career change. (Nancy)

At one level Nancy's account could be interpreted as displaying a certain degree of complacency in relation to the unpredictability and turbulence which market forces, in conjunction with racialised dynamics, deploy into the teaching and managerial cultures of further education. In some contexts, failure to meet recruitment targets, a modest inspection report, or even a change of principal can have devastating consequences for further education practitioners.

However, at another level later on in the interview, Nancy acknowledges and accepts that her optimism about the future might well be misplaced.

I know that there is no job for life anymore, and I have gone through the process of redundancy from another college, and I was able to get another job...So I am not blind to the fact that yes there are mergers...there are closures...and I could be caught out in the future in that situation. (Nancy)

Sebastian also views his future within further education, although his reasoning is grounded in a more pessimistic reading concerning the impact of the changes

on the professional lives of black educators. On the one hand, Sebastian explained that he was familiar with what he defined as 'the negative things' which framed the every day world of black and other educators in the era of post incorporation. In so doing, he mentioned issues around pay, funding, and the underrepresentation of black and minority ethnic staff. However, these negative features of contemporary college life served to strengthen rather than weaken Sebastian's resolve to remain within the sector. What appears on the surface to be nothing short of a heroic resolution of the tensions which he faced can be explained in Sebastian's own words.

No job is perfect and above all I enjoy teaching, and I enjoy interaction with students. So what I have done to try to counteract those negative things is, I have become active in my union branch, and I want to fight to reduce some of these things...Increase the pay and get rid of the funding mechanism and bring pressure to bear on those who make the decisions. (Sebastian)

The manner in which Sebastian makes sense of and responds to his lived experience sets him apart from Nancy and Edward. Equally, there are elements of his world view and his engagement with the everyday world of teaching which link his account to some of the other members of the sample. For example, Sebastian's perception that as a sub-group black educators have been exiled to the periphery of the professional community finds expression not in a denial of these barriers, but in a commitment to activism. At the same time, he is able to hold on to a view of education which centres the all round development of students as its main purpose. According to this standpoint, market forces and their intrusion into educational practice have to be challenged and contested. Sebastian's account, and those of other research respondents, bring into sharp focus the multiple identities which exist within the ranks of black educators working within UK further education and the range of responses

which inform their intentions on divestiture from their further education positions. The focus of the next chapter devolves on an examination of the production, reproduction and playing out of identity work amongst members of the sample.

Given the almost universal negativity of the responses of these respondents to the themes and issues investigated in this research study, and given the large proportion who were either committed to leaving or desirous of leaving the further education sector, I invited them to identify and delineate those policy changes which they considered would bring about significant improvements in terms of race equality. They voiced a range of concerns, and highlighted a series of policy adjustments.

Changes to Policy and Practice – Voices of Black Professionals

It was significant to note that there was remarkable consensus amongst these respondents in identifying broad issues relating to policy and practice within further education which they felt required change in order to improve race equality in the sector. The issues are summarised in Table 4.

Table 4: Policy and Practice – an Agenda for Change

Issue	Respondents identifying issue
Access and progression of black staff	Desmond, Everton, Fiona, Jane, Janice, Henderson, Nancy, Sebastian
Black networks	Anthony, Desmond, Edward, Everton, Fiona, Jane, Janice, Nancy, Sebastian
Implementation of equal opportunities policies	Anthony, Desmond, Edward, Everton, Fiona, Jane, Janice, Henderson, Nancy, Sebastian
Responding to racist incidents	Desmond
Antiracist curriculum	Anthony, Edward, Fiona, Sebastian
Community engagement	Anthony, Desmond, Janice, Jane, Sebastian

Black governors	Henderson, Jane, Sebastian
Black inspectors	Anthony, Desmond, Fiona, Jane, Henderson, Sebastian
The common inspection framework	Anthony, Desmond, Edward, Everton, Jane, Janice, Sebastian

It is important to delineate some of the detail relating to respondents' proposals for change surrounding these issues, and to highlight some of the differences in emphasis which the narratives revealed.

Access and Progression of Black Staff

There was widespread concern at the underrepresentation of black staff and black managers within further education, in line with the findings of the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002). Several respondents called for an external watchdog charged with the responsibility of monitoring progress within individual institutions, and tracking the career progression of black staff across the sector. Jane suggested that the watchdog organisation could act as a recruitment agency, to support colleges which claimed to encounter difficulties in attracting black staff. Jane also believed that colleges should suffer financial penalties for any failure to recruit black staff to agreed quotas. Henderson and Sebastian believed in setting targets rather than quotas, linked to the local minority ethnic population. There was widespread support for the requirement for colleges to monitor and record the career paths of black professionals, which has recently been introduced as part of race relations legislation.

Black Networks

There was almost universal recognition of the benefits of networks and support groups. Respondents frequently reflected on the fact that white women had made significant gains in terms of their representation both in the further education workforce generally, and in management roles in particular, in the decade since incorporation. They reflected that one of the key strategies which white women adopted was to establish networks and support groups.

Respondents felt that black professionals could benefit in similar ways. The majority of respondents believed that these networks and support groups should be formally constituted, and there were suggestions of specific initiatives such as mentoring and work shadowing.

Implementation of Equal Opportunities Policies

Given the experiences recounted in the narratives, it is unsurprising that all the respondents demanded that equal opportunities policies and procedures should be a compulsory component of the college management agenda. There were various suggestions about how these policies could be monitored, including through inspection, through community involvement, and through consultation with black staff and black students.

Responding to Racist Incidents

Desmond, raised a particular concern about college responses to racist incidents. Because of the particularly painful experience which he had suffered, he called for much clearer requirements for dealing with such incidents.

College managers should be required to keep a register of all reported racist

incidents, to record action taken, and to make this register available on request and during inspections.

Antiracist Curriculum

Several respondents contended that antiracism and multiculturalism should be embedded within the culture of a college through the introduction of antiracist themes into the curriculum. Anthony gave the example of using black history as a vehicle for this. Sebastian asserted that it was just as important to ensure the curriculum was antiracist in colleges whose staff and students were white as it is in colleges situated in multiracial areas. There should be consultations with black organisations nationally to agree curricular strategies.

Community Engagement

Concerns were expressed that, since incorporation, many colleges had reduced their links with local communities. Respondents wanted to develop white college managers to understand the value of the contributions of the local community to a whole range of issues. There were suggestions that management training should include compulsory modules designed to develop white managers' skills in community relations, and there were several innovative ideas for community involvement in colleges, such as community consultations regarding the appointment of governors, and the engagement of black parents.

Black Governors

Some respondents worked in colleges where there were no black governors, and others had experience of working in colleges with black governors. Whilst

recognising the value of black governors, some participants raised concerns that isolated black governors might be less effective unless they were part of wider community engagement strategies. There were also issues about the method of choosing black governors, with suspicions that white managers may appoint black governors who lacked the necessary experience. Several respondents asserted that, if community relationships were developed holistically, there would be no problems in identifying appropriately experienced black governors.

Black Inspectors

There were widespread criticisms of the college inspection framework throughout the narratives because of its failure to prioritise equality issues. Respondents felt that the relative absence of black professionals from the ranks of college inspectors resulted in insufficient importance being placed during inspections on a whole range of equality of opportunity and antiracist issues. There was an urgent need to recruit and train black inspectors.

Common Inspection Framework

Apart from the need to employ more black inspectors, respondents were critical of the approaches taken to equality of opportunity issues during inspection. They considered that there was insufficient rigour in investigating the impact of policies, insufficient monitoring of equality of opportunity in the curriculum, and insufficient inquiry into the experiences of black students and black staff. Jane emphasised the need for monitoring and enforcement mechanisms, with inspectors well placed to oversee these. Overall, they asserted the need for black perspectives to be included within the inspection processes.

This section has reflected some of the specific policy departures which these respondents called for in response to my invitation during the interviews to pick out key issues which might advance race equality within the further education sector. It is not possible to give fuller voice to these issues within the confines of this study, but respondents have indicated their wishes for me to raise these policy proposals in different arenas.

CHAPTER SEVEN

RESPONSES TO MANAGERIAL AND MARKET FORCES

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to report further on the major themes and findings of the empirical research, especially as these relate to the reproduction and transformation of black professional identities within the marketised context of UK further education. The justification for the chapter rests on two inter-related grounds. In the first place, whilst the funding and market led reforms to UK further education have spawned a literature dealing with the issue of professional identity, issues and concerns around race and ethnicity have been marginalised. Second, within this emergent body of research and literature, questions of agency have for the most part been oversimplified. In this regard FE practitioners have either been constructed as complicit agents within the reform process, or as creative resisters of change. As Gleeson et al (2005 p 445) have argued, 'sociological interest in the field has tended to focus on further education practitioners as either the subjects of market and managerial reform, or as creative agents operating within the contradictions of audit and inspection cultures'. In developing this argument, Gleeson et al (2005 p 445) point to the need to overcome this dualism between structure and agency in order to reach 'a more transformative conception of the further education professional'.

A Typology of Black Professional Identity within UK Further Education

Settings

At one level, the professional lives of black educators are shaped by a common set of structural forms such as racism, discrimination and market forces.

However, at another level black educators are not a homogenous group, in that individuals are repositories of distinctive personal histories which have been shaped by factors such as class, gender, religious tradition and so on. At issue here is that the way that agency is experienced and professional identities are taken up and lived cannot be read in a straightforward manner that is linked to common racial group membership. In this respect, careful analysis of the interview transcripts during the fieldwork process revealed a very clear typology of emergent black professional identities, rather than one homogenous black identity.

Having analytically delineated their respective features, these were designated as *black strategic conformists*, *black survivors*, *black outsiders* and *black collectivists*. These four analytical categories enable me to make sense of the specific themes, patterns and trends which are embedded within the data. They also signal the fact that the responses of black educators to the new and changed institutional conditions of post compulsory education are multiple and eclectic. This having been said, it needs to be made clear that individual educators can and do shift across identity positions during their career.

The remainder of this section will attempt a characterisation of these ideal typical constructions of black professional identity. A summary of my analysis of the identity position of each of the respondents at the time of being interviewed for this research is shown in Table 5.

Table 5: Analysis of respondent identities

Pseudonym	Date of Interview	Employment at date of interview	Identity
Anthony	May 2001	Lecturer	Black survivor
Desmond	May 2001	Lecturer	Black collectivist
Edward	November 2002	Middle manager	Black strategic conformist
Everton	June 2001	Part time lecturer	Black survivor
Fiona	August 2001	Lecturer with course management duties	Black collectivist
Henderson	August 2001	Lecturer	Black outsider
Jane	October 2001	Middle manager	Black collectivist
Janice	August 2001	Middle manager	Black collectivist
Nancy	June 2001	Middle manager	Black strategic conformist
Sebastian	June 2001	Lecturer	Black collectivist

Black Strategic Conformists

Black strategic conformist refers to those practitioners (Nancy and Edward) who display a number of distinctive characteristics. In the first place, they embrace market ideology and its associated standpoint that the new entrepreneurial further education is better than the old with its blandishment of public sector values. Edward described the beneficial impact of incorporation.

I think incorporation has been a good thing, in the context of the relationship we have with clients. Because now – even though better value is not a term used in FE, you know, we are now very definitely focused upon the needs of the learner, the individual learner. I'm very responsive to that. (Edward)

Second, their narratives reveal that they are careerists who view the needs of students as at best a second order issue. Edward adopted the language of the market in analysing the reasons for his success.

I've felt that I was among a new breed of managers when I came through, because I was able to cost courses very quickly, and challenge managers who were in more senior positions than myself with regard to the cost effectiveness of the courses we were running. (Edward)

For these practitioners, personal gain rather than making a contribution to the public good is the main driving force underpinning their orientation to further education. Third, strategic conformists underplay the significance of race and racism in shaping the lived experience of black learners and black professionals. In a fundamental sense they are pragmatists who are prepared to play the game. For example, Nancy had already explained that there were very few black staff and black managers in the main college campus, where a prestigious curriculum was offered, and that black staff were clustered in the sub-college where she herself worked. The sub-college was regarded by staff at the main college as less prestigious, its curriculum was regarded as second rate, and she described how black staff were discouraged from moving to the main campus. Yet when she was asked whether the curriculum changes at her college had operated to the detriment of black staff, Nancy's response was to deny any such effect.

No, and I don't see why it should be...I don't think that they would have any different impact as opposed to white staff. (Nancy)

Fourth, black educators taking up this identity position display a lack of interest in dismantling the barriers to the equitable participation of black people as learners and practitioners within the sector. It would therefore appear to be the

case that this category of black professionals displays the identity characteristics which Ball (2003 p 215) associates with 'the new performance worker'.

Black Survivors

Black survivors (Anthony and Everton), as the label implies, adopt an instrumental approach to their working lives. As a consequence, they focus on getting to grips with the day to day realities of their jobs, and seek satisfaction and fulfilment within arenas such as the black led church movement or black community projects, as Everton explained.

I was involved in a lot of youth work in a lot of youth projects. I have always had that sort of etiquette, to sort of give back to the community, and I thought, by doing this, I'd be able to help similar young kids who came from my background. (Everton)

Another distinguishing hallmark of black survivors is that, although they are more or less aware of the manner in which race and racism play out in shaping the lives of black learners and educators, they are reluctant to contest and challenge issues around racial injustice. Underpinning this stance is a profound scepticism concerning what they perceive to be a lack of commitment to racial equality issues, even in colleges where formal equal opportunities policies existed. Everton expressed his frustration and disillusionment, and his decision to seek work elsewhere.

If I bring race into it, I could say I was a token black teacher...Now it just seems as if its not appreciated...I need to progress career wise, and really I guess I am looking for a new challenge because the college doesn't seem to be presenting me with anything which would make me want to stay there much longer, because it's not giving me any commitment in terms of my future. (Everton)

In addition, they tended to be ill informed about recent and current reforms to further education. The elder of the two professionals in this category, Anthony, was marking time on the way to retirement and a pension, because he felt too old to implement his expressed desire to leave further education.

Black Outsiders

Black outsiders is a designation which has been applied to those educators (for example, Henderson) who undertook their schooling in their countries of origin and completed their higher education in the UK. As a group they display a relatively uninformed understanding of the specificity of issues around race and racism in the UK. In fact, when they themselves become the object of racialised practices they are more than likely to blame themselves. Henderson was advised by his manager not to apply for a promoted post which served to block his career development in the college where he worked as a lecturer.

I probably have a laid back approach. Because here was a manager who is a friend, so she was fairly open and frank with me...But actually my decision about appearing laid back...stems from an informed decision as to how to manage people. (Henderson)

They understand the educational enterprise as being concerned with the transmission of neutral bodies of knowledge to learners. Their ideological location within this view of education renders them vulnerable to a standpoint which underplays the role of structural factors in shaping the experience of black learners and educators within educational settings. It would not be stretching the point too far to say that this sub-group of black professionals are in but not of the country.

I was very thankful that I was given the opportunity...I really didn't know exactly what FE was all about. (Henderson)

Black Collectivists

Black collectivists (Desmond, Fiona, Jane, Janice and Sebastian) constitute the fourth and final identity category which emerged as a result of analytical scrutiny of the empirical data. This sub-group of black professionals exhibited a range of highly distinctive traits which set them apart as a separate category within the sample. In the first place, they displayed high levels of commitment to the subjects which they taught, and to the community from which they had originated. Fiona's motivation in entering further education was linked to her belief that a priority within the sector was assisting the development of the black communities, and her first post was testimony to this.

In 1985 FE was expanding and I got a job...with a focus on women and ethnic minorities, and particularly African Caribbean women, because at that time it was the 'in' thing. So that was where the money was being put, and I think it was the right move at the right time, being at the right place at the right time, so that was how I first got into FE. (Fiona)

Second, this group of educators possessed a highly nuanced and sophisticated understanding of race and racism, and the ways in which these play out in framing the experiences of black learners and professionals within UK further education.

We don't talk about African Caribbean people as such any more...We just don't talk about us...And I can't see at the moment how you are going to bring it back into institutions like FE when we are all leaving, or we are coming in on such low posts. (Fiona)

Janice explained the cynicism which she believed underpinned her college management's approach to the employment of black staff.

I think management priorities change according to what is happening. I suspect that before inspection they wanted a few black people around as window dressing, which is where I think I came in...Obviously, once that was over – mission accomplished, you are not really needed any more. (Janice)

Relatedly, they were more than prepared to put their heads above the parapet and to speak out against social and racialised injustices. Third, black collectivists operated with an inclusive view of education, and constructed the educational enterprises as being centrally concerned with the all-round development of learners. Jane was highly critical of her college management's decisions regarding resource allocation.

I think there has been a move away from going out and working with those communities, and a kind of move back on opportunities on college premises, on college site...I can't understand why funding a class in the community should cost less than funding a class in a college institution. I am sorry but that is a racist perspective as far as I am concerned. If you are funding students in a local church down the road, what is it that is cheaper than funding them in an institution? It is a racist perception. They are entitled to the same quality of resource etc. Why should they have a lesser resource? (Jane)

Fourth, these research respondents were well informed about and critical of the market driven reforms to further education. Fifth, black collectivists valued difference and diversity, and were committed to challenging the barriers between black and other disadvantaged communities, and in establishing inter-agency links and partnerships, as Jane's account illustrates.

I made a conscious decision to change my staffing profile to reflect the community. Hence, I had Vietnamese, I had Sikhs, I had Muslims, I had Gujaratis, I had Bengalis – all of which was reflective of the communities that we worked in. And the difference it made in attracting students and actually retaining students was phenomenal. (Jane)

Reading the narratives of this sub-group forces one to rethink Ball's (2003) claim that performativity works in such a way as to require and bring into existence a certain kind of professional identity whilst proscribing others.

Having sketched in the defining hallmarks delineating the responses of the sample to race and market forces, it is necessary to present more detailed

portraits of four respondents whose identity work is illustrative of these tendencies and orientations. This analysis will be built around the personal narratives of Nancy, Anthony, Henderson and Jane who have been chosen because they display those characteristics and orientations which exemplify the four identity positions. The identity positions which these four black educators take up and live allow them to be located analytically within the Black Strategic Conformist (Nancy), Black Survivors (Anthony), Black Outsiders (Henderson) and Black Collectivist (Jane) categories.

Nancy and Black Strategic Conformity

Nancy first encountered the further education profession four years before the onset of incorporation in 1993. Prior to this career move, she had worked in a Community Relations Council, and as a Race Equality Officer within a local government setting. Her academic formation had been secured within the social sciences, and she had started but not completed a doctorate after obtaining her first degree. Nancy explained that she had never considered teaching as a career until she attended a course around men and women working together when she worked in local government. At this event Nancy met a woman who suggested to her that she had the potential to become a very good teacher. Nancy remarked:

At that time it was not in my thoughts to become a teacher, and I think it was her words, her encouragement and insight that triggered my view, or any view, that I had about becoming a teacher.

Nancy obtained her first post as a Lecturer/Outreach Counsellor in a medium size multiracial college. Significantly, she remarked that although the college was located in a significantly black and minority catchment area, there were

very few black members of staff. It is worth exploring Nancy's experiences in the accession phase of her first post in further education and her response to these challenges, because of what these events reveal about the taking up of black professional identities by the sample. Nancy applied for and obtained this post at a time when colleges were managed and controlled by local authorities. The particular college at which she was employed fell within the jurisdiction of an urban local authority which was seeking to implement antiracist initiatives within its further education colleges. In reflecting on these developments, Nancy recalled that:

It was a time of Section 11 and lots of developments in further education, and a number of new posts came out around Section 11 in further education colleges, and there was a job going for a lecture/counsellor. I decided to apply for one of those posts, really not thinking I would get it. I got that post.

It is crucial to point out that there were two main prongs attached to this new role. In the first place, it involved working with black and disadvantaged communities in order to improve the participation rate of black students, and to assist the college in developing new kinds of provision. The second major aspect of the role was assisting the college in developing strategies to encourage black staff to work at the college. In relation to both of these dimensions, Nancy experienced class and racialised barriers which were virtually impenetrable. In this respect, Nancy stated that:

It was a very elitist college, or some of the lecturers were very elitist, and there weren't many black lecturers in that college anyway. I think I was one amongst a few black members of staff so that was most strange for them. So they were not at all welcoming, because my role was very much outreach, trying to encourage more black staff to come into education, and also developing access programmes. I remember an 'A' level lecturer at the college saying to me that access courses were like a second rate course and they shouldn't really be taking place, and that 'A' level was the route that all students should be following. Even with the

development of doing outreach work in the community to bring in new clientele within the college, that was not welcomed by the majority of staff so you really were battling against the grain. There were a few supportive staff who were forward looking, but the vast majority of staff, who were in FE for a very long time, were used to a very traditional approach to teaching and learning, and a very traditional type of clientele.

In the extract cited above, Nancy reveals a number of traits which arguably suggest that at this accession stage in her career she could have been positioned within the black professional collectivist category. Illustratively, she displays an acute understanding of the ways in which race and class factors play out, in shaping the response of the college and its staff to black learners. There is also evidence of a kind which suggests that, despite working within a hostile environment, she was prepared to push for antiracist changes. Fortunately for Nancy, her career was not stagnant as she moved to a promoted post at a different college within two years of working in further education, so the barriers were less impenetrable than she had initially assumed.

It is worth commenting on her experiences within this new post because of what it reveals about the collision between race and market forces in particular contexts. Nancy was appointed on a managerial grade as an equal opportunities co-ordinator two years before the removal of colleges from the control of local education authorities. She spoke approvingly about her initial experiences in the incumbency phase of her new role. She felt that the managerial climate within which she now worked embraced the multi-cultural antiracist reforms which were being promulgated by the local education authority. In this respect, Nancy stated that:

When I was at North Sheen it had a real strong emphasis on equal opportunities, and I actually came to the institution to deliver equal opportunities.

However, events began to unravel within a year of her occupation of this new post. Two developments were significant in reshaping the college's disposition to racial equity issues, and served to transform Nancy's day to day experience. In the first place a new principal was appointed whom Nancy perceived to be hostile to racial equity initiatives. Second, the appointment of a new principal took place at a time when the college was restructuring its internal systems and procedures in order to respond to the demands of incorporation. In these circumstances, equal opportunities slipped off the college's policy agenda. These changes engendered serious consequences for this phase of Nancy's professional career. In particular, although she maintained her managerial pay, she was removed from college decision-making forums. In effect she returned to the position of a main grade lecturer. In reflecting on this experience, Nancy recalled that:

I really thought that was it, I would just remain a lecturer and I would never achieve any management position.

Four years after her demotion to the ranks, Nancy's pessimism about the likely trajectory of her professional career proved to be stillborn. In this regard, she applied for and obtained a managerial post at a college in a neighbouring local authority. For the most part Nancy enjoyed the challenges of her new role, and conceded that it had enhanced her managerial skills and capabilities. However, the managerial climate within which it was embedded was one in which the senior management team struggled to reconcile its commitment to market and racial equality values. The outcome was that the college fell foul of funding and

inspection arrangements and regulations. These processes engendered a series of restructurings, redundancies and massive work intensification for those left behind. Nancy became increasingly unable and unwilling to deal with this turbulence and opted to take a voluntary redundancy package. She was fortunate that within a very short space of time she was able to obtain a relatively senior managerial post at a college in the local authority within which she had started off her professional career in further education.

At the time of the interview she had experienced a number of promotions, and her current post was that of Faculty Director. Nancy spoke about her experiences in glowing terms, and in ways which suggested that she had taken up and was practising the identity of a black strategic conformist. In order fully to grasp the way in which Nancy took up and practised her identity, it is necessary to provide a certain amount of detail about the context and structure within which she worked. Brown's College is a medium sized institution in the south of a large urban conurbation. In geographical terms it straddles an inner city locale containing a high black and minority ethnic population, and a suburban area where there is a much smaller black and minority ethnic presence. The college operates across two main sites. Whereas the main college is located in the suburban part of the college's catchment area, what might be termed the sub-college is situated at the heart of the inner city. The main college and its sub-college are presided over by a unitary governing body. Somewhat unusually, management has been devolved across the two sites, a development which finds expression in the fact that each site is overseen by its own senior management team. Nancy is a member of the senior management

team at the sub-college, and she explained that 'I am part of the whole decision making process within my college'.

Another highly significant feature of this structure is that, whereas the senior management team at the main college is predominantly white, the reverse holds true for the inner city sub-college. This is an important point to make, and helps to explain the fundamental differences in values, ethos and provision which exist across these two sites. For example, when she was asked a question about what was special about the ethos and values of her sub-college, she reported that:

I am actually working with people who have a real vision of equality, a real vision of education, who feel very strongly about education, and issues around widening participation and lifelong learning for all groups.

In direct contrast, Nancy stated quite categorically that these values were not shared by the rest of the college. In this respect, when asked a question about whether the values of her sub-college were shared across the wider college, she said:

I don't think so. I don't think it is typical of the wider college at all.

Having outlined some of the key dynamics which shaped the context within which Nancy worked, it is now possible to cast a critical eye on the way in which she lived out and practised her identity work. Throughout her personal narrative, Nancy interpreted and made sense of her lived experience within two contradictory discourses, as a manager and as a black female educator. When adopting the first subject position, she took an uncritical embrace of market thinking and its alleged beneficial impact on further educational professionals and learners. On the other hand, when she positions herself as a black female

educator, she turns in the opposite direction. For example, in commenting on the impact of the market reforms on teaching and learning, Nancy took the view that the new was better than the old. She stated that:

I think the whole realm of teaching and professionalism has changed, and rightly so...I have been in FE for about fifteen years and I have seen people who are teaching the same old thing all the time. The same old handout, the same old style of teaching, and that has really affected outcomes for many students, it's affected retention and that has affected achievement.

Yet, later on in the interview, when asked a question on the impact of the reform on the self image of managers and staff, she responded by saying that:

I think staff feel bitter. They feel put upon, that all these changes are happening, they are delivering to the best of their ability, they are all having to do more and more auditing, more external pressures, more pressure in terms of retention and achievement. There are all sorts of pressures being put on staff, and they feel frustrated, they do feel put upon.

There is a very clear contradiction between her simultaneous support and opposition to the reforms to teaching. It is almost as if she wants to look in two directions at the same time. Yet there is no doubt that in attempting to reconcile this contradiction, Nancy positions herself within a strategic conformist managerial identity. Nancy explained that:

I have been to union meetings where people have been expressing these points of view, but as a manager, and I am coming from a management point of view, I see what happens to students. At the end of the day, I am the one who receives the complaints from students if teachers are not delivering within the classroom. That is not to say that you have to accept everything a student says...but you can see where there are members of staff who are disaffected, they have been at it for a long time, they have not really developed themselves...They are not interested in developing themselves, and really we are in a new climate...So yes, I do hear staff saying we are constantly being asked to do more, we are doing enough...and I appreciate that, and I do think that staff have given a whole heap, a considerable amount to the improvement that has taken place within FE, but we can't just stay there.

Nancy's perspectives regarding the power of race in shaping the experiences of black educators and learners provides another example of the way in which her response to a particular issue depends on the discursive space which she occupies. On the one hand, when she adopts the speaking position of a managerially oriented strategic conformist, she denies or at the very least plays down the significance of race and racism. On the other hand, when she switches to take up the subject position of a black female educator, she recognises and acknowledges the centrality of race and racism in shaping the experiences of black educators and learners. Illustratively, when she was asked whether the market led reforms to the sector had any specific effects on black staff, her response suggested that she preferred not to admit to this possibility. She commented that:

I wouldn't think that they would have any different impact on black staff as opposed to white staff. Certainly from my experience, what I have experienced as a black manager is what my white managers are experiencing.

Yet when Nancy was asked to share her experiences and views about the responses of white colleagues to the fact that her sub-college was black led, she said:

I think that there has been this idea across the college that, because the sub-college is largely led by black people, that somehow it is second rate. And this is what some white people think in this way, and we are always having to prove to people, whether it's some senior managers or even governors, that this is not the case. That all the black staff and all the black senior managers are well qualified, they know what they are doing, they are delivering quality education and training.

The multiple collisions which constantly recur as a result of Nancy's positioning within two conflicting discourses and experiences both of failure and success in management positions are evident in the way in which she makes sense of and

constructs the experience of black learners at the main college location. This was the site from which academic elite provision was delivered. Against this background, and given the well documented tendency for such providers to construct the recruitment of black students as a risk (Ball et al 1998, Blair 1994), it is useful to pursue this line of inquiry in Nancy's case. Her response to these issues was framed at two levels. In the first place, she explained the values and ethos of her college were inclusive, and that moreover, because of its location, it had no choice but to target black and disadvantaged students. In the second place, she attempted to claim that the values and responses of the main college to the recruitment of black students were exactly the same. However, as the evidence contained in the following extract reveals, the situation was a great deal more complex. Nancy remarked that:

Oh yes, it has to. Because whereas certain other sections have been declining, we have been expanding, so for their own survival, for the other sections of the college's survival, they have got to be creative. If you like, they have to look at new client groups, and take on board a lot of the things that we have been doing, which in the past they were saying to us we were delivering lower level programmes to this client group, and they were delivering higher programmes to a different client group. Now, I think the success of our college has really inspired other sections of the college to look at what they are doing, to look at their recruitment strategies...to improve it in order to up their numbers...Now the whole college has to take on the concept of community education, and delivering programmes where and when people want them.

There are a number of themes contained in the above statement that are worthy of comment. In the first place, Nancy begins by adopting a strategic conformist identity position, and in so doing, asserts that the main college had not operated a hierarchy of desirability in terms of their recruitment and selection of students. Second, as the narrative unfolds, she more or less explicitly concedes that, in the past, certain kinds of students were indeed valued more highly than others. Third, the market position of the main college had shifted, a fact which found

expression in declining student numbers. Fourth, as a result of these events, staff at the main college now had no choice but to aim their marketing and recruitment strategies at black and other disadvantaged students. Finally, perhaps this is a case of staff at the main college doing the right thing, even if it is for the wrong reasons. The illustrative evidence outlined in this section lends weight to the claim that Nancy took up and lived out her identity as a strategic conformist, at the time of the interview. It may be that over time, she remains with this, or shifts, given the contradictions with which she struggles.

Anthony and Black Survivalism

At the time of the interview in May 2001, Anthony had worked as a main grade lecturer in the same college for twelve years. Having successfully completed a first degree in Business Studies, he spent the early part of his career working as a careers officer, and it was from this location that he moved into further education. In part, this decision was motivated by a desire to support the institution in developing appropriate responses to black and other disadvantaged students, and black staff. In this regard, Anthony stated that:

I did not want to be placed in an institution where I was just a visual aid, and I think that can be easily done. I think that a lot of institutions have actually used black people for that cause, as visual aids, going around places saying, look, we are taking equal opportunities on board. I felt that, as a black person, I was coming into the institution with certain skills, and I thought that at least they would utilise some of my skills to ensure that other black people come into the institution. But that was not the case.

Anthony's entry to further education occurred four years before the incorporation of colleges. He was therefore well placed to comment on his and other black educators' working lives and careers before and after marketised

changes to further education. His perceptions of the prospects for black staff entering and progressing within the sector, in his accession phase soon after he started in 1989, are worth remarking, not least because of the profound pessimism which it reveals about how he saw the situation then and at the time of the interview. This having been said, it has to be acknowledged that his perceptions were not necessarily shared by other members of the sample. Grounding his response to these issues in his own lived experience, he stated that:

In terms of my position, I suppose you would have to say that I was lucky to be in the business and management department, and when I came here there was no-one working in that department...I have been here eleven to twelve years now, and I am still the only black person as far as I am aware at this college who is working in that department. So from that, as you can see, there has not been any progress there.

Anthony's pessimistic perceptions regarding the barriers which black educators face in progressing their careers profoundly shaped the way in which he negotiated his professional career. For example, notwithstanding the fact that he had worked in the sector for more than a decade, he stated that he had never applied for a promoted post within or outside his institution. If anything, his perceptions concerning the impermeability of the barriers facing black educators became more embedded the longer he worked in further education. In this respect, Anthony remarked that:

I can't see any evidence to say that, over the years, there has been any major change there. For whatever reason, it is only a few, extremely few black staff who are actually coming through, and when they actually enter the college it's not that they are in management positions. The ones who have been here over the years, I can't recall anyone who has actually climbed the ladder to management or even senior management positions. So it would appear that little change has taken place over the years.

Anthony's reading of the situation confronting black educators is a particular expression of his more general understanding of the way in which racialised dynamics frame the lives of black and minority ethnic communities in Britain. For example, he notes that the college at which he worked aggressively marketed its provision in white middle class enclaves within its multi-racial catchment area. Contrariwise, he pointed out that areas with a high proportion of black families were neglected. In this regard, Anthony commented that:

I suppose you only have to look at maybe where they actually promote the college, and it will give you an indication as to whether some communities are more highly favoured than others. There is such as Santon where you have a high proportion of Caucasians. On the other hand you have other areas such as Jonestown where you have a high proportion of black people. I am not sure that this college is interested in selling its product and conveying information in areas such as the latter.

At one level, analysis of Anthony's narrative points to the fact that he disengaged college life outside the demands of his teaching responsibilities. In so doing, he displays a penchant for day to day survival. However, at another level, there is evidence of a subordinate moment embedded within the framework in terms of which he makes sense of his lived experience. The existence of this tendency suggests that the way in which he positions himself in taking up an identity was neither fixed nor inflexible. Illustratively, in reflecting on his inability to progress his career, he took the view that institutional constraints constituted only part of the story. In taking up this position, he conceded that the way in which he had expressed his agency in the incumbency phase of his career had been a contributory factor. He stated:

Looking back it has been a long time, and yes, to some extent I was naïve in the sense that what I was expecting from FE, it was totally the opposite when I actually got into it. As a result of that, I think over the years to some extent I have become relaxed, and to some extent I have to blame the institution... You can become so engulfed in what is taking

place within you that you lose sight of what you should be doing, where you should be going.

The way in which Anthony made sense of his experiences as a black educator and the identity he took up stand in sharp contrast to Nancy's as outlined in the previous section. At this point in the discussion I now move on to present a portrait of Henderson in order to consider how he interprets and makes sense of his experience, and how these activities shape the way in which he enacts his identity as a black outsider.

Henderson and Taking up of an Identity as a Black Outsider

Henderson was born in Nigeria, and it was there that he underwent his schooling. This is a particularly pertinent point to make, since it partly explains the intensity of his personal struggle to make sense of race and racialised dynamics within educational settings. Subsequently, he emigrated to the United States of America where he successfully completed a first degree in history. Henderson then moved to mainland Europe where he lived and worked for a number of years. By the mid 1980s Henderson had entered the UK on a student visa. He used this space to accumulate further academic qualifications, including two separate masters degrees in philosophy and education. In addition, Henderson successfully completed a Certificate in Education and was therefore qualified to teach within compulsory schooling. At the time of the interview in August 2002, he had been enrolled for some years on a doctoral programme at a British university.

At the end of the 1980s Henderson entered the teaching profession, as a supply teacher at a primary school in the south east of England. However, marriage to his partner at the end of his first year of teaching necessitated a move to the West Midlands conurbation. For the next four years, he settled for what he described as 'odd jobs' in the Midlands city in which he had taken up residence. Not unsurprisingly, Henderson became highly demotivated, not least because of what he perceived to be the absence of opportunities to practice the profession for which he had been trained. In this respect, Henderson commented that:

I got fed up because, in the Midlands, I felt I didn't have the opportunity... So there was indeed no motivation to stay or to remain in the Midlands.

He moved to a city fifty miles to the south of the Midlands where he perceived that opportunities would be better. Initially, he settled for low paid unskilled work in a warehouse. Having become disillusioned yet again with this line of work, he gave up this job. In explaining this decision, Henderson stated that:

I worked for Keys for instance, which was a warehouse, but I was disillusioned in many ways, and one of the ways why I was disillusioned was because that I felt I had the right qualifications... I had taught in the primary school, knowing full well that I was probably the most qualified... I knew I had my masters degree, I was doing a second MA in philosophy when I was teaching in the primary school. So in a sense I felt very disillusioned for taking on this odd job, so I eventually gave it up.

Henderson's entry into further education in 1995 was secured via the part time teaching route. He explained that, whilst out of work, he responded to an advertisement for visiting teachers at Dingwall College, and felt 'fortunate' when he was accepted into the college as a part time lecturer. The way in which Henderson engaged with the further education labour market is symptomatic of his outsider status, since 'local' candidates would not have confined their job

search to a strategy based on serendipity. Initially contracted to teach six hours per week on social science courses in the accession phase of his further education career, Henderson was under severe pressure to increase his hours in order to meet his basic survival needs. This was eventually achieved when he was offered further hours at nearby Latimer Road College. Henderson worked as a visiting teacher for four years, and at the end of this period managed to secure a one year fixed term lectureship at Latimer Road College. Fortunately for Henderson, towards the end of this contract he applied for and was offered a permanent post as a curriculum co-ordinator in Health and Social Care. This was the position which he occupied at the time of the interview in 2002.

Unlike the colleges at which the other nine respondents worked, Latimer Road College was predominantly monocultural in terms of the composition of its staff and student populations. In fact, Henderson and an Afro-Caribbean female lecturer were the only teachers of colour employed at this medium sized further education college. As a black outsider working within these dynamics, Henderson struggled to make sense of his lived experience as a black educator. As will become clear in due course, one of the specific ways in which this struggle finds expression is in his simultaneous denial and acknowledgement that race could potentially shape the careers of black educators and learners. Of considerable interest here is that, whereas the entry of all the other respondents to further education was motivated in part by a desire to eradicate racialised inequalities, in Henderson's case such a conviction never surfaced within his account. His main preoccupation was to

get a job, and on his own admission was prepared to overlook any adversity that he encountered along the way. In this regard, Henderson stated that:

Don't forget that up to this stage I hadn't a fairly stable job in education, so my immediate priority basically – I mean, I suppose I was very thankful that I was given the opportunity. And even if there were problems here and there, they were secondary really. My immediate preoccupation was to get on with the job regardless of what was happening, and so I wasn't very sensitive to all the things around me.

Another factor which helps to explain Henderson's self declared stance of not being 'very sensitive to all the things around me', is his initial unfamiliarity with issues around the nature of the English further education system. This gap in his knowledge and understanding was apparent when he responded to a question about his ideals when he first entered the further education service.

To be frank, this is another problem, because I wasn't born and bred here, I didn't really know what FE was all about. I thought FE was equivalent to higher education, I actually didn't know there was a clear difference between HE and FE.

Not surprisingly, in significant respects, Henderson displays the traits of an economic migrant who crossed national boundaries in the search for better opportunities.

Henderson's initial lack of understanding in relation to the further education system exists alongside a more enduring inability to understand the specificity of race in shaping the experience of black educators and learners in the UK. A specific example can be cited in order to buttress this interpretation. First, after five years working as a visiting lecturer, and then as a main grade lecturer on a one year contract, he managed to secure his first permanent post as a curriculum co-ordinator. At issue here was that not only was his salary inferior to that of white colleagues in similar posts, but it was also inferior to that of main

grade lecturers whose work he co-ordinated. In reflecting on these disparities,

Henderson commented that:

Well, I must say that compared to some of my colleagues, I am not quite sure of the basis on which salaries are determined, because currently I am on £20, 000 or thereabouts...When I had my full time temporary contract I was on about £22,000, but now I am £2000 worse off...I am £2000 short of what I used to earn...So really, in order to accept this full time permanent contract I have had to take a cut.

When he was invited to share his perceptions concerning the reasons underpinning his differential treatment in the incumbency phase of his career, his initial response played down the possibility that race might have been a factor. In so doing, he remarked:

First of all, maybe they were able to make a case for increased salary, and I can see that they were confident in demanding it. I am not quite sure if race comes into it.

As the narrative develops, Henderson comes close to acknowledging that his racial group membership might have been a factor in shaping his experience, albeit in a somewhat reluctant manner. In this regard he commented that:

I am beginning to see where it plays a part. What I couldn't do was to isolate race as a singular factor.

Henderson's insistence on the need to embrace complexity rather than simplicity in making sense of his experience of differential treatment is a point well made. In the simplistic version, Henderson would be cast in the role of a victim of the racialised practices of the senior management team at his college. A more nuanced interpretation would point to the fact that cost cutting has become an on-going imperative within the managerial and teaching cultures of further education. In these circumstances, the threat of worsened pay, working conditions or worse hangs like a dark cloud over the working lives of all staff

within the sector. However, as a member of a relatively powerless and marginalised sub group within the further education sector, Henderson like other black educators is more vulnerable to inequitable treatment than his white counterparts. What is beyond dispute is that one component of the way in which Henderson lives out and plays with his identity, involves an oscillation between simultaneously acknowledging and denying race. There is evidence in Henderson's narrative that he is aware of this contradiction which is built into the way in which he responds to issues around race at his college. In commenting on his collusion with his differential treatment in relation to his salary, he stated that:

The most important thing when you are really desperate is self preservation, you want to preserve yourself. It did not occur naturally to say I need an increase in pay, because that might jeopardise my chances of getting the permanent full time job. But I was very confident that once given the job, I can do a very good job of it... Somehow, I was just hoping and praying that I get this permanent contract... And then my good works would automatically lead to them saying you are too good... Then I could ask for a pay increase.

A second example of the difficulties Henderson encountered in attempting to make sense of issues around race is in relation to his perception of the college's treatment and response to black and minority ethnic students. In response to a question about whether such students were valued on a par with other types of students, Henderson categorically replied that:

Obviously, it seems to me that the college is very friendly towards ethnic minority students. There is one exception of an Asian student who felt that she was badly treated on a work placement, but I haven't come across an ethnic minority student who feels discriminated against.

Yet later on in the narrative, he concedes that black foreign students from Africa who come to study in the UK are channelled away from high status 'A' level

provision and steered towards the less prestigious GNVQ provision. Moreover, he posits that these practices are not based on academic criteria. He stated that:

I really do think there might be an issue where you have foreign students, like say Africans, coming in, and from my experience they are no better or worse than their white colleagues. They are being told to do something else instead of 'A' level, for instance to probably do say GNVQ or something like that.

Yet almost in the same breath he attempts to back away from a racialised explanation concerning the experiences of these students. He said:

I think there is this assumption that, because you are coming from abroad, and this is the problem, it is sort of difficult to know whether it is because race is an issue here or whatever. But it seems to me that the reason for that fear of taking risk with this person whose qualifications are from Africa, we don't know very much about.

What his position obscures is that racism can be reconstructed in terms of a discourse of risk.

Henderson displays a great deal of ambivalence in terms of the way in which he makes sense of his experience as a black educator working at Latimer Road College. On the one hand, he is deeply touched by the high regard in which he is held as a teacher by his colleagues. For example, he had this to say about the way that he was perceived by his line manager.

She has praised me for my efforts and things like that, and she commends my efforts in many ways... She knew that in the inspection result I got what you may probably regard as a grade 1. The inspector actually described my performance as excellent, and conveyed that to the manager.

On the other hand, as a black outsider, he struggles to make sense of the way in which his excellence as an educational practitioner has been used to his

detriment in career development terms. Illustratively, he commented that four to six months before the interview took place, he became interested in a vacancy which had arisen for a post as team leader. Significantly, this post carried with it increased responsibility and pay. Having approached his line manager to discuss his interest in this position, he was:

Told politely that because you are a very good co-ordinator, you understand mature students, access students, you are very successful at that, and we would recommend that you keep that, rather than apply for the post of team leader.

Initially, Henderson interpreted this response as a genuine compliment from his line manager. In this regard he stated that:

Some people might interpret what she said as a subtle form of racism, but that is not necessarily my view.

As the narrative unfolds he becomes more prepared to accept the possibility that his line manager's advice was an instance of racially motivated behaviour. At issue here is now whether this was in fact the case. Of more immediate interest is the specific manner in which Henderson reads and interprets the racial dynamics which he perceives to be involved. He stated that:

And part of the reason may be that there was a white way or working...which qualifies you to be a team leader, and a black way of working which does not qualify me to be a team leader. For instance, I probably have a laid back approach, so it may be claimed, well Henderson I don't think you can get them to do things, because maybe you are too laid back.

Leaving aside the problematic nature of the essentialised view of race which underpins Henderson's interpretation of these events, it is noticeable that Henderson places the blame for his misfortune on his own alleged personal inadequacies, and in so doing plays down the role that racialised dynamics

might have played in framing his experience. This is a typical example of the way in which black outsiders explain race, in making sense of and responding to their lived experience of further education.

Henderson is uncertain about his future in education. On the one hand, he took the view that he would like to divest himself from his career in further education.

I must say that from my experience at the moment, I would like to be out of FE as soon as I can... Yes, I would like to give up FE as soon as possible.

His desire to leave further education is based on his perception that his salary is not commensurate with his responsibilities, experience and qualifications. It is for this reason that he was undertaking doctoral studies, in the hope that this would be a stepping stone to a career in higher education. On the other hand, he exhibits pessimism about his prospects in this regard. This pessimism was engendered by virtue of the fact that he had recently interviewed staff from a local university who had been made redundant. As a consequence, he stated that:

FE is more stable than HE... What is the point in going to HE if it appears to me that there are no guarantees. It appears to me that university lecturers are more vulnerable than FE lecturers.

Henderson's account demonstrates his status as an outsider in terms of his understanding of issues within post-incorporation further education. His position as an outsider is further compounded by his professional isolation, working as one of only two black staff in the college where he works, and as the only black practitioner within his department.

The focus of the next section shifts towards an examination of the manner in which Jane, a black collectivist, engages in her identity work. Whilst there are clear points of similarity with Nancy, a black strategic conformist, the description and analysis reveals that these are outweighed by the dissimilarities.

Jane and Black Collectivism

Jane was interviewed in July 2001. She first entered further education in 1988, five years before the onset of incorporation in 1993. Prior to this move, she had worked for a short period as a school teacher, and then for a number of years in the black voluntary sector before taking up her first post at Handywell College. She had taken some time out of the workplace as a result of the arrival of a new baby. Jane was a trained teacher, had a first degree in English and subsequently obtained a masters degree in public sector administration. This was a post as deputy head of a language section. She explained:

I just applied purely by chance, never really thought about it, walked through the door, did an interview, then walked out. Then I was quite surprised to get it, and I came in then as a deputy head in a language section, which was interesting because I am not a language person other than English. But the manager at the time was an Asian man who for whatever reason thought that I had certain skills. Along with the then principal, they took it from there.

At the time of the interview in 2001, Jane had opted to take a voluntary redundancy package and was in the divestiture phase of her career in further education, working out her notice. This passage of Jane's professional career stands in sharp contrast to the period between 1993 and 1999 when she was a Head of School of Community Education. In this role she had responsibility for 70 staff, managed a budget, and along with her team generated the largest amount of revenue at Handywell College.

In order fully to grasp the way in which Jane lived out and practised her identity as a black collectivist, it is necessary to sketch in some contextual details about Handywell College. In the era before and after incorporation, Handywell College was a medium sized institution with a very multiracial student intake. This diversity amongst the student population was not reflected in the composition of its staff. In reflecting on this issue when she first joined the college, Jane stated that:

I was surprised at the lack of black senior staff in the system. I thought that FE would be probably better than schools in that respect...When I came into FE, I saw quite a number of black and Asian staff but they were predominantly at the lower levels, and I thought that it would actually be better. But it was no different to schools.

Handywell College is located in the west of an inner city locale which forms part of a large urban conurbation. Black and minority ethnic families constitute the largest proportion of residents within its catchment area. As a consequence of its location and public identity as a 'black college', it was not in a position to attract white students from more suburban parts of the city. This is a highly pertinent observation to make since the college entered incorporation facing a huge financial deficit. In part, this crisis was engendered by the determination of a predominantly white management and staff to deliver a traditional curriculum, and to confine delivery to college sites.

It is worth pursuing at some length the way in which the college responded to this crisis, and the role that Jane and a number of her black and minority ethnic colleagues played in shaping these events. Such an analysis brings into focus many of the key characteristics which mark Jane out as a black collectivist, whilst illustrating some of the specific ways in which these were played out in

practice. Jane and her colleagues managed to persuade a somewhat reluctant management and staff that the only way out of the crisis was to build partnerships with community based groups, and to deliver education and training programmes within community settings. Jane explained that what she wanted to do was to:

Progress working with community groups where we could actually build an infrastructure which would enable community groups to deliver education and training in a systematic and coherent fashion.

A revealing line of inquiry which seemed necessary to pursue was around issues to do with resistance from management and staff, and how this was handled by Jane. In response to this line of questioning, Jane commented that:

We worked out a strategy of how we could use that crisis to help our communities, and also benefit the college, and that is why they didn't have any choice. They hated it, they didn't like it. They didn't like the fact that they had to go and deal with lots of communities. They didn't like the fact that they had to go out there and work with people they are not familiar with or comfortable with. It was tough to do it because if you want a job you will do it, and that is the lever. And at the end of the day that is how you are going to get any change to the system.

In this incumbency period of Jane's professional career, she was quite prepared to embrace market thinking, though not on the traditional grounds of effectiveness, efficiency and economy. In this respect there were two principal strands to her argument. In the first place, she had always wanted to provide education and training programmes within community settings, but was unable to do it under the LEA. She contrasted this state of affairs with the changed circumstances which she perceived to prevail after incorporation, and the introduction of a new funding methodology. Commenting on this new arena of possibilities, she said that:

If you are creative and you are smart, you can see the ways of using it. And then we suss that we can use it in terms of supporting groups, and that is how we used it. So in a sense it gave power to the communities. Communities could demand the kind of programmes and training that they wanted, so I think that market forces were quite useful.

The second strand of her argument was based on the claim that marketisation empowered black staff at the college to push for an increase in the participation rates of black and ethnic minority staff within the workforce. This is how Jane explained how these processes worked for a time at Handywell College:

If you need students, if you need revenue, you are going to need us. And if you need us, you have to give us the position, give us the power in order to do the work. So we actually used incorporation and market forces as a lever, an economic lever, to force the staffing changes in our organisation and to bring in a load of black, Asian, Vietnamese and whatever. They would not have come in ordinarily, but because I was saying you have no choice here, if you want to access the Chinese community we need a Chinese outreach worker, we need several Bangladeshi workers. We need, I must have.

Jane closes this part of her personal narrative with a classical piece of unintended humour, in which the subtext serves to reinforce the considerable degree of power which she wielded between 1998 and 1999 at Handywell College. It is also one of the few instances uncovered within the fieldwork phase where market forces and racial equity issues appeared to be working in synergy with each other. She said:

But in a sense I didn't need to say I must have. I had the budget so I just went through and said, I am going to advertise these posts. And nobody was saying stop. Because at the time they couldn't say stop because they needed the students and they needed the revenue, so as much as they may not have liked it, they couldn't stop what was happening. I and others used it as a lever to bring in more black and Asian staff into the system.

The year 1999 was to mark a defining moment in Jane's professional career, as it witnessed a merger between her college and another institution located in the

east of the city. Whilst at one level Jane had had to face up to and deal with some difficult challenges in her role as Head of School, at another level she thoroughly enjoyed her lived experience because she worked as part of a multi-cultural team of colleagues who shared the same values and vision of education. Jane put it this way:

I have never ever worked in a team like that before and I doubt I will ever work in a team like that again...It was something that was very unique and very special, and very unusual to have a group of staff across cultural groups, and I had white staff in there as well who were really committed...I mean, we got knocked. The inspectors tried to crucify us, but that was because of the racism that came through from the Inspectorate, and them not understanding what we were trying to do. And also the Inspectorate didn't have any people who had any community knowledge, and their ignorance and naivety was astounding in terms of when they came in...But we were clear what we were about, we were about our communities and we didn't give a damn...We wanted to make sure that our communities were getting the benefits from this education system...We wanted to force the college to recognise that this was important to the college. And the people in the college, who were earning their money and doing their work were put in a very difficult position because they were being exposed.

Jane's experience, and that of her black and minority ethnic peers was to become transformed as a result of a merger with Westshire College. A new institution, Citywide College, was created and in her account Jane documented what she perceived to be the adverse effects of this merger and restructuring process on issues of race. In the first place, Jane contended that the terms upon which the merger was secured ensured the hegemony of senior managers from Westshire College within management and decision making at the new Citywide College. As far as Jane was concerned, one consequence of this was that Westshire College, with which Handywell College has now merged, is 'only interested in community...in the sense that it is about work ', whereas

The Handywell ethos has always been around the struggle, and to try and ensure black staff representation and the needs of our communities were taken into account.

Jane linked this shift in values to the partial erosion of community based education and training initiatives which had been pioneered by Handywell College. This having been said, Jane also acknowledges that reductions in the level of funding for this work had made it less attractive to colleges. In relation to these issues, Jane commented that:

I think there has been a move away from going out and working with these communities, and a kind of move back to opportunities on college premises, on college sites. I don't think the current funding regime really encourages them to get involved in communities anymore.

Jane noted that a second effect of the merger and restructuring process was that, within the new structure, decision making had moved right to the top of Citywide College. It had become monopolised by a small group of white senior managers based at the Westshire site of Citywide College. Jane commented on this change and its implications for issues around race.

I think that what we have now got, I will use the term, and I believe it is right, we have been colonised by Westshire. We have the white overseers now, and we are out in the sugar plantation now... The overseers are sitting at Westshire and occasionally come in, and they have one or two black, and some white staff, who are basically driving work forward.

Thirdly, Jane posited that the merger and restructuring processes had adversely affected race and staffing issues in a number of distinct but inter-related ways. First, what Jane described as 'proactive (black) managers' had been sidelined or removed from Citywide College altogether. At the same time, Jane stated that 'mediocre' black people who one would never have thought would have gone into a management position were appointed. For Jane, these moves by

the senior management were quite deliberate, and she offered an account as to why they had been undertaken.

I think that sent a signal about what the college is about... They were people who were champions of Handywell College... I think that sends a message, it certainly sets the tone of the relationship between black staff and senior managers. I think it clearly indicated that they are not interested in you as a black manager unless you do as you are told, and that is the bottom line. So any manager who wants to exist in this system has got to be totally compliant, and do as you are told regardless of whether or not you think it is right.

She herself had been removed from her post at Citywide College for not toeing the line. In reflecting on this experience, she commented that:

When I refused in some places to do certain things that I was asked to do, which I felt were not appropriate, what happened is then, I was removed from my position and another (black) colleague was put in place, and basically divide and rule tactics were played... That colleague then did whatever senior managers wanted, and we are now paying the price of that in a sense, and the communities have paid a price for that as well.

Fourth, Jane perceived that the restructuring had had a devastating effect on the morale of black main grade lecturers, and explained its impact.

I think the restructuring has been particularly demoralising, I think to the extent that black staff have now started to put their heads into bunkers and are not prepared to stand up and say anything, for fear of losing their job. That is quite clear. And having seen how the restructuring has gone, I think a lot of them are kind of burying their heads in the sand, because when they are ready to make the next set of cuts, they will be in the frame. They will be in the frame. What the college has managed successfully to do is divide the black staff, and also put the fear of God into those people, so that if they are seen in any way associating, to try and support something around fighting the corner for black staff, they will be seen to be trouble makers, and therefore they will be dealt with harshly.

Finally, Jane took the view that the merger and restructuring processes had rendered it more difficult for black staff to enter and progress within Citywide

College, not least because of the changes in managerial climate and institutional conditions. She explained the impact of the changes.

I think when I first started, given what I just showed about the backdrop – particularly in our college where we could progress then, we battled, we fought it through, but we could progress black staff ...We achieved black and Asian representation at all levels apart from the principal...And the numbers were increasing. As a result of merger, and now restructuring, we have gone back ten to fifteen years as far as I am concerned, in terms of representation.

In one sense even before the merger Jane knew that she had become a candidate for hostile senior management action. Here was a black woman who had made a huge success of her role, and as a consequence was able to wield considerable power within Handywell College. Jane put it in this way:

At the point when I was Head of School...I was generating half of the college's income – that is severe clout. You can pressure things, you know when you get to that point when you can start leaning on your principal. He is going to get very frightened by that, and therefore he wanted to smash that.

When Jane speaks about how her position, and the power which she wielded allowed her to 'pressure things', she is referring to the way in which she was able to implement antiracist initiatives in terms of curriculum, staffing, and Handywell's engagement with black and minority ethnic communities. As a black collectivist practising her identity work in this manner, Jane is swimming against a white masculinist managerialist tide. At this point she is able to maintain her position because of the contribution she makes to the economic survival of the college. This having been said, it should not be thought that attempts were not made to discourage and undermine her, as is revealed in the two following extracts.

I was doing panel interviews at one point, I had three black people interviewing. It wasn't deliberate...I just happened to have a manager who was Asian, there was myself...and the Head of Equal Opportunities who was black. This created a furore within the institution. If you had all

white staff interviewing, nobody would have batted an eyelid... Then I get this thing saying the principal now wants to vet every interview.

Speaking about the differential treatment which she had received from the principal at strategic planning meetings, she said:

I would stand up and go through my strategic plan, finances, budget, what we were doing, and I always came under severe pressure from the principal, and in some cases it was quite offensive... You know there is a fear there.

Earlier in this section, it was noted that Jane perceived that the merger and restructuring processes at Citywide College had been used in part as a cover to get rid of 'proactive black managers'. This was a category into which she placed herself. In this sense, her impending redundancy two years after the merger did not come as a complete shock to Jane. Her final thoughts on these issues within her narrative are worth remarking, not only because of what is said but because of what remains unsaid. She commented that:

The system is not ready for us. I say that in a sense they are not ready for bright, articulate, sharp black staff that are going to go out and do. They do not want us, they are not ready for us, and they don't want us because the situation or climate isn't one where we can get in there and do... At the moment it is about keeping you out, it is not about letting you in.

At issue here is that, on Jane's own admission, Citywide College had promoted certain black staff who were willing to comply in an unquestioning manner with the decision making of its senior management team. At the same time, the college had released a category of black managers defined by Jane as 'champions' and who were perceived by senior management as trouble makers because of their penchant for taking principled action.

And it is a sad thing to say that in 2001 you know they are not ready for us. They don't want us. I think maybe that is the issue.

It could therefore be argued that what is present but hidden in Jane's account is that, within the marketised environment of Citywide College, certain expressions of black professional identity are hailed whereas others are denounced. It is reasonable to suggest that Jane's predilection towards taking up and practising a black collective identity placed her in the latter category.

Summary

These narratives serve to illustrate the experiences of black professionals who take up positions as black strategic conformists, black survivors, black outsiders and black collectivists. Whilst some of the respondents such as Nancy demonstrate movements from one typology towards another, others such as Edward appear rooted in one typology. All the respondents in this study could be allocated to one of the four typologies outlined. However, it is possible that in a larger sample, other typologies would be revealed, or additional characteristics to the typologies outlined in this chapter may be added. Further, larger scale studies would be required in order to establish these factors. However, what this study has revealed is that black practitioners in further education are not a homogenous group, and they display a wide variety of responses to their professional experiences which can be delineated within the four typologies outlined in this chapter.

CHAPTER EIGHT

MARKETISATION AND THE FUTURES OF BLACK PRACTITIONERS WITHIN UK FURTHER EDUCATION

Introduction

In this concluding chapter, the overall aim is to place the theoretical arguments outlined in the literature review and theoretical perspectives in conversation with the empirical data reported in chapters six and seven. Of course, this 'conversation' is already embedded in the analysis and interpretation offered in the previous two chapters. Here, it is made more explicit, and related back to the first theoretical and conceptual phase of the research. The research methods which were adopted for this study proved highly effective in assisting me to investigate the research questions which are outlined in the Introduction and around which these conclusions are presented. Whilst it is not easy to represent the depth and the richness of the conversations within the confines of a thesis, nevertheless the narratives, together with the data collated from the questionnaires, provided me a wealth of insights into the experiences and identities of a group of black professionals within the further education sector. These insights have enabled me to give 'voice' within the thesis to a group of professional educators who are rendered mainly invisible within the research arena. In linking the theoretical arguments to the empirical data, I now return to the central research questions in order to demonstrate the ways in which the empirical data and my analysis and interpretation provide a framework for thinking about the questions which the thesis addresses.

The first part of the chapter identifies and theorises the implementation effects of marketisation on the employment experience and career development of the

ten research respondents. Whilst I would not want to lay claim to the notion that these research findings can be generalised to describe the experiences of all black staff working in further education, I would argue that they do provide illustrative evidence to help develop our understandings of the kinds of experiences which black staff have encountered, as market forces and managerialism have engulfed modern further education. I would further argue that they have analytical power. These findings are a snapshot, taken at a particular point in time, of the implementation effects of market forces and pressures on black respondents' professional lives and experiences. Whilst there are limitations to these findings because of the size of the sample, they do serve to raise important questions about the professional experiences of black staff more generally within the further education sector. The fact that seven out of these ten respondents planned to or were in the course of leaving further education may help to explain the kinds of under-representation issues which were raised by the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002). It would appear to be the case that staying in further education is a massive challenge for black staff, especially if they embrace an identity which is not favoured in institutional terms. Interwoven through this are significant equality issues which further education ought to be addressing.

Next, the focus of the chapter shifts to the question of agency as I proceed to offer an interpretative account concerning the manner in which black practitioners produce, live and play out their identities as race and market forces overlap, collide and clash within individual managerial cultures. I would argue that the conceptual framework which I have developed not only illuminates the

way in which black professionals have responded to their experience, but it also provides a genuinely original contribution to the literature both around marketisation, and that researching race in education.

The chapter then moves on to consider how the research literature represents black professional identity within academic discourses dealing with the issue of marketisation. It both critiques the existing research literature because it tends to ignore or overlook the particular experiences of black educators, and begins to render visible the voices of some black practitioners as they struggle to survive within the marketised climate of post incorporation further education. In so doing, the chapter begins to identify and delineate new areas which warrant the attention of researchers.

Finally, the chapter moves on to highlight some of the concerns which respondents expressed relating to current policy and practice within further education. Linked to the intentions of the majority of the respondents in this study to abandon their careers within the further education sector, this begins to engage policy makers and researchers in a dialogue with the voices of black educators about the kinds of specific issues which are of interest and concern within the professional judgement of black educators if their experience is to be improved.

The Implementation Effects of Marketisation on the Employment Experiences and Career Development of Black Practitioners

The first research question within this thesis set out to investigate how marketisation impacted on the employment experiences and career development of black practitioners in further education, through an analysis of the experiences of the ten respondents who comprised the sample for this study. Within the literature review, I unearthed three discourses which potentially could be deployed in order to interpret and make sense of this dimension of the research. The first discourse has its origins in North American concerns with addressing black - white inequalities within USA society, and finds expression in terms of the discourse of positive discrimination. The final two discourses have emerged from the theoretical literature around marketisation, and relate to a neoliberal discourse which is supportive of the introduction of markets into education, and an alternative discourse which is critical of marketisation.

The discourse of positive discrimination draws attention to the possibility that in certain contexts, producer responses to the market might embrace the ascription of a very high priority to the recruitment and progression of black and minority ethnic professionals. Whilst the proponents and critics of neoliberalism have predominantly avoided issues around the implementation effects of market forces on questions to do with race, ethnicity and staffing, it is consistent with the logic underpinning these discourses that, whereas market advocates champion the neutrality of market forces on structures and relations of race, their critics argue that these effects are negative. The question which this

analysis raises is, how have these discourses played out in the lives of this group of black practitioners, and through their experience, that of the wider subgroup of which they are part?

In order for the discourse of positive discrimination to be regarded as a legitimate way of interpreting the employment experiences of the sample, two conditions would have to be met. In the first place, there would be the need to provide incontrovertible evidence that colleges were achieving qualitative shifts in the race profile of their staffing establishments. Second, the evidence would need to show that black and minority ethnic practitioners were being afforded ample opportunities to secure and maintain career progression. In terms of the first set of considerations, one of the strongest themes running through most of the narratives was that, not only was there a relative absence of black staff, but increasingly, the participation of black staff was at best perceived as a low priority. There were two, perhaps weak instances, where Jane and Nancy's accounts deviated from the norm. In so doing, they suggested that, for a time, their institutions took a different approach to recruiting black staff. However, in both these instances, the attribution of a higher priority to the recruitment of black staff was not engendered by genuine and authentic reasons, but rather by pragmatic decisions to a niche market which had to be taken in order to secure institutional survival. These short term initiatives have to be set against the substantial body of evidence which demonstrated how in some contexts colleges manipulated the curriculum because it was in their financial interests so to do.

However, from the perspective of black learners and professionals, my interpretation leads me to conclude that in some instances, the outcomes of managerialism led to perverse equal opportunities for some black students and staff. In the first instance, learners were offered qualifications with little or no market value, and black staff were recruited to teach in areas which offered no possibility for career progression. With regard to the second criteria, namely the effective progression and career development of black staff, the evidence from the sample showed that, for the majority of respondents, not only were there no or limited career development opportunities, but rather they were particularly vulnerable to loss of jobs or status through organisational restructuring and mergers. Thus there was very little support for the discourse of positive discrimination as a way of making sense of the experience of the sample.

It is difficult to argue for the discourse of neoliberalism which favours markets in education as a way of positively interpreting the experiences of the sample.

The empirical voices of all the respondents made it very clear that they had been affected by marketisation, although the precise impacts were variable.

Some examples will serve to illustrate this. There was the case of Edward, who had managed to progress his career through embracing market ideology and living and playing out his professional identity as a black strategic conformist.

There was the case of Everton, a black survivor who, despite having committed himself to working part time for a college for four to five years, and having worked very diligently and conscientiously, including many hours unpaid, found that the college never raised with him the possibility of a full time or permanent position. There was the case of Jane, a black collectivist, who was successful

in developing her career within further education at a time when the market favoured her networks with the black communities, her skills in maximising funding, and her priorities in terms of community development. But she found herself without a job when the college where she worked changed its priorities as a result of a merger, and took advantage of the consequent restructure to oust Jane and her black collectivist colleagues.

On the whole then, the evidence supports the discourse which has been produced by critics of neoliberalism. In terms of black professionals getting in and getting on within further education, the post-incorporation era did not qualitatively change the experience of this cohort. What is crucial is that those people who managed to get in were always under pressure; they were vulnerable to any kinds of changes within colleges, whether structural, financial or in terms of access to promoted posts. The narratives reveal that this pressure was more intense, and different from that experienced by their white counterparts. This having been said, as the next section makes clear, the ten respondents interpreted and responded to these pressures in ways which were both distinctive and patterned.

Interpreting the Responses of Black Further Education Practitioners to Marketisation

One of the central research questions which the study set out to address concerned the dynamics surrounding the take up and playing out of identity orientations by black further education practitioners. The concepts of structure and agency provide a useful starting point for thinking about the issues raised

by this line of inquiry. In this respect, the influence of structural factors in shaping the professional identification of the sample is suggested, by virtue of the fact that the responses were bounded by a finite field of structural possibilities. This having been said, the differential take up of identity positions by the sample points to the role of agency in the taking up and living out of identity.

Before I proceed with this analysis, it is necessary to insert a number of important caveats. In the first place, I would not wish to claim that the typologies which emerged from my analysis and interpretation of the data exhaust the range of black identities within UK further education. On the other hand, my conceptualisation of black professional identities provides important and original insights into the way in which this subgroup were responding to the overlap and collision between race and market forces. Second, in drawing out these four broad subject positions from the empirical interview evidence, it is not my intention to suggest that they are four clear cut perspectives and types of black professionals. Indeed, it is possible for individuals to occupy more than one position at any point in time, or to move across positions depending on the context within which they may find themselves. In addition, it is conceivable that individuals could change positions at different stages of their careers, as Nancy appeared to do as she moved into her management position.

Theorising the Dynamics Surrounding the Taking Up of Black

Professional Identity

Race and market forces provide a common set of structural co-ordinates within which black professional identities are taken up and lived. In this respect, the differential and varied manner in which subject positions are taken up is a matter which raises important questions concerning the individual reasoning which underpins these choices.

Strategic Conformity and Choice-making

On the one hand, Black Strategic Conformists (Edward and Nancy) are by no means unaware of the racialised dynamics which shape the experience of black learners and black professionals. Nancy spoke about the constant struggles with which she and her black colleagues had to engage, in order to prove to white governors and senior managers that a black led sub-college is not necessarily 'second rate'. At the time of the interview, Edward was a member of a black professional network. This body was actively campaigning to dismantle the barriers to the access and progression of black practitioners within further education. On the other hand, their accounts revealed a tendency to operate within a theoretical perspective which played down the racialised nature of the managerial climates within which they worked.

I would argue that this apparent contradiction can be explained in terms of the fact that Nancy and Edward had committed themselves to remaining in, and developing their careers within, the further education sector. In addition, they were cognisant of the manner in which marketisation and managerialism close

down the space from within which issues around social and racialised injustices can be spoken about. Arguably, Edward and Nancy made decisions about the taking up and playing out of identity which were in their best pragmatic interests. However, these decisions do not contribute to the destabilisation of the structures and relations of race within UK further education. In adopting this interpretative stance, my intention is not to be censorious towards individuals who adopt this orientation. Indeed, I would argue that the specificity of the lived experience of further educational practitioners, combined with the negative way in which black perspectives are viewed within managerial climates, render this response entirely understandable. At this juncture, it is necessary to interpret the reasoning which underpinned the way in which Black Survivors took up and lived this orientation to UK further education.

Black Survivors and Choice-making

The taking up and performance of an identity as a Black Survivor appeared to be related to institutional experiences and political perspectives. In the first place, these respondents (Anthony and Everton) had not been able to progress their careers, notwithstanding the relatively long period of their incumbency. In this respect, as black professionals seeing to make sense of and interpret their experience of professional stagnation, they made connections with a wider set of race related issues. These embraced the underrepresentation of black staff within their respective institutions, their invisibility within middle and senior management positions, and the perceived disengagement of their colleges with black and minority ethnic communities.

In the second place, Black Survivors draw on the resources of historical memory embedded within black communities in order to interpret and make sense of these processes of marginalisation and exclusion. In so doing, these individual and collective experiences were grasped and understood as symptomatic of the normal way in which the black community has experienced its relationship with white mainstream structures within contemporary Britain. At issue here is not the veracity of this interpretation of the black experience in Britain, but the manner in which it influenced the taking up and playing out of identity by this sub-group of black professionals at the divestiture phase. Anthony and Everton's experiences and perspectives led them to a position where they were desirous of leaving the further education system. I would argue that the way in which Black Survivors took up and lived their identity did not provide a challenge to the structures and relations of race within marketised UK further education. However, it is entirely understandable as to why this group of black further educational professionals adopted an instrumental approach to their working lives, and sought their fulfilment in black communal activities. The somewhat resigned response of Black Survivors to their lived experience of further education stands in sharp contrast to that of Black Outsiders, as the next section reveals.

Black Outsiders and Choice-making

Henderson was the only respondent whose account could not be fitted into the trilogy of Black Strategic Conformist, Black Survivor and Black Collectivist categories. This was because, in exploring his narrative, it became apparent that his arrival and settlement in the UK, and his engagement with the further

education system, had occurred relatively recently. Analysis of his narrative led me to the interpretation that his account was very much that of an 'outsider'. In this respect, he displayed a limited understanding of further education, and the way in which racism and discrimination shape the lived experiences of black learners and black professionals. For example, in relation to the latter set of issues, Henderson was appointed as a curriculum co-ordinator, and it later transpired that he was paid a much lower salary than members of the white team for whose work he was responsible. In making sense of these dynamics, Henderson displayed a profound reluctance in terms of acknowledging that race might have been a factor in framing his differential treatment. I would argue that, in taking up his identity as a Black Outsider, he embraces a discourse of meritocracy.

Of course, it is entirely possible that, as his familiarity with issues around race and further education develops, Henderson could take up and live one of the other identities which this study has uncovered. On the other hand, it is also possible that if he was able continually to progress his career, he might remain positioned as a Black Outsider. I would argue that, in the same way that Black Strategic Conformist and Black Survivor expressions of black professional identifications do not provide a challenge to the structures and relations of race, Black Outsiders occupy the same terrain. The final category of black professional identification which was uncovered within the research findings was that of Black Collectivists, and it is to an analysis of the reasoning underpinning this position to which the next section now turns.

Black Collectivists and Choice-making

The manner in which Black Collectivists (Desmond, Fiona, Jane, Janice and Sebastian) took up and lived their identity was informed by a quite distinctive set of interlocking concerns and priorities. In the first place, they operated with an emancipatory view of the educational enterprise. Contingently, they were not prepared to embrace the market values of competition, survival and the pursuit of individual self interest. Second, this group of practitioners committed themselves to taking principled action against social and racialised injustices. In so doing, they were prepared to accept the personal and professional costs which were associated with the taking up of this form of black professional identification. In this respect, it is significant that Fiona, Jane and Janice linked their professional stagnation and/or expulsion from their posts to the negative way in which Black Collectivism was viewed in white managerial terms.

Out of the four identity types revealed by my analysis and interpretation of the data, the response of Black Collectivists was the only orientation which could potentially destabilise the structures and relations of race. It is then perhaps not surprising that in most contexts, white institutional managers were ill disposed towards hearing the voices of these professionals. This having been said, it is surely significant that at the time of the interviews, half of the sample had actively taken up and were living a Black Collectivist identity. At this juncture, it is necessary to consider what this analysis reveals for the way in which black professional identity has been spoken about within the research literature, and the implications of the findings and conclusions of this study for educational research.

Marketisation, Black Professionals, and Future Research

The reforms to UK further education have spawned a small but growing research literature, dealing with the implementation effects on further education staff (Ainley and Bailey 1997, Hartley 1997, Randle and Brady 1997, Gleeson and Shain 1999a and b, Shain and Gleeson 1999). One of the strongest themes running through these studies is that, whereas senior managers and some middle managers appear to embrace market ideology, the responses of most lecturers have been framed in terms of hostility and opposition. In chapter four, I indicated that issues around race and ethnicity were largely ignored within this genre of research, thus rendering problematic any attempt to apply these frameworks of analysis to the experience of black further educational practitioners.

What I believe this research study has shown is that, in the era of pre-marketisation, race and racism profoundly shaped the experiences and responses of black professionals in ways which were quite specific and distinct. This having been said, I would argue that the stories which were recounted in earlier chapters suggest that marketisation has rendered the marginalisation and exclusion of black professionals even more acute. The trajectory along which the experiences of black practitioners have been framed by racialised dynamics helps to explain the differential responses of black staff to marketisation. In this regard, it is significant that Nancy and Edward, the two black middle managers who embraced market ideology, did so for pragmatic reasons. Equally, it was obvious that Fiona, Jane and Janice, who were the other three middle managers within the sample, were extremely hostile to

marketisation unless it could be made to work in the interests of black students and communities. As a result of adopting stances which promoted the interests of black students and the engagement with black communities, these Black Collectivists were prevented from developing their careers within further education. Instead, their values were interpreted by white senior managers as a challenge to the corporate culture of the colleges in which they worked, and ultimately led to their removal from their posts.

The responses and orientations taken up by those black staff within the sample who worked as lecturers, both full time and part time, were broader than those of their black managerial colleagues. These included the Black Survivors Anthony and Everton, the Black Collectivists Desmond and Sebastian, and Henderson the Black Outsider. I would argue that, because of the special characteristics of Black Outsiders, it is difficult to relate this identity type to the literature dealing with the reconstruction of professional identity and the dynamics of marketisation. Black Survivors and Black Collectivists were equally ill disposed towards marketisation, notwithstanding the fact that this decision was reached from different starting points. It would be tempting to argue that the rejection of marketisation by black lecturing staff is in line with the findings which have been reported in other studies of white lecturer responses (Ainley and Bailey 1997, Hartley 1997, Randle and Brady 1997, Gleeson and Shain 1999b, Shain and Gleeson 1999).

However, I would caution against the adoption of this standpoint, since it obscures the fact that white and black lecturing staff appear to reject

marketisation for different reasons. In relation to the former category, hostility to marketisation and managerialism is bound up with factors such as work intensification, and the erosion of status, working conditions and pay. On the other hand, black staff are opposed to marketisation because of what they perceive to be its adverse impact on the interests of black students, and the way in which it has promoted the distancing of colleges from engagement with black communities. In addition, they are concerned that the organisational changes associated with marketisation often result in black practitioners having to carry a disproportionate share of demotions and redundancies (Commission for Black Staff in Further Education 2002, Mackay and Etienne 2006). At this stage in the analysis, it is necessary to consider areas of research which could be explored in future studies.

Further large scale quantitative studies on the position and circumstances of black practitioners within further education are required. In this respect, whilst the study conducted by the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) has gone a long way in terms of enhancing our understanding of these issues, markets by their very nature are unstable. This means that the picture is constantly changing. Research needs to be conducted on a regional basis, given the regional variability in the recruitment and progression of black staff which was highlighted in chapter five.

More research of a qualitative nature is also required in order to document the lived experiences and responses of black practitioners. In this respect, this study is limited and restricted in that it focused on a small sample of black

professionals, and was conducted in two geographical areas of England. A broader study investigating black professional identification is required, in order further to explore the typologies which this study has revealed, and to investigate whether the characteristics demonstrated by these respondents are replicated amongst other groups of black professionals. It is only on the basis of conducting research along the lines suggested that it will become possible to put in place further strategies aimed at the elimination of racism and discrimination from UK further education. Finally, it is now necessary to move on to highlight the key issues relating to policy and practice on which the respondents in this study called for action.

Giving Voice to Black Practitioners - Policy and Practice Issues to Promote Race Equality in Further Education

The final research question sought to identify those issues of policy and practice within further education which, in the experience of the ten respondents, were critical in promoting race equality within the sector. These issues are identified and detailed in chapter seven, where it is clear that the key underlying area of concern is the failure of policy makers and institutional managers to recognise the particular impact of race on national and local practice. It is significant to note the striking degree of consensus amongst the respondents in identifying the key issues, particularly because no prompts were given regarding these during the interviews. Respondents were simply asked to reflect on the key issues as they understood them, and to highlight the kinds of actions which they deemed necessary to secure improvements in race equality.

The critical issue relating to the access and progression of black staff has been investigated by the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) and the conclusions of the Commission, together with a critique of its work, are detailed in chapter three. The key concern here is that the Commission failed to recognise the specific impact of marketisation on black staff as a subgroup, and this omission is also evident in the actions proposed in the subsequent White Paper entitled *Further Education: Raising Skills, Improving Life Chances* (2006). Yet the experiences of the respondents to this study reveal that, unless the clash and articulations between race and the market are better understood by policy makers, black staff, and indeed black students, will not have the opportunities to progress within further education in the ways that their white counterparts enjoy. For black staff, this appears to be the case not only in terms of securing initial employment, but also in terms of retaining employment, gaining access to career progression opportunities, and in surviving the frequent mergers and restructurings which characterise the management of modern further education. For black students, the key issues relate to access to and progression within a curriculum framework which offers recognised qualifications and relevant progression opportunities.

Respondents recognised that marketisation had impacted adversely on all aspects of the implementation of equality of opportunities, in that managerialist discourses appeared to have terminated initiatives designed to secure equality of opportunity. As well as the lack of priority for such policies within local institutions, several respondents also indicated the relative absence of rigour in college inspection processes with regard to equality of opportunity issues. They

tended to relate these concerns to the invisibility of black inspectors and the absence of a black perspective in the inspection process, together with the failure of white inspectors to recognise the particular impact of marketisation on race equality issues. These concerns, together with concerns about the reduction of community engagement and the relative absence of black governors in many institutions, helped to explain the exodus of the majority of these respondents from an educational sector within which they were at best marginalised, and at worst treated with hostility and disdain. What is clear from all of this is that the actions proposed in the White Paper entitled *Further Education: Raising Skills, Improving Life Chances* (2006) would be unlikely to satisfy the concerns of these respondents. Whilst my findings are not generalisable, they are indicative of some of the views held by black staff within the further education sector. They suggest that, if policy makers are serious in their commitment to improving race equality, there is a need to engage with black professionals on terms which acknowledge the impact of marketisation on race equality issues. Black voices must be recognised as having a significant contribution to make to the discourses surrounding the future development of policy and practice within UK further education, and the issues raised by these ten respondents could act as a catalyst for further studies.

Final Reflections

For me, the importance of this research lies in the duality of its impact, firstly on my own professional knowledge, and secondly on its contribution to the wider knowledge base of applied social research. It has empowered me to analyse, articulate and reflect on my professional career experiences within UK further

education, and to make sense of both my own experiences, and those of my colleagues who also work as black educators within the further education system. I recognise the importance of the conceptualisation of black professional identity which I detail in chapter seven, and acknowledge the value for myself, for other black professionals, and for the wider research communities, in mapping identities within the typologies posited within this study. I have come to realise that black educators have experienced the pressures of the market within further education both as managers and as lecturers in a variety of ways within their respective colleges, and that their responses to marketisation have varied. These responses have been shaped by a range of factors such as their own educational experiences and their backgrounds and family circumstances, as well as by their expectations of the further education system in terms of serving the needs of black communities alongside their own personal career development.

I have demonstrated through the review of the literature and the theoretical perspectives explored in chapters two, three and four, that unfortunately race within further education continues to be an underresearched area. I would argue, however, that race and racism within further education are critical issues which warrant a much higher research profile, given the relatively high proportion of black learners who study within further education colleges, and given the findings of the Commission for Black Staff in Further Education (2002) which highlight the negative experiences of the majority of the black educators whose witness statements informed the report. Additionally, the fact that seven of the ten respondents within this study were either leaving or desirous of

leaving further education adds to the urgency, in my view, for a much stronger research focus to develop greater understandings of the impact of the marketised managerialist climate on the experiences of black educators and black students within modern further education colleges.

Throughout the undertaking of this research, I have been conscious of my own experiences within the further education system which form the backdrop to this study. The research has added to my understandings of black professional identities within a sound conceptual framework which has revealed what has happened to some black professionals and black learners in the overlap and collision between race and market forces within UK further education.

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APPENDIX 1

LETTER TO RESPONDENTS INTRODUCING THE RESEARCH PROJECT

(Date)

Dear (Name)

My Research for the Doctor of Education Degree at the University of Sheffield

Thank you for agreeing to participate as a respondent in my study of the professional lives and identities of black practitioners within further education in the UK. The overall aim of the research is to provide an assessment of the impact of recent policies on the experiences and aspirations of black staff, students and communities.

It is very much my hope that, once the study is completed, its findings and conclusions will influence policy making towards the sector, in ways which are beneficial to the black community in general, and black students and staff in particular.

In terms of your own involvement in the study, there are two main aspects. First, I would be very grateful if you could complete the enclosed questionnaire, and return it to me in the stamped addressed envelope before the interview takes place. The compilation of the questionnaire serves a two-fold purpose, in that it provides me with useful research information, and at the same time prepares both of us for the questions which will be asked at the interview stage.

The interview, which forms the second element of your involvement in the study, provides a context for both of us to discuss and explore themes and issues which are related to the aims of the research. I want to assure you that any information which you provide will remain confidential, and that the testimony of respondents will be presented in the final thesis in a way which guarantees individual and institutional anonymity.

I envisage that the interview will last at least one hour. Ideally, I would like to use a tape recorder, but if you have any objections I would be more than happy to take notes.

Finally, let me confirm that we have agreed to conduct the interview on (date) at (time) in your office.

Yours sincerely

Richard Sargeant

APPENDIX 2

QUESTIONNAIRE

THE IMPACT OF MARKETISATION ON THE PROFESSIONAL LIVES AND IDENTITIES OF AFRICAN CARIBBEAN PRACTITIONERS IN UK FURTHER EDUCATION

ABOUT YOURSELF

1. Gender Male Female
2. Age 22-29 30-39 40-49 50+
3. a) In which year did you enter FE?
- b) How many FE colleges have you worked in?
4. What is the name of your present college?
5. a) When you started, were you
- Part time Lecturer Senior Lecturer
- Manager Point on the Management Spine?
- Other – please specify
- b) Were you temporary? or permanent?
6. a) What position do you currently hold?
- Part time Lecturer Senior Lecturer
- Manager Point on the Management Spine?.....
- Other – please specify
- b) Are you temporary? or permanent?
7. a) What academic qualifications do you hold?
- First degree Masters Doctorate

Teacher Training

Other-please specify.....

b) Professional membership – please specify

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

YOU AND YOUR PROFESSIONAL CAREER

8. a) Has your work in FE included teaching?

Yes

No

b) If yes, what subjects have you taught?

- i)
- ii)
- iii)
- iv)
- v)

c) Please indicate the level of qualification(s) which you have taught.

.....
.....
.....
.....

d) Do you teach currently?

Yes

No

9. a) During the last 8 years, have you applied for a promoted post –

In your own college

at another college

b) If yes: within the past year

4 years

8 years

c) How many applications have you made?

And how many have been successful?

10. During your FE service, what factors have facilitated the development of your career?

.....
.....
.....
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.....
.....

11. In the time that you have spent in FE, what barriers have you experienced in developing your career?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

12. a) Have you ever been refused permission to undertake, or been denied access to staff development?

Yes

No

b) If yes, please specify

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

13. a) Have you ever applied for financial support to undertake staff development?

Yes

No

b) If yes, were you given

full support?

Partial support?

No support?

ABOUT THE COLLEGE

14. Is the college catchment area predominantly

Multiracial Rural Urban White

15. Approximately how many academic staff work at the college?

Less than 100: Small
 100 – 150: Medium
 250+ Large

16. a) In your current college, approximately how many full time staff are –

Asian
 African Caribbean
 African
 Mixed ethnicity

b) How many non-white staff are managers/senior managers?

Ethnicity	Number of managers	Number of senior managers
Asian		
African		
African Caribbean		
Mixed Ethnicity		

17. a) Does your college have an equal opportunity policy in terms of the recruitment and selection of non-white staff?

Yes No Don't know

b) If the response is yes, how is the policy implemented?

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18.a) Is the college catchment area a multiracial one?

Yes No

b) If the answer to the previous question is yes, approximately what percentage are non-white?

.....

c) Are the non-white students predominantly

Asian	Yes	No
African / African Caribbean	Yes	No

19.a) Does your present college have any non-white members of its governing body?

Yes No Don't know

b) If yes, how many?

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APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

THE IMPACT OF MARKETISATION ON THE PROFESSIONAL LIVES AND IDENTITIES OF AFRICAN CARIBBEAN PRACTITIONERS IN UK FURTHER EDUCATION

BIOGRAPHY

1. Could you describe as fully as you need to how you got into FE? For example, was it an accident or as a result of your specific education and training?
2. a) Thinking back, was it what you expected it to be like?
b) What were the shocks?
3. Does this all seem a long time ago? When you look back, do you think of yourself as being perhaps raw or even naïve? In what aspects were you raw or naïve?
4. What were your ideals about working in FE and what did you think you could achieve/contribute?
5. How long do you intend to stay in FE? If you intend to leave, what are your reasons?

INSTITUTIONAL CHANGE

1. a) To what extent do staff generally, and black staff as a group, input into decision making at your college?
b) Is this situation different to the one you experienced when you first entered FE? If yes, in what ways?
2. How would you describe the prospects for black staff entering and progressing when you first started in FE?
3. How would you sum up the current situation?
4. Are there mechanisms of consultation between your college and local black communities? If so, what, and who from the colleges, do these involve?
5. If you have black governors, what role do they play in consultations with the black community?
6. To what extent do white governors become involved in discussions with black students and the black community more generally?

MANAGERIALISM – STAFFING

1. Managers possess considerable power in terms of the recruitment, selection and promotion of staff. What is your reading of managerial priorities in your college?
2. In your view, is your college more or less concerned about recruiting/promoting black staff than it used to be, for example before 1993?
3. a) Does your college set targets for the recruitment of black staff? And for the numbers of black managers? If so, what strategies are in place to secure the achievements of these targets?
b) Whose responsibility is it? And how is it monitored?
4. To what extent does your college's marketing and promotional material include images of black staff?

MANAGERIALISM – FUNDING CURRICULUM AND QUALIFICATIONS

1. To what extent have funding changes shaped the way in which your college perceives students and communities in your area?
2. Is it the case that some students and communities are valued more highly than others?
3. a) In your college, does the new emphasis on retention and achievement impact on black students' access and progression in the same way as their white and Asian counterparts?
b) If yes, how does this work out in practice?
4. (a) To what extent does your college have provision which has been specifically designed to meet the needs of African Caribbean students?
(b) Are the views and experiences of black students separately solicited, analysed and used by the college? If so, give an example of any changes brought about by this.
5. How important is it to your college to maintain/increase the participation rates of African Caribbean students? What evidence do you have for your view?
6. The FE curriculum has changed rapidly in recent years. Do you think that this has been to the advantage or disadvantage of black staff?
7. Does the new emphasis on competence based qualifications impact positively or adversely on the opportunities for black students to succeed?

8. Given the relatively high numbers of black and Asian students who choose FE for their post-16 education, do you think that the predominance of competence based education and training will deter such young people from aspiring to enter HE and the professions?

PROFESSIONALISM – GENERAL

1. How have the multitude of changes affected the self image and motivation of staff within your present college?
2. What has been the impact of these changes on the relationships between managers and lecturing staff?
3. Have these changes had any specific effects on black staff as a distinct subgroup of the workforce within your college?
4. Does the situation which you have described represent a change since you first entered the service?
5. a) What emphasis does your present college place on professional development?
b) Is it predominantly internal or external?
c) Is it self selected or imposed by college policies?
6. What place do issues of equal opportunities policies and antiracism occupy within In Service Training (Inset)?
7. If it is addressed at all, what are the issues and what does this mean in practice?

PROFESSIONALISM – BLACK PERSPECTIVES

1. Does your college capitalise on insights and networks which you bring as a black professional?
2. How do you experience working as a black lecturer/manager in FE?
3. Does your college encourage and support black networks?
4. To what extent are you encouraged or allowed to exercise your professional judgement in terms of black students? Do white staff seek your input?
5. Is appraisal a useful tool in your own professional needs identification?
6. Has it delivered any tangible gains?

BETTER POLICY

1. What measures might be taken to improve the access, progression and experience of black lecturers/managers within UK FE?
2. Do you think there is a need for formal support mechanisms for black lecturers/managers? If so, how might this work?
3. Are there any specific measures which you would like to see built into the new inspection framework which address issues of race and diversity?
4. a) Should the perspectives of black groups be incorporated into the organisation and control of FE institutions?

b) How could this be done?