

***Being Black, Being British, Being Ghanaian:
Second Generation Ghanaians, Class, Identity,
Ethnicity and Belonging***

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Declaration

I, Yvette Twumasi-Ankrah confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

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Abstract

This thesis focuses on the intersection between class and ethnic identity among second-generation Ghanaians. I explore how middle-class second generation Ghanaians construct and maintain (if they do at all) their ethnic identity and the role of class in its construction.

For my participants, their narratives engage with the role of education as the driver for social mobility, the issues of belonging to the host nation as a visible minority, explorations on how their ethnic identity is linked to their socio-economic identity and how they create a space in both the cultures. There is very little written about this long-settled community and indeed about middle-class identity and ethnicity in general.

The study engages with the literature on diaspora, race and racism and the intersection between ethnicity and class. My research interrogates this statement and focuses on people born of Ghanaian parentage who have been raised in England. Drawing on a semi-structured thematic interview approach, I spoke to 21 participants aged 27-41.

The study finds that the role of education and family is key to the development of the participants. It was clear that for my participants their class identity had little impact on their chosen ethnic identity. For the majority, as they matured, the need to engage more with their Ghanaian identity manifested. I argue that being perceived as 'Other', experiencing racism, prejudice and microaggressions led the majority to dis-identify with being 'English', but, for some, being seen as an outsider in Ghana meant they felt they did not belong there either. In response, many constructed an identity based on *their* understanding of a Ghanaian identity and their experiences as part of the second generation in the UK.

Impact statement

When this study was conceived there was very little literature about the community which is my focus – middle-class, second generation British Ghanaians. This had changed slightly by the completion of this PhD, but the data contained here expands the available literature.

Indeed, there are many second and subsequent generations of minority groups which are currently absent from the sociological literature. This study contributes to the small, emerging body of literature that covers these cohorts and provides information for others with an interest in this area.

Research into ethnic minority middle-class groups requires more exploration - the work I have begun here could be used by other academics to explore these groups and also extend the scope of my research. There is work that could be done on second-generation return, what happens to this second-generation cohort who are being openly courted by the Ghanaian government who wish for them to be part of Ghana's future or on the third-generation. There are numerous themes that could be developed further or explored in relation to other minoritised groups.

It was always my intention for this work to go beyond the Academy and whilst it has been shared at several academic conferences and events, I have also used the information to speak in non-academic spaces. For example, I participated in a panel on parenting and the second generation hosted by Star100, a London-based Ghanaian membership organisation and used my research as a basis for discussion. I will continue to engage in this way so that more people can access the information.

This research has been presented in various formats within seminars and at conferences across the UK – such as the British Sociological Association and the Blackness in Britain conferences. I have also used this work as a guest lecturer at Canterbury University with undergraduates on a coaching and counselling course. Other guest lecturer slots have been discussed and I have been approached by online PhD forums to share my work.

A journal article has been agreed and will be published in 2019 in the Graduate Journal of Social Science 2019 - *Being Black, being British, being Ghanaian - A Discussion on Belonging*. Other journals are being considered for future articles.

With regard to policy on integration and belonging, what was clear was an absence of policy-makers engaging with and understanding established communities. The impact of racism and discussions of immigration, at the time of my study, had an effect on my participants' sense of belonging and identity. Whilst my group of respondents was successful in terms of the education and labour markets and were able to navigate British society, the experience of being an outsider was quite profound. Current debates, notably the Windrush scandal and the 'hostile environment' which is a product of policy and political debate show the worsening of the situation rather than an improvement.

Being Black is still seen as a negative identity and it is this that will need to change in society for a lasting impact to be felt.

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A special mention also goes to my husband, Chris Osei and son, Ethan Osei, who have had no choice but to be on this journey with me!

I would also like to thank my supervisor Professor Carol Vincent for her critiques, encouragement and staying power and my mentor Karen Ferrari for getting me to the end. Thanks, of course, to my participants who shared their stories with me.

Since I started on this journey there are many who are no longer with us – grateful thanks to the academics who have been a huge influence on my work and whose work lives on after their passing.

I dedicate this thesis to my Uncles Kofi (Kofi Asamoah - The late Asamponghe) and Jack (Kwaku Asare), grandmother (Obaapanin Akua Juantoah), father-in-law - Uncle Tim, (Timothy Ossei-Berkoh), teacher - Gerry, (Gerald Forsyth OBE) – who all passed in the last years of this thesis, and my long-departed Uncle Poku, (Okyere Darko Poku) an eternal student who always listened to me.

Da yie – rest in perfect peace.

Chapter 1 - Introduction

Amongst the homes of my parent's friends and in my own home was an object that I link with the migration of the first generation. It is usually black with silver or gold gilt edges about five-foot-long and two-foot-wide - it is 'the trunk'. My mother's trunk contained the cloth she brought with her to the UK and was constantly filled with items that would be used as gifts when she went 'back home'. Avon roll-ons and talcum powders in musk seemed to be a firm favourite. This trunk was always full and even now it contains cloth, beads and family photos. It has travelled everywhere with her and is a constant connection with her 'home'. A home she has not lived in for over fifty years. The first generation left Ghana in large waves from the 1960s - pushed by the lack of opportunities, political unrest, and economic downturns and pulled by education, training and employment prospects. Most did not think they would stay but many ended up setting up life in the UK (Peil, 1995, Daley, 1996, Goody and Grouthes, 1977). There is now an established second (and third) generation of Ghanaians in the UK.

The second generation does not own a physical trunk. Their trunk is an imagined object which is filled with representations of Ghana gleaned from growing up in a transnational space and their own imaginings of the place referred to as 'back home'. This trunk is filled with notions of identity and the politics of belonging; it is from this trunk that we select some of the building bricks which create our sense of self.

For many of the second generation Ghanaians born and raised in the UK there is a cultural duality. They were raised in a western society with food, cultural representations, curricula and societal norms which their parents did not experience growing up almost 5000 miles away. Depending on the parental choices, the children can grow up in two worlds – at home they are exposed to Ghanaian culture and outside they will experience life in the UK. They have access to two cultures and potentially, it is possible to move between the spaces at will, adapting to different situations - they can become what I call 'cultural chameleons'. This ability to adapt to a changing space can cut across all aspects of life and can be a tool for success. *In situ* they can use their second generation status to their advantage, as hypothesised by Kasinitz et al (2008), to gain social mobility through education and employment. They can also straddle the cultural spaces by inhabiting a transnational third space as theorised by Reynolds (2008).

However, living in Britain is not without its barriers. At the time the study was conducted the non-White population stood at 14 per cent (in England and Wales) with British-born Black Africans constituting 0.7 per cent of the entire UK population (ONS, 2011), the majority of which live in London. The spectre of racism and institutional racism can affect those who are visible minorities in all spheres of life. From education to employment, racism exists and is still an issue. I state this because government documents have previously said that the real issue is class and it has a big influence on success. According to the then Communities and Local Government Department (2010) Black and Asian people have developed a middle-class who have degrees and own their own homes.

... there is a growing black and Asian middle-class. Many more members of minority communities than ever before have a degree, a good job and their own home. Chinese and Indian students in particular do much better at school than the average. We must avoid a one dimensional debate that assumes all minority ethnic people are disadvantaged. Such success stories can be excellent role models for others in their communities. (DCLG, 2010)

Thus, race is assumed to be no longer a barrier to success. However, research in employment, housing, and education has shown time and time again that Black Caribbean and Black Africans are regularly discriminated against (Fryer, 1984, Dustmann and Theodoropoulos, 2010, Andrews, 2013). Whilst race relations and equality laws have now made certain practices illegal it does not stop them happening. The overt simply becomes covert (Fleras, 2016), the 'in-your-face' racism of the 1960s which many of the first generation encountered – the signs saying 'no Black, no dogs, no Irish' have been peeled off the walls - but the legacy still remains.

Turning to class – what role does it play? There seems to be an underlying assumption in common parlance and some literature, that Black equals poor and therefore working-class. Scholarly work on class in relation to people classified as Black rarely talks about a middle-class identity. Indeed there are very few studies which focus on the Black middle-class either in the UK, Rollock et al., (2015) being a notable exception.

Class classifications are complex when dealing with ethnic minority communities. In the case of the Ghanaian populations I am addressing in my work, those that arrived between the late 1950s and the early 1980s mostly came to complete their education or were fleeing persecution from the military regime. A large proportion of those that

migrated were students who came to study for a professional qualification or higher level degrees or had their studies interrupted due to political unrest. However, to finance their studies and their families in the UK and Ghana they often had to take 'blue collar' jobs - this impacted on where they lived and their class status (as defined by their employment). Not all were able to complete their studies so remained in those roles. The importance of education was a message delivered to the next generation – the idea was for their children to achieve in the UK and enjoy social mobility. The first generation believed these children had the benefit of accent-less English and were integrated into the wider society. They were British citizens with all the rights that that level of privilege afforded them.

We do indeed have successful people in all sectors, across the first and second generation Ghanaian community, who by their occupation alone would be deemed middle-class. Their success does not negate their visible otherness nor does it mean they are immune from the racism and prejudice which pervades our society – there are still glass ceilings. There are also many others who do not fit the African student stereotype or meet the ideals of the first generation and have not seen themselves move up the social mobility ladder - how do they formulate their ethnic and class identities in the UK?

The narratives of the second generation Ghanaians will provide a UK centred story of a long established community, with a different history to the more documented Caribbean community (Hall, 1990, Parekh, 2002, Andrews, 2013).

Class and ethnicity intersect with other variables such as gender which influence identity construction. Black Africans, particularly those from West Africa have been linked to a student stereotype that has even managed to cross over into characters in the modern media e.g. Matthew in *Desmond's*¹ and have been constructed within the guise of a 'model minority'. Hard working, studious, law abiding and respectful – what happens to those who do not fit the stereotype?

¹ *Desmond's* was a sitcom set in a Caribbean barber shop in London. It mainly focused on the Guyanese family living in Peckham who ran a barber shop. Matthew's character was the eternal African student who was from the Gambia. He was played by Gyeabuor Asante who was of Ghanaian origin and regularly spoke Twi in the show when quoting his 'African sayings'. It was screened on British television on Channel 4 between 1989-1994.

Unlike our parents' generation, we do not have the same physical ties to another space, in many cases beyond the odd holiday, there is no substantive time spent anywhere but in Britain. We do not have the same relationship with 'back home' yet many of us think of Ghana in this way. Globalisation enables easier access to Ghana, cheaper flights, internet and mobile phones enable the distance to be closed. As the first generation dies or returns, the collective memory of a generation is lost. With this in mind and considering the evolution of identity within the second generation what is the future of ethnic identity and what will it mean for the generations to come and their relationship with Ghana, if they have one at all?

There are many questions but little answers as the literature has not yet studied this group. As one of the oldest African communities in the UK, Ghanaians and their descendants have been on the fringes of the literature if they have featured at all. My enquiry is centred on their stories of belonging, identity and return.

The work I am interested in follows on from my Master's dissertation research where I sought to uncover the factors leading to the creation of identity in second generation Ghanaians. My Masters dissertation was titled '*Where are you from? An investigation into identity and belonging in children born in the UK to Ghanaian migrants.*

The research concluded that the second-generation adults I studied created a hybrid identity and that their parent's relationship to Ghana had a great effect on their identity formation.

My PhD dissertation focuses on the intersection between class and ethnic identity among second-generation Ghanaians. It has evolved over the 10-year period I have conducted this work. 'Education', 'Class', 'Racism' and 'Being Black, Being British, Being Ghanaian' are the themes in this study and form the data chapters. For my participants, their narratives engage with the role of education as the driver for social mobility, the issues of belonging to the host nation as a visible minority, explorations on how their ethnic identity is linked to their socio-economic identity and how they create a space in both the cultures.

Ghanaians in the UK

The Ghanaian community is one of the oldest established African communities in the UK with ties to Britain dating hundreds of years (Saunders et al., 2004:52). Recorded visits from the 1500s show Ghanaian involvement in the political and social fabric of the nation:

The records show that in 1555 John Lok, a London merchant and alderman, brought five Africans from the town of Sharma, in what is today Ghana, to London to be trained as interpreters in order to assist England's trade with the west coast of Africa'

(Adi, 2007)

Formerly known as the Gold Coast, Ghana was also part of the transatlantic slave trade and an estimated 6.3 million slaves were transported from West Africa to the Americas. About 5000 people per year between 1701 and 1810 were taken from the Gold Coast (Bump, 2006). As slavery established its hold in Africa and the UK, former slaves and abolitionists resident in Britain emerged and became spokesmen for the abolitionist cause. One of these was Quobna Ottobah Cugano (who came from the Gold Coast). Cugano was a contemporary of the now famous Olaudah Equiano (Adi, 2007).

Britain's subsequent colonisation of the Gold Coast in the 19th to 20th centuries saw a change in the legislative relationship between the two countries. Young people continued to arrive in the UK for their education² but like the earlier sojourners they mostly went back to Ghana. Ghanaian settlement in significant numbers did not occur until the late 1950s-1960s (Anarfi et al., 2003). Large movements of people occurred again in the 1970s and 1980s. This was caused by the economic decline in Ghana, changes to the political regime and mass expulsions from Nigeria (Peil, 1995, Anarfi et al., 2003, Oppong, 2004, Bump, 2006).

The early migrants intended to return to Ghana after the completion of their studies, however changes to the political and economic climate in Ghana led to settlement instead of return. These settled migrants raised and educated a new generation in the UK. Currently the areas of sport, media, politics, fashion, the arts and music all have key visible second generation Ghanaians leading the way or making significant contributions to their fields. This number includes notable figures such as Oswald Boateng OBE (fashion designer), June Sarpong MBE (television presenter), Ekow Eshun (former Director, Institute of Contemporary Arts, ICA, and cultural pundit).

² Such as Kwame Nkrumah, who later went on to become the first President of Ghana - Ghana was the first sub-Saharan African country to gain independence from colonial rule which it achieved in 1957.

Ghanaians account for the vast majority of West Africans living in London and account for over two thirds of the Central and West African population in the UK. Most of the African population in the UK is based in London. Ghanaians are highly concentrated in the following boroughs: Croydon, Enfield, Southwark, Newham, Lambeth, Hackney and Haringey (Intelligence, 2012).

There are very few concrete statistics on the Ghanaian population in the UK – either migrants or their offspring. According to Arthur (2008) the Ghana High Commission listed 1.5 million Ghanaians as being officially registered with them. In 2005, the Ghana High Commission's figures estimated that there were 500,000 Ghanaian nationals resident in the UK. The 2005 dataset from the Office for National Statistics lists 78,000 people as having their place of birth as Ghana, by 2015 that number was 108,000. Peil (1995) proposes that Ghanaians do not often seek citizenship or permanent residency and regularly move across borders. This may explain the changing figures but factors such as illegal entry, using other people's papers and sojourning need to be taken into account (see Vasta and Kandilige, 2007).

The second generation are even more difficult to account for as they are seen as British citizens by the Ghana High Commission so are not counted and UK statistics no longer ask for parents' country of origin and classify according to race and origin e.g. Black African. Therefore, the second generation form part of the Black British/Black African/Black Other categories, making them difficult to quantify.

Whilst finding firm statistics on population movement is difficult to obtain, what *is* measurable are the number of 'hometown associations', radio programmes, TV shows, events and activities aimed at and/or created by the second generation.

In London, in 2011/12 there were events and meetings hosted by Ghanaian membership organisations such as *Star100*, *Ghana Black Stars Network (GBSN)*, and *Ghanaians in London* - to name a few. There are numerous groups and societies on social networking sites such as *Facebook* which provide a virtual platform for the Ghanaian diaspora but also hold real-world activities such as family fun days (e.g. *Ghana Party in the Park* run by *Akwaaba UK*) and networking events. There are TV and radio shows which also engage this community. OBE TV has aired shows hosted by second generation Ghanaians focusing on their views on Ghana. Every year both

first and second generation Ghanaians gather to celebrate independence and the 50th anniversary in 2007 saw many events organised by and featuring second generation Ghanaians.

Groups such as *Star100* and *GBSN* have 'forging links with Ghana' as part of their remit. At the time of the data collection these organisations were young, having been established for less than six years, but their growing membership and activities highlighted the level of interest e.g. *GBSN* had over 2000 people on its mailing list in 2011. This emergence of second generation focused organisations shows that some second generation individuals are choosing to assert their Ghanaian identities. By 2017 only *Star100* and *Akwaaba UK* remained in full operation. The head of Ghanaian Londoners migrated to Ghana and the *GBSN*, according to co-founding member Elvina Quaison, stopped holding events because one member moved to Ghana, followed by another and family responsibilities drew away three more. They still have a Facebook page but are not as active as they once were.

Ghanaian Migration and Settlement

When reviewing Black migration/settlement in the UK the focus is usually on the Caribbean community - as examples used throughout the study will show. However, Black Africans have a different historical relationship with the UK and differing patterns of migration and settlement. Daley analysed the 1991 census and provided an in-depth review of Black Africans in the UK and refers to this group as 'the students that stayed'. Over 90 per cent of Black Africans come from Ghana, Nigeria, Gambia and Sierra Leone making it a very West African population (Daley, 1996:46-47). According to Daley, the Black African group are still a relatively understudied group, which is in contrast to their long association with Britain.

Black-Africans have a long history of residence in the UK long before the more recent period of large-scale immigration in the 1960s. The history of their migration differs significantly from those migrants who were recruited directly for the purposes of employment.

(Daley, 1996:44)

Peil (1995) believes that the lack of studies on Africans in the UK link to their small numbers, a lack of official documents on employment patterns and permanent

settlement making them a group which are hard to quantify and study. The literature on the Ghanaian community has focused on migration to the UK – in particular London, (Goody and Grouthes, 1977, Peil, 1995), USA (Arthur, 2008), Canada (Manuh, 2003) and Nigeria (Anarfi et al., 2003) and has covered the 1970s to the present day. The writers have mainly focused on first generation migration with fleeting references to the second generation.

Ghana's long history of migration is both internal and external. Ghana has been a major sender and receiver of migrants since the slave trade and by the mid-1990s it was estimated that somewhere between 10-20 per cent of the country's 20 million population were living abroad (Spellman, 2008). Ghanaians can be found in countries all over the world (Anarfi et al., 2003), there is a suggestion that 50 per cent of Ghanaians migrate at some point in their lives (Saunders et al., 2004:51), this migration is mainly internal. The literature focuses on three specific types of international migration which are linked to distinct periods of history: educational migration (1960s-1970s), economic migration (1970s-1980s) and refugee migration (1980s onwards). Understanding the political and economic history of Ghana is intrinsic to the discussion of migration.

Education has been a key feature of Ghanaian migration for several centuries. Ghanaians, particularly members of the elite, have been coming to Britain for educational purposes since the 16th century (Adi, 2007). Education was and remains a tool for social mobility – it can enable you to secure better paid roles which in turn moves you into a different social bracket.

My participants' parents were mainly educational migrants. Following independence in 1957, people who had been educated abroad were originally given preference for jobs on their return. Training in England was highly-prized and these people were referred to as 'been-to' as they had been to England. By the 1970s this had started to change with the emergence of universities in their home countries (Goody and Grouthes, 1977, Daley, 1996)³ In the 1970s, the top jobs in most African countries were filled by relatively young returnee nationals and local university graduates (Peil, 1995:348)

³ Peil (1995:349) points out that Ghana already had a university in 1948 and British trained Ghanaians with PhDs began teaching there in the 1950s.

However, by the end of the 1970s, Ghana was in political and economic turmoil, which led to the migration of its professionals, for example, doctors and teachers and also meant that those who had gone abroad to study did not return (Anarfi et al., 2003:6). A key date in Ghanaian migration is 1983, which Van Hear describes as its 'nadir'. The year marks the start of the decline in the Nigerian economy, structural adjustment by the IMF, famine and human rights abuses under the military rule in Ghana. The decline in the Nigerian economy led to the expulsion of around one million Ghanaian citizens (Peil, 1995, Anarfi et al., 2003, Vasta and Kandilige, 2007). Thousands died whilst returning, and returnees met food shortages. The military regime suspended the constitution and there was a loss of civil liberties (Oppong, 2004). This led to large numbers of Ghanaians applying for asylum in the UK and Canada, and mass migration to the US also began at this point. Many of the student migrants became resident in the UK.

Class, status and race

Class and socio-economic status, when linked with racial identities, have been shown to have an impact on ethnic identity. This has been found amongst the second generation who have stayed in a space or migrated 'home'. Gans' work proposed the hypothesis that the more middle-class a person became, the importance of their ethnic identity lessened. Butterfield (2004) and Lee (2004) both highlighted the relationship between class and ethnic identity in their ethnographic studies of the Caribbean second generation and Korean Americans resident in New York City, respectively.

Butterfield (2004) and Lee (2004) highlight the effect of education, subsequent socio-economic status and the impact on ethnic identity in their studies. However, my critique of studies such as the ones carried out by Butterfield and Lee is that they presuppose fixed homogenous identities.

In my study, I explore the role that education, class, race and racism has on the ethnic identity of my participants.

Using a semi-structured thematic interview approach, this empirical research explores these themes and focuses on people born of Ghanaian parentage who have been raised in England. I spoke to 21 participants who ranged in age from 27-41. The participants were managers, senior managers or professionals, with 18 out of the 21 holding a Bachelor's degree.

Overview of the thesis

Key questions

This study investigates how Ghanaian middle-class second generation groups construct and maintain (if they do at all) their ethnic identity and seeks to answer these following key questions:

- What impact does social class have on the construction of identity of middle-class second generation Ghanaians?
- How does being racialised as Black affect the identity of the Ghanaian middle-class second generation?
- In what ways does the intersection between social class and ethnic identity affect the lives of the participants?
- How do middle-class second generation Ghanaians experience transnationalism and view return?

Key Terminology

Before I provide a summary of the chapters within the thesis I wish to provide a brief overview of some of the terms I have used.

Race

'Race' is a constructed concept which has origins in the biological sciences, and as Miles notes is used widely every day and 'constitutes a key element of common sense' (Miles, 1989:70). I use it here to describe categories of people which are also the labels used in wider society and in research and statistics, for example, Black, White, Asian (see *Chapter 6 Racism*).

Ethnicity

Ethnicity is also a constructed concept and is used to describe the shared origins of a group of people. Ethnicity or ethnic identity is the term used when a social group comes together based on shared cultural norms or values, national identity or physical traits.

As Hall states 'the term ethnicity acknowledges the place of history, language and culture in the construction of subjectivity and identity' (Hall, 2003:93). Fenton's (2003) analysis of the term noted the historical origins and its definition, describing 'ethnicity' 'as encompassing people that had a shared racial origin, culture and nation in common'. In the context of my study, a Ghanaian identity is constructed as an ethnic identity. Ethnicity is explored further in *Chapter 2 – Literature Review*.

Identity

I use the term to define how we see ourselves - who we are (internal) and describe our social self - how we see ourselves in relation to others (external). Ideas around identity have changed over the years with Kehily commenting that in previous generations identities were 'waiting-for –us' and 'the existence of strong class-based and regionally specific communities shaped the life trajectories of individuals' (Kehily, 2009). I would argue that class still has this impact. Identity is not fixed and as Hall (1992) notes is constantly forming. Hall, in a later work, also suggests that identity is a meeting point between the discourses that position us and the subjective processes which construct us (Hall 1996 in Kehily, 2009). I note that at different times and in different circumstances, different elements of identity are asserted. Vincent et al highlight this in their work, the idea described here by their participant Catherine:

I'm used to defining myself as Black every single day, even when I don't open my mouth, and I'm Black first and foremost, and even - if you talk about gender dynamic as well you know, I might have to think about it, am I a woman? First of all I'm Black, it's very rare I have to define myself by social class'

(Vincent et al., 2012b:273)

With my participants their ethnic identity plays a key role in their overall identity and the role of the natal country has an impact on how they see themselves.

Social class

Ideas posited by Marx and Weber underpinned studies of class, discussions have moved on since and there are new dialogues on class in British society. The focus is no longer just on earnings and position in the labour market. Ball states 'class...is an identity and a lifestyle, and a set of perspectives on the social world and the relationship in it' (Ball, 2003:6). I examine class from this perspective using the labels

of upper-class, middle-class and working-class which were created to distinguish between owners, managers and workers (Savage, 2015). See *Chapter 3 – Theoretical Concepts* for detailed discussion.

Intersectionality

The term 'Intersectionality' has its roots in Black feminism and Critical Race theory. It is an approach which scholars can use to understand how the different power structures in society impact on identities. This approach provides a fluid way of 'understanding particular interactions and identities' (Vincent et al., 2012b:261) and enables marginalisation to be exposed. As is discussed in detail later in *Chapter 3 – Theoretical Concepts*, understanding how race and class intersect is critical to understand the impact on my participants' lives.

These terms are contested, and meanings and usage are explored in more detail in the indicated chapters.

Summary of the chapters

Chapter 2 - Literature review and Chapter 3 Theoretical concepts

In Chapter 2 I begin by exploring the literature on the second generation and contextualising the studies which have shown how the second generation integrates and becomes part of their natal community. In Chapter 3, I highlight the theoretical work which has been developed in the literature across my key themes of race and racism, class, education, Black identity and intersectionality.

Chapter 4 - Methodology

The methodology chapter provides insight into the formation of the study and the role I inhabit as a researcher who is also part of the research cohort. I discuss the methods used and the rationale for the choices made. More detail is provided here on how I obtained the participants for this study and some of the issues with the research methodologies. I also address the difficulties I encountered whilst engaging in the study.

There are six chapters and two case studies which focus on the data and proffer analysis and discussion of my findings. There is final epilogue which explores the changes to racism in Britain and highlighting new anti-racist movements.

Chapter 5 - Case studies

Two case studies are included, they focus on Kofi and Ama and complement and contrast each other in their views of what it means to be Ghanaian, British and Black as second generation Ghanaians raised in the UK.

Chapter 6 - Racism

Issues pertaining to race and racism are highlighted within this thesis. My participants are visibly different and are a minority in their natal country. The impact of racism on them throughout their lives is recounted within this chapter. I explore how these incidents shape the identity of the participants and provide insight into what they and their parents do to counteract some of the racism they face.

Chapter 7 - Class

This chapter explores the class location of my participants and examines middle-class identity. My participants not only negotiate class and belonging within a British context but also within a Ghanaian context. Both spaces are explored and examined within this chapter and the implications for the participants' class identities in relation to their ethnic identity are discussed and analysed.

Chapter 8 - Education

The narratives of the importance of education is part of the history of the first-generation that migrated in the 1960s and 1970s. Their children, my participants, were given little choice but to adopt the same narrative about the importance of education. Within this chapter I demonstrate how the desire to acquire education is transmitted from the first to the second generation, there are different strategies which are used to ensure that a good education is received. The impact on my participants in relation to the different strategies is explored.

Chapter 9 - Being Black, Being British, Being Ghanaian

The core focus of this chapter is to explore the different identities which my participants assert, inhabit and fight against. Their ethnic identity is explored here, as is how they inhabit identities which are not always of their choosing. The creation of a third space is explored in detail here.

Chapter 10 - Transnationalism

The transnational lens is used to also show how identity is transmitted and translated to and by the participants and addresses the role of return migration. The second generation are transnational, and I discuss how this is manifested in this chapter.

Chapter 11 - Conclusion

I end this thesis by providing insight into my conclusions and analysis of the data, posing questions about the next phase for this work and the contribution this study provides to the literature. I argue that my participants are middle-class, but their Blackness disrupts that identity and racism and racialisation play a large part in their identity construction. Education is a key tool for social mobility and the parental narrative of the value of education is adapted, used and transferred to the next generation by the participants. A combination of class and ethnic identity is used to create a strong identity and acts as a survival strategy for the second generation in a space they do not always feel at 'home'.

Epilogue

While writing this thesis political changes happened in Britain which have had an impact on racism. In this section I discuss these changes along with the noting of new movements such as #BlackLivesMatter.

Chapter 2 - Literature Review

The Second Generation – Introduction

In this chapter, the literature which addresses how the second generation belong, integrate and create a sense of home is examined. The degree to which immigrants and their descendants engage with the host nation depends on how the nation affords them citizenship, expects individuals to integrate and the experiences they have in the host nation. During this research I read extensively and there are several key concepts presented here. Assimilation and multiculturalism address how the nation wants the newcomers to engage – either by losing all their cultural markers or being allowed to express their different cultures within the host nation. Transnationalism, focuses on the individual and how they choose to engage. Transnationalism can be seen to threaten the sovereignty of the nation state and negate the idea of assimilation.

This review will foreground the research and theories that focus on the second generation. It will address the historical theories that have informed much of the research on the second generation and newer studies on the second generation which have addressed class and the role of return. Much of this work has been conducted in the US but there are other studies that have taken place across the UK and Europe which add to the body of work.

I will begin with a discussion on the second generation and multiculturalism in the UK. This will precede reflection on the European studies on the second generation that will be contextualised before addressing studies in the US. The works of Waters (1990b, 1999a), Gans (1992, 2007b, 2007a) and Cornell and Hartman (1998) will be examined to highlight the choices and constraints that the second generation make and experience when establishing their ethnic identity. I then examine issues around social class and the second generation through a review of Lee (2004) and Butterfield (2004), before examining specific work on the Ghanaian second generation. These are all US studies and are included as they voice ideas which are important to my participants. I do acknowledge that the UK is very different to the US and other countries across Europe, and London, in particular, has its own specificity, and it is within an understanding of this city that my research is situated. Finally, I discuss theories of transnationalism and the examination of the phenomenon that is second generation return migration.

A factor to note here is that the concepts of Blackness in the UK and discussions within the literature are largely based on Caribbean migration history, which, as Daley (1996) noted, is very different to that of Black Africans in the British context. The Ghanaian community, whether first or second generation, are woefully under-researched, as are many other African communities. In the case of the Ghanaian second generation, they are simply absent from the literature. By solely studying the UK Black population from a Caribbean perspective, a wealth of narratives is left out of the academic picture.

The 'Black' population is not a homogenous group and the intersections of class and ethnicity have yet to be fully explored in the UK amongst the Ghanaian community.

My study situates itself within a space that explores the ideas of class and symbolic identity through the lens of transnationalism. Here, I argue that race and class have an impact on the development of identity in the second generation, specifically the creation of ethnic identity. I go on to argue that the transnational space has a role in creating a 'home' for the second generation whilst also engaging the assimilationist argument, and I note that return can be a way to find that home.

The work discussed here shaped the questions and ideas explored within this thesis. In Chapter 3, I present concepts which enabled me to analyse my work.

The Second Generation

The term 'second generation' describes children born to immigrant parents in the host country (King and Christou, 2008:6). Their lives have been analysed using theories of assimilation and integration, multiculturalism, social mobility, educational attainment, employment, identity formation, transnationalism and return, through a growing body of research from America, Europe and the UK. The study of the second generation is varied with different groups studied due to the different migration patterns. In the UK and Europe the focus is on children from former colonies or from migrant worker communities (Cheng and Heath, 1993, Back, 1996b, Thomas and Crul, 2007, Heath et al., 2008, Crul et al., 2012a). Meanwhile the US studies address the children of post-1965 non-European migrants and have featured several longitudinal studies (Waters, 1990a, Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, Levitt and Waters, 2002, Kasinitz et al., 2004, Foner and Kasinitz, 2007, Kasinitz et al., 2008).

For Koser (2007), research on the second generation divides into two schools of thought. The first asserts that the second generation will achieve more than the first generation because they do not have certain barriers to success, for example, language and foreign education. The second believes that discrimination against visible minorities always remains. Both these views are represented in the discussion within this chapter.

Work in the UK has often focused on the second generation and how they have fared in education and employment (see Cheng and Heath, 1993, Heath et al., 2008). These studies look at social mobility, whether the second generation can succeed (in terms of education and employment) particularly if the parents have not. Other researchers address issues of belonging and the creation of identities, for example, Back (1996b), whose work is discussed later in this chapter. As they are small in number, Black Africans are often not found in research in large numbers, if at all. I am yet to find any published research on the second-generation Ghanaian community in the UK or elsewhere that addresses them *in situ* or deals with return or transnationalism.

In the US, immigrant integration in society has been viewed through the lens of assimilation – this being the process through which the immigrants give up culture, language and allegiances to 'become American' (Bloemraad et al., 2008:162)

Studies which have taken place in the US are relevant to my work as they provide an insight to the development of the second generation, particularly over the life course. For example, Portes and Rumbaut's longitudinal study on the second generation in the US, found a shift in ethnic identity in the first study in 1992 and the second in 1995-1996 - these changes also fit in with the different life stages of the participants. They go on to note that one the ways in which ethnicity will impact on the second generation is it can be used as a 'source of strength' (Portes and Rumbaut, 2001:45). US studies also put forward ideas around second generation ethnic identity formation and the role of class and ethnicity, which are important themes in my thesis.

Work has been conducted by Kasinitz *et al* (2008) on the lives of the second generation living in New York City. The study addresses the coming of age of the participants and how they must negotiate belonging in the City, being American and their family backgrounds. These are all issues I explore with my participants turning focus to London and discussing their life experiences. The results of the Kasinitz *et al*

ten-year study are documented in *Inheriting the City: the children of immigrants come of age* which also features a companion book of ethnographies titled *Becoming New Yorkers: ethnographies of the new second generation* (Kasinitz et al., 2004). Of particular interest is the work of Butterfield (2004) and Lee (2004) who both highlight the relationship between class and ethnic identity in their ethnographic studies of the Caribbean second generation and Korean Americans resident in New York City. Their work addresses similar questions, which were detailed in the previous chapter, from a US context.

Kasinitz et al's (2008) *Inheriting the City* study influenced other studies such as the TIES (The Integration of the European Second generation) - project, based in the Netherlands, which researched the second generation from Turkey, Ex-Yugoslavia and Morocco in eight EU-member states. Studies like TIES and longitudinal research conducted by researchers such as Portes and Rumbaut (2005, 2001, 2001), focus on assimilation of the second generation into the host society with a heavy focus on labour markets and education. King and Christou (2008) and Levitt (2002) are amongst those leading the way on moving the work away from this focus. Their studies look at the phenomenon of 'return migration' and transnationalism, which are discussed in more detail later in this chapter.

Arthur (2008) touches on the second generation in his study of US Ghanaian migration but as a group they are scarcely mentioned in any literature. There are several studies on other communities such as Potter and Phillips' (2006) study that addressed the experience of returnees to Barbados from the UK and the issues of postcolonial hybrids.

The issue of race across the Atlantic has different historical origins and daily manifestations to those in the UK. There has been much criticism of the US literature and the attempts made to use the same theoretical constructs in a non-US context (see Thomas and Crul, 2007 , Quirke et al., 2009). The differences are acknowledged and discussed later, however there are key ideas that have been produced by US sociologists and anthropologists which need acknowledgment.

The second generation and multiculturalism

I begin this section by reflecting on the history of the Black community in post-war Britain, in order to contextualise the experience of my respondents. The Britain we have today emerged through immigration leading to 'demographic diversity' which Britain could not have imagined (Ashcroft and Bevir, 2018). Multiculturalism provides a way of looking at this diversity in terms of legislation and policy. The role of multiculturalism is examined here as it was the dominant discourse whilst my participants were growing up and has impacted every aspect of their relationship to the nation state, for example, through education. Hall (2000) defines multiculturalism as strategies and policies which are created to manage 'the problems of diversity and multiplicity which multicultural societies throw up'.⁴

In the UK, the growth of a Black population born in Britain took place in the years following the arrival of the *Empire Windrush* (post 1948). They are a group that is difficult to quantify as they appear in data as 'Black African', 'Black Caribbean' and 'Black Other' and parents' country of origin is no longer asked for in the census (Peach, 1996). Like their parents they have experienced discrimination and racism due to their visible difference. Fryer (1984) opens his chapter on the second generation with the subtitle 'born at a disadvantage'. His analysis of the Asian and Caribbean second generation is that they are more discriminated against in all institutional spheres e.g. housing, employment and education.

The post-war mass migration of Black immigrants from Africa and the Caribbean altered the make-up of UK society. Once this group became settled, it was their job to assimilate into their new nation and adapt to the majority culture (Mirza, 2005). Mirza notes that between the 1960s and 1970s children of migrants needed to find ways to 'blend in' and lose any cultural markers (Mirza, 2005). However, they were still positioned as different and faced discrimination. According to Fryer (1984), in the period covering the 1970s-1980s Black people were subjected to police brutality, given poor housing and more likely to be considered 'educationally subnormal' (Fryer, 1984:389). The educational issues were highlighted in Bernard Coard's 1971 seminal pamphlet *How the West Indian Child Is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System: The Scandal of the Black Child in Schools in Britain*⁵. Coard

⁴ Definition of multi-cultural and multiculturalism – seen as different things by Hall but used interchangeably. Multi-cultural = a diverse society, multiculturalism – policies to manage the diverse society.

⁵ Pamphlet originally written in 1971 and was reproduced in Richardson, 2005.

explains in his pamphlet how large numbers of children from Caribbean backgrounds are wrongly labelled as having special educational needs. The expectations were for these children to take menial jobs on leaving school, therefore they were only provided with a basic education, leading to poor employment outcomes (Coard, 2005). Mirza discusses how Black children are not just seen as socially and culturally lacking and coming from places that were deemed as 'less civilised', they were also seen as of low intellect (Mirza, 2005:112).

The shift from an immigrant presence to a Black British population was noted as happening in the 1970s. Writers such as Warmington (2014) have documented that a more settled and assertive Black population meant ideas of assimilation and minority cultures giving up their cultural distinctiveness to become part of the majority culture, were clipped to a certain extent by 'the multicultural embrace of pluralism and diversity, promoting integration but not cultural uniformity' (Warmington, 2014:76).

This shift created new policies which affected everything from education to employment. Even prior to the 1970s, Gabriel discusses former Home Secretary Roy Jenkins who in 1966 started using the term 'the second-generation' and highlighting the need to have public policy that incorporated this group into society, stating that: 'The next generation however—who will not be immigrants but coloured Britons...', with Jenkins going on to warn about the dangers of creating an 'American-type situation in which an indigenous minority which is no longer an immigrant group feels itself discriminated against on the grounds of colour alone' (Jenkins in Gabriel et al., 2012:268).

The 1980s was the era of multiculturalism in urban areas at least and marked changing educational and equality policies - my participants grew up during this time. During this period, there were government commissioned reports into the criminal justice system and the education system, which found racism and disadvantage for people of colour. According to Hesse (2000b), multiculturalism acknowledged the presence of Black and Asian migrants in Britain and sought to address the need for self-worth in individuals from those communities:

The discourse of multiculturalism was the culmination of liberal attempts to address the social accommodation of racially marked white/'non-white' cultural difference in terms that enshrined the values of liberty and tolerance for both

the 'British' self and the Caribbean, Asian and African 'others'.

(Hesse, 2000b:8)

Hesse believes that what was seen as multiculturalism in the 1970s and 1980s was 'in effect a *post-colonial* articulation of racialized designation in cultural differences' (Hesse, 2000b:11).

Hall's view differs as he sees multiculturalism as a contested idea. He argues that the term has different meanings depending on the political point of view addressing the term. For example, if viewed from a conservative perspective he sees multiculturalism as meaning assimilation, but from a liberal view the term describes integration. Where both Hesse and Hall's views do converge is on the idea that multiculturalism *is* a political concept.

Indeed, policy changes within education and the criminal justice system, followed riots in Brixton and Tottenham in the 1980s (Mirza, 2005). However the rush to embrace cultural diversity was often criticised as shallow and came to be 'lampooned as a multiculturalism of the three "S's:" saris, samosas, and steelbands' (Modood and May, 2001:306), a term coined by Barry Troyna (Mirza, 2005).

My participants went to school in the 1980s and 1990s, their generation was not expected to assimilate and lose their culture unlike those that had gone before. However, by the time my cohort left school, the idea of multiculturalism was falling out of favour.

Post 1990s, according to Zetter et al., (2006), there was a shift in the UK's political landscape from multiculturalism to social cohesion. They see this stance being taken in response to the highly diverse migrants entering the UK during that period and since. The focus on cohesion was intended to 'protect' the idea of the British national identity against the backdrop of urban disturbances in the north of England in 2001. Zetter et al., (2006) argue that this policy shift has moved policy towards the promotion of inclusivity and towards the assimilation of both new and settled communities.

This shift away from the concept of multiculturalism is clearly underlined by Johnson (2007) who believes the focus on multiculturalism is in danger of fragmenting UK society and perpetuating segregation – 'We have emphasised what divides us over what unites us, and tolerance of diversity has led to the effective isolation of communities' (Johnson, 2007:25).

Johnson defines an integrated society as one where all have equality, the right to participate in society and opportunities for interactions with people of other cultures. He defines 'Britishness' as a way of finding something that unifies people and communities. The promotion of a British identity assumes a notion of a unified British identity based on a White monolingual, monocultural Britain which excludes the migrant population.

Hall refers to this idea as the 'national' story'; a belief that there was a 'unified and homogenous culture' (Hall, 1992:618) which was disrupted by the arrival of the post war migrants from the Caribbean and Asian subcontinent. This unified homogenous national identity was never straightforward because of the many conquests and invasion in the complex history of Britain.

Johnson positions 'Britishness' as another identity which is 'one part of every citizen's range of identities.' (Johnson, 2007:31). However, his argument assumes that some individuals do not consider themselves to be British but does not consider why they might experience these feelings. It is difficult to argue for a new formation of identity when the old one is not understood. Politicians and commentators went on to declare the death of multiculturalism (see Mirza, 2005, Modood, 2007). In the light of terror attacks in Britain and elsewhere, the political discussion today focuses on 'British values', understanding commitment to these as a way of encapsulating ideas around citizenship and belonging.

Black and British

It is clear the concepts of cultural identity and belonging have been important themes within the literature. Parekh examined the second generation, their identity and ideas about belonging within his report on multicultural Britain, noting:

Young people who have been educated in British schools often have more in common with their white peers than their parents – they reinterpret themselves not only in terms of their origins but also in terms of the surrounding culture. Continuity with the past provides an essential resource for survival, but it exists alongside interaction across a wide spectrum of daily activities. Young people have developed the capacity to manoeuvre between distinct areas of life (it has been said that they are skilled 'cross-cultural navigators').

(Parekh, 2002:29)

Whilst as stated by Jenkins, this new generation are Britons, they are also linked to another culture (or even cultures) and visible minorities are defined by their race. Studies such as those by Alexander (1996) and Back (1996b) have sought to understand how Black Britons construct their racial and national identities. Brah (1996) also explores these ideas but she addresses them from the perspective of diasporic identity.

Alexander's study of the 'creation of Black British youth identities' (Alexander, 1996:17) is reviewed here because it has important similarities and differences with my study. Both of our studies are focused on a London-based Black demographic and explore aspects of Black identity in the UK. However, within my work I do not just address Black identity but focus on Ghanaian ethnic identity and its importance to my participants. Her participants came from a variety of backgrounds but were predominantly from Caribbean origins. I'm also specifically looking at a middle-class cohort which is not the case for Alexander. My participants are also older than her target and our discussions feature the role of another country more heavily than is mentioned within Alexander's study.

The Art of Being Black, which focuses on Alexander's ethnographic research, features 15 participants based in London, predominantly males of Caribbean origin, aged between 18 and 24. Her goal was to look at Black youth not as a problematised other, which is how, she notes, they are often portrayed. Her study explores how Black identity is enacted by her participants and the importance of asserting a Black identity, irrespective of family background. This Black identity that is asserted is done so through dress, speech, pastimes, possessions, for example, the car they drive. Alexander examines the role of community, family, employment and Black masculinity. She also addresses different groups stating claims to being more 'Black' than others due to living within predominantly Black communities or whether they come from an African or Caribbean background. Some of these ideas are discussed by my own participants and whilst in Alexander's study Black youth identity appears to 'transcend the idea of national boundaries' (Alexander, 1996:69), as I will go on to discuss in later chapters, for my participants national identity as Ghanaian is foregrounded and emphasised over a more general identification as 'Black'.

Alexander's study sample is small and limited to the observations she was privy to and the few interviews she held during her time living and socialising with her participants. She draws heavily on the work of Gilroy and Hall throughout the study. Alexander

makes no claims as to her study being completely representative and is explicit in the limitations of her work. Her contribution is an important study into the Black British second-generation, examining a group who, unlike their parents, were entering new professions, had been educated fully within the UK system and are an established group in society. Her participants were studying or working and, bar one, were not engaged in the 'alternative economy' (as she terms enterprises which are illegal ranging from dealing drugs to handling stolen goods, which was a common stereotype).

Black British youth identity is thus something of an 'art'. It is an 'imagined' construction, which is constantly reinvented and challenges traditional notions of essentialized cultural or racial entities... 'Being Black' is at once a demand for inclusion within the bounds of 'British' identity and the celebration of 'hybridity'. (Alexander, 1996:199).

What Alexander finds is a group of people who have agency and make choices, which enables them to construct their own identity, despite the stereotypes, to assert a mode of inclusion within British society.

Back (1996b), addresses a younger demographic in his ethnographic study which focuses on British-born youth (across a range of ethnicities) in two different locations in London - *Riverview* and *Southgate*. The participants in this study ranged in age from 11 to 25 and there was a core of 51 informants. Back became a youth worker and conducted his observations primarily at youth centres between 1985-1989 and published his book in 1996. Back follows the relationships and interactions between the users of the youth centres and how they negotiate race and racism in their social locations. Southgate has a large Black population and the Black youth here constructed ideas of Blackness in cultural terms, whilst it was seen 'as having a specifically local expression' it was also about being connected both nationally and internationally with the African diaspora (Back, 1996b:241).

The research focused on ideas of belonging and noted the differences between the Black youth who lived in a predominately Black area (Southgate) and those who did not (Riverview). Back also found that his participants were looking at ways in which nationhood was being defined and seeing how they could create a new version of Englishness that was 'free of racially exclusive terms of reference' (Back, 1996b:159). Similarly, to Back my study also addressed how my participants felt about belonging

and looked at the impact of living in predominantly Black areas and in areas where they were in a minority. I also looked at the role of race and racism in their lives. However, my participants were again older, and were not seeking to create a new version of English identity.

What both these studies show are ways in which Black youth can engage with wider society and assert their presence and right to be part of the nation. I highlight these studies here as they focus on the social and geographical and not solely on the educational or criminal. They show young Black people negotiating their identities in the space they call home and these studies foreground the idea of being Black British and Black English as being congruent. These studies took place at a time when ideas of multiculturalism still held sway and prior to the post-terrorism changes in our society.

A major difference between my respondents and those of Back and Alexander, as I will go on to show, is that whilst my participants acknowledge aspects of British identity not all of them ascribe to it or consider it a focus of their identity – they are not trying to be Black Britons. Whilst I discuss how they negotiate that identity, for the most part it is not one they are trying to create, change or adapt to who they are. Notions of identity are dealt with in Brah's work. Brah focuses on Black and Asian groups in the UK and addresses them through the lens of diaspora. Brah views diasporas as 'imagined communities' that exist in the stories told to the self and in a collective (Brah, 1996:183). In this case it is the myths and stories which sustain the *idea* of the diaspora. The diasporic lens shows that migrant groups are settled and have no real desire to move. The myths are sustained to enable them to find a way to cope in a space where they do not feel they fully belong. Brah's (1996) work focuses on ideas of English and British identity, her homing theory focuses on Black and Asian groups in the UK. Brah moves this idea forward through her theories on the homing desire and meanings of home. 'The homing desire' is about creating a sense of place and belonging, not a desire to return to a distinct homeland. Also, where you feel 'at home' and the place you call 'home' may not be one and the same. Brah's view is closely echoed by the participants in this study who sought to assert their own hybrid identities as a source of resilience against a sense of not being perceived as 'British' (see *Chapter 9*).

Brah examined the idea of home and explored the notions of the 'homing desire' and 'feeling at home':

The homing desire, however is not the same as the desire for a 'homeland'. Contrary to general belief, not all diasporas sustain an ideology of return. Moreover, the multi-placedness of home in the diasporic imaginary does not mean the diasporic subjectivity is 'rootless'. I argue for a distinction between 'feeling at home' and declaring a place as home'.

(Brah, 1996:197)

To fully illustrate her point relating to home, Brah uses the example of a British born woman of Jamaican parentage – this woman may *feel* at home in London as akin to Kingston, Jamaica but because of being made to feel that as a Black woman she is outside of 'Britishness' she asserts a Jamaican/Caribbean identity. Alternatively, another woman with the same background could assert a Black British identity as a way of stating that she *is* part of this society (Brah, 1996:193). Brah sees these women as taking different political positions on the question of home. The diasporic lens takes the view that these groups are settled and have no real desire to move. The myths relating to the *idea* of diaspora, are sustained to enable them to find a way to cope in a space where they do not feel they belong. As Reynolds (2008), Potter and Phillips (2006) and my own research show, discrimination is still a factor for the visibly Black second generation and they still are looking for ways to belong.

Second Generation – European

Within the European⁶ context, much of the literature views the second generation through the lens of post-colonialism and hybridity (Quirke et al., 2009). Thomas and Crul (2007) situate the rise in interest in Europe in the second generation through the problems which have arisen in different European countries from 'home grown terrorists' in the UK to riots in France. Koser (2007) agrees and also notes the economic exclusion of the second generation. Koser quotes Heath's 'ethnic penalty' research, which was a comparative study conducted across Europe. One of the findings was that the second generation with non-European ancestry experienced high levels of unemployment compared to the European second generation. This finding leads to the view that 'legacies of the past are not easily overcome' (Koser, 2007:98).

Thomas and Crul (2007) address the idea of integration from a dual perspective. Integration is not just through the labour markets and education but also areas such as

⁶ The studies discussed here do not always include the UK.

culture and identity –‘Integration is also about less quantifiable aspects like culture, ethnic or religious identity, citizenship and (though more problematically) race’ (Thomas and Crul, 2007:1027). The term ‘integration’ becomes difficult to define and so to be able to provide a judgement on whether or to what degree a person is integrated, Thomas and Crul believe that it ‘amounts to a normative judgement which varies between national contexts and over time’ (Thomas and Crul, 2007:1027). Within my own work, I address feelings of belonging, identity and the role the ethnicity and class play in whether my participants feel at home and the degree to which they can succeed.

Thomas and Crul (2007) critique the use of American theories in a European context and propose two ways in which the integration and identity formation of the second generation can be analysed. One of their key critiques of using American literature in European contexts is the sheer difference in the national settings. Spaces in Europe are not as large, and the ghettos described within the US studies do not exist to the same degree across Europe. For Thomas and Crul (2007) one of the key contributions of the European literature is to create cross national studies and highlight the importance of national contexts in regard to integration. Their other key criticism of the American view point – specifically segmented assimilation theory⁷ - is that it does not address the internal differences inside the ethnic groups (Crul and Vermeulen 2003 in Thomas and Crul, 2007:1033). There are also structural differences in place which render the direct translation of theories, such as downward assimilation, empirically unworkable (Thomas and Crul, 2007:1036). They also find problematic upward mobility as a concept linked to ethnic cohesion, as the theory does not consider possible oppression within ethnic groups. Within Europe, upward mobility through ethnic cohesion is seen as a limited phenomenon (Thomas and Crul, 2007:1036). Thomas and Crul suggest two theoretical approaches which can be used to study the second generation in Europe. The first is to focus on the national context, within which the institutions and national policies need to be examined. The second focuses on Alba’s theory of ‘blurred’ and ‘bright’ boundaries:

⁷ Portes and Rumbaut’s (2001:45) segmented assimilation theory takes into account the varied outcomes across the minority groups and sees that there are alternatives to the ‘rapid integration and acceptance into the American mainstream’. Downward assimilation saw the second generation moving lower than their parents and becoming part of an underclass.

'Bright' boundaries represent sharper divisions between ethnic groups which, especially for a community as a whole, are much more difficult to cross than the more malleable, less divisive 'blurred' boundaries.

(Thomas and Crul, 2007:1037)

Thomas and Crul argue that the different types and the existence of these boundaries influence the identity formation of the second generation. Across Europe there are differing notions of citizenship and systems of integration, assimilation and multiculturalism, which affect how the second generation can belong. Koser (2007) finds that irrespective of whether an assimilationist or multicultural stance is taken by the host nation there is an ethnic penalty for the second generation – therefore neither stance benefits the second generation.

US Studies – ethnicity, labels and identity

My study addresses how my participants use, and engage with, their ethnic identity, here I explore the work of Waters (1990a) and Gans (2007a) whose ideas were influential in understanding the role of ethnic identities across different groups. As I will later argue, my findings show a much greater level of fluidity and agency in relation to ethnic identity than is proposed by the writers here.

Waters' (1990) early work studied influences on second and third generation White ethnic identities in the US. This study led to the development of Waters' 'ethnic options' concept. Family background was a key factor in her participants' choice of ethnicity alongside physical features. Waters found that by intermarrying, Whites of European extraction could access different ethnic identities and choose to what degree they would be used, for example, people of Russian, Polish or Italian could choose to use those labels or just be White. She noted that these choices were limited for those labelled as Black. The individual's choice of self-identification was also seen as not necessarily being the same at all times – it changed depending on time and place (Waters, 1990b). This spatial and fluid understanding of ethnic identity has appeared as a concept in the work of other sociologists such as Skeggs (2004). Waters based her work within the confines of the US census, and the 'ethnic choice question' asked within the census forms the basis of her research. She concludes that White ethnic groups can choose to be 'American' or choose a different ethnic identity from amongst their family background but this choice is not available to non-Whites. The ability to

choose one's ethnicity is raced and classed – aspects of which are discussed later in this chapter and across the thesis.

What Waters' 1990 study provides us with is some insight into how and to what degree groups use/understand/enact their ethnic identities. By later engaging in research into the West Indian⁸ community in New York, Waters adds further depth to her original insights. Her research included those born and raised in the US alongside those who had migrated as children/youths. The social mobility outcomes for the West Indian youth that were interviewed were very much affected by the variables of 'race, class and gender' (Waters, 1999a:287).

The ways in which these youngsters experience and react to racial discrimination influence the type of racial and ethnic identity they develop.

The most important influences on how these young people experience race are the class backgrounds of their parents, the type of neighbourhood they grow up in, the schools they attend, and their gender.

(Waters, 1999a:287)

From her sample Waters found three distinct types of identity, those that saw themselves as American (they tended to be US born), those that had an ethnic American identity, for example, Jamaican American (this group were middle-class and used ethnicity to distance themselves from African Americans) and those who saw themselves as immigrants (these people had generally migrated to the US). The idea that there are only three possible categories is critiqued by Butterfield (2004) as identity development is omitted from these categories, which suggests that identity is fixed and static. Butterfield poses the question of whether three categories are still relevant. Whilst separating participants into such neat categories provides an easier way of analysing them, I too find it unsatisfactory. Given that identity is fluid and multiple in its nature, as well as situational and spatial, these hard and fast categories create a fixedness that goes against this very notion. Her study also found many gendered differences in both the working-class and middle-class participants. This is linked to stricter parenting for the girls and to how the males experienced racism from the wider society. These experiences affected their chosen identity.

⁸ Whilst I use the labels which are used by authors or the participants, West Indian is no longer a term widely used in the literature with the preferred label of African Caribbean in current use.

Waters (1999a) concludes that ethnic difference is a tool used to confer class status. By distinguishing themselves as a group separate to African Americans and by highlighting their middle-class status and values, the West Indians can prove to the wider White majority that they are different to the often-stigmatised African Americans. The author wonders whether trying to hold onto ethnic identity is futile, as the 'master status' (the main identity which others see, coined by Hughes in 1945 - see Helmes-Hayes and Santoro, 2016), their visible otherness, will be what the White majority perceive. Future generations will simply become Black. Later studies by Portes and Rumbaut (2001), Kasinitz *et al* (2008) and Gans (2007b) have all reached similar conclusions on race and ethnic options for later generations. The idea of race being the dominant identity which impacts on the lives of those who are labelled, or indeed label themselves, as Black is a key theme across the US literature.

The theme of labelling is addressed by Gans (2007b) who takes a constructionist view to examine individual identity. He labels identity as a 'social phenomenon' and states that the reason ethnic and racial categories exist in America is because 'Americans label, stereotype, and rank each other in part by behaviour patterns, values, and attitudes that they associate with skin colour' (Gans, 2007b:98). It could be argued that these ascriptions are also in use in the UK (see discussion in *Chapter 3* and *Chapter 6*).

Gans also considers the role of identity and identification – how the individual is seen by themselves and by others. He notes that in the case of ethnicity and race, the relationship between identity and identification differ:

Once immigrants are identified as black by the white majority, they must also choose a black identity for themselves, or at least that has been the case in the U.S. to the present day.

(Gans, 2007b:99)

Citing the case of Russian Americans and the work of Waters (1990b) he sees ethnicity as becoming a 'chosen identity'. However race is still one that is imposed on people. (Gans, 2007b:99). There is the possibility to choose your ethnicity to some degree, but racial categories are not chosen. In the case of bi-racial and multi-racial identification –

Gans predicts that 'many whites will still continue to identify them as blacks' (Gans, 2007b :100). This statement highlights the dominance of the labels that are ascribed to others. The label of 'Black' in the US and UK has historical connotations and is political – the label has values and is negatively ascribed. Gans argues that whilst everyone will be given a label, for example, female, not everyone will develop an identity as an identity 'has to be internalized to some extent and felt as well as expressed with a degree of intensity' (Gans, 2007b:100). He believes that for those that do develop an identity, it can be asserted in different situations, as can labels. However, in the case of racial identity this is not the state of affairs: 'Black immigrants are reminded of their blackness continually in America; white ones, being the majority race, rarely need to think about their racial identity'(Gans, 2007b:101). More recently the concept of 'White privilege' and 'White supremacy'- which emphasise the privileged effects for white people of Whiteness being the norm - have received more scrutiny within the sociological literature and a more detailed discussion can be found in *Chapter 6 – Racism*.

When discussing how identities are expressed, Gans believes there is not enough known about how people think and feel about their ethnic and racial identity, especially how they feel about marginality. As well as marginality, he argues that the activities engaged in by ethnic groups that are linked to their identities, warrants further research.

Ethnic and racial identities become more public when they are reflected in activities, especially political; and cultural ones that make identities come alive for others. People also express identity by supporting defence and advocacy groups, making charitable donations, joining social clubs, visiting the ancestral country or community, or, less intensively, going to restaurants that feature ethnic or racial cuisines.

(Gans, 2007b:102)

This aspect of identity expression has been shown within the Ghanaian community in the UK; there are numerous professional and social clubs, restaurants and community activities which are organised for the Ghanaian community. Participation is cross generational but there are also specific spaces inhabited by the first and second generations. The first generation participants in the Herbert *et al* (2008) study on

Ghanaian migrants leaned on community organisations, visits to Ghana and remembered positive aspects of Ghana and Ghanaian culture to support them whilst in London (Herbert et al., 2008:114). They felt the need to have this positive reinforcement as they felt they were denied opportunities and experienced overt and subtle racism. They endured because they had goals such as training and education and could find coping mechanisms and support networks.

For Gans, the expression of identity is linked to *something*, whether it is something concrete, for example a national hero, or something that is imagined. The linking of identity to a place is expressed as important by both first and second generation. Gans (2007b:103) is intrigued by the idea of linking identity to a nation especially when people are not nationalistic and are second generation. This is one of Gans' ideas that requires further explanation. It is not difficult to see why the second generation would identify with nation-based identity – an understanding of ethnicity is often linked by individuals with a specific place - Ghanaian, Jamaican, rather than a general area - Africa, the Caribbean. The nation is an anchor learnt about from parents and the links are reinforced by racism and discrimination faced in the 'host' country with the natal country perceived as a place of safety and belonging.

Gans also notes how the majority views the minority has an impact on the identity of the second generation – there is some internalising of the views held by the wider society towards immigrants. One way in which this is expressed is in calling newer migrants names that emphasise the newness of their arrival, often as an insult. Gans (2007b:104) uses the term 'FOB' – 'fresh off the boat' - to illustrate how much the later generations have 'absorbed major identifications'. However, he attests that the minorities are still free to choose the degree, frequency and the level of intensity with which they express their identity and how they choose to engage and what objects they link to it. The ways in which groups might express their identity can be linked to everything from politics and social movements to maintenance of kinship networks. Therefore, like Waters, Gans feels there is some degree of choice in ethnic identity; however, unlike Waters, this freedom of expression is available to *all* rather than to just those of White ethnic identity.

However, I disagree with both Gans' and Waters' view on identity choice as there is an assumed lack of agency for visible minorities, and identity is seen as fixed. Both writers

emphasise the external view and its impact on the person's choice, over the internal view and desire of the individuals. I will argue that there *is* a choice concerning how the individual chooses to assert their identity and whether they wish to accept the labels put upon them, especially racialised ones. Asserting specific ethnic identities is one way in which the individual can reclaim and assert their choice.

The concept of 'thick' and 'thin' ethnic identities, which has been posited by Cornell and Hartman (1998) is another theory which might explain how minorities adapt their identity to a particular space over a period of time. Cornell and Hartman (1998) explored these concepts of identity in their research on the Italian American community. They examined the community's concept of identity in the early and late twentieth century and the degree to which their ethnic identity organised their social life. Generally, they found that early arrival Italian migrants had a very 'thick' ethnic identity – speaking Italian and living in predominantly Italian neighbourhoods. Those that arrived alone or lived away from other Italians lost this 'thick' identity quickly. Later in the century, Italian Americans still identified themselves as such but now had 'thin' ethnic identities. They most likely married non-Italian Americans, did not speak Italian and were more assimilated into the US mainstream. They had become 'part of the economic, political, and cultural mainstream of U.S. Society' (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998:76). At this point the Italian Americans were in their third and fourth generations.

The study shows the generational experience of assimilation (i.e. the loss of cultural identifiers) within a single ethnic population and diversity of behaviour related to community proximity and familial bonds. It also highlights the fluid nature of ethnicity and the impact of society on the changes within an ethnic group. It provides a template for a survival technique that enables the group to maintain ties but also to integrate with the society they find themselves within.

Whilst this concept infers a level of fixedness and essentialism, (in this case a constant Italian identity, which can be lost or maintained) it also offers a way of looking at the second and subsequent generations of migrants and their identity formation. I explore to what degree this concept holds true for 'visible' minorities, uncover how my research cohort adopt these methods and the way in which they express their sense of self in relation to a real or imagined Ghanaian identity. Cornell and Hartman's cohort became culturally assimilated in American society, whereas the people in my study may engage

in normative cultural practices in the UK, but their visible difference continues to position them as outsiders.

Symbolic ethnicity and class

An aspect that is implicit in the aforementioned theories posited is the role that social class status plays in the lives of the second generation. Poverty and wealth affect the life chances of the migrant's children – class is a factor in the success of the second generation. But to what degree does class impact ethnic identity? Gans (2007b) notes the importance of class as one of the different variables which impact on identity. Gans quotes the work of Lee who researched the Korean American community, noting the way in which different classes used and expressed their ethnic identity and wonders whether 'ethnic identity expression is a luxury of the affluent, better-educated second generation' (Gans, 2007b:105).

For Gans, the post-1965 second generation are assimilating into American society in broadly the same way as earlier European migrants. What is different however, is the class and racial diversity of the newer migrants, which he feels highlight 'the diversity of assimilation and outcomes' (Gans, 2007b:106). He sees two possible effects on the ethnic identity of the second generation which assimilation will cause. Firstly, assimilation itself will weaken the identities and the expression of that identity.

Secondly, there could be a compensation created which sees some of the second generation strengthening their ethnic identity as a way of separating themselves from other migrant groups. Gans (2007b) coined the term *symbolic ethnicity* which is a resource making up a compensatory identity; people seek out ways to experience their identity and they do it to compensate for 'distancing themselves from the ethnic groups and cultures in which they grew up' (Gans, 2007b:107). Even some of the people active in identity politics may have been attracted to it by the search for a compensatory identity. Acquiring a compensatory identity is not difficult; it is also entirely compatible with an assimilated way of life (Gans, 2007b:106).

Gans does not make it clear how this distancing occurs or whether there are other factors such as class in play. However, whilst the desire to seek out an ethnic identity is demonstrated amongst the second generation, it could be argued they are endeavouring to create their own space as adults without the influence of the first generation. There is possibly the need for some members to explore their ethnicity within the construction of what it means to be X in America or Britain. They may not

have distanced themselves from their parents' ethnic/national community as stated by Gans. However, this distancing may be a factor when the variable of class is put into the equation. The likelihood is that moving from working-class areas to middle-class areas would cause a spatial and emotional distance because you are further away from a larger number of your ethnic group. Therefore, amongst the middle-classes the concept of a symbolic identity may be a noticeable phenomenon.

A caveat that is thrown up in both compensatory and assimilationist theories of identity is the role of skin colour. As Gans states, White Americans are either 'unwilling or unable' to differentiate between different Black migrants and the native African Americans, which leaves Black migrants as being identified as African Americans: 'Being or becoming middle or upper class has not so far changed this identification, but right now, too few of the descendants of black migrants are visibly middle-class enough for whites to notice' (Gans, 2007b:107). He sees two possible outcomes for people racialised as Black. The first is one where they will continue to experience discrimination and inequality so will not be able to develop their own identities. Alternatively, migrants who are middle-class may find that they are seen differently and not subjected to the same levels of discrimination, but for real change the White majority need to stop seeing Black people as inferior.

Whilst these outcomes are both speculative theories, these ideas need to be challenged. Firstly, irrespective of whether people are *allowed* to do/be something, people have agency and will fight against the idea of not having a choice in who they can become. Secondly, the second generation will not have the original accents of their parents to distinguish them as coming from somewhere else, but their skin colour would immediately have them defined as Black. Therefore, the idea that groups can use their resources of being a middle-class foreigner only lasts one generation. Their middle-class status - which Gans sees as a buffer from prejudice - will, as he noted earlier, only be acknowledged if there is a large enough mass that the White majority notice. The issue of symbolic ethnicity and its role amongst different ethnic groups is also addressed by Waters (1990b), who states:

For the ways in which ethnicity is flexible and symbolic and voluntary for white middle-class Americans are the very ways in which it is not for non-white and Hispanic Americans. The social and political consequences of being Asian or Hispanic or Black are not symbolic for the most part, or voluntary.

They are real and often hurtful.

(Waters, 1990b:156)

Symbolic ethnicity is linked here to class status and regarded as something which engages the middle-classes, an argument echoed by Gans (2007b) and Lee (2004). Waters argues that Whites with symbolic ethnicity fail to understand the importance of being in the racial minority or the importance that skin colour has on people's everyday lives (Waters, 1990b:158). For Waters, symbolic ethnicity is indeed linked to 'generational movement' and is 'dependent on social mobility' (Waters, 1990b:165).

As long as racial or ethnic identity is associated with class stratification, or as long as ascriptive characteristics are used to assign rewards in society, ethnic identity will be much more complex than individual choice and selective personal and familial engagement of tradition.

(Waters, 1990b:165)

Two ethnographic studies which seek to test the theories of symbolic ethnicity and ethnic identity and class have been conducted by Butterfield (2004) and Lee (2004). Butterfield (2004) conducted research into the Caribbean second generation in New York City. For these participants, the need to have both a racial and ethnic identity was a key aspect of their lives. Butterfield focused on two specific areas of the city and a spatial relationship to ethnic identity emerged through the study. Those second generation participants living in areas that had concentrated populations from the West Indies, developed intense West Indian identities. Those living in more diverse areas developed more pan-Caribbean identities. What is slightly problematic about this analysis is that it is not clear how the author is defining West Indian and Caribbean as they are often used interchangeably in public parlance. However, the study also highlights the role of education in the development of understanding race and identity for it is in school where the participants learnt the meaning of 'Blackness' (Butterfield, 2004:296). This is something I also found with my own study. Going to college also influenced identity as it brought people in contact with other Black people and other ethnicities.

Butterfield's study also finds that class is important in relation to ethnic identity but not in the same way as posed by Gans and Waters:

Given the saliency of ethnic identity among both working and middle-class second generation West Indians, this research suggests that ethnic identity does not necessarily affect socioeconomic status, but that class position facilitates a particular kind of maintenance of ethnic identity for particular groups.

(Butterfield, 2004:304)

Butterfield argues that the effect of socio-economic status on ethnic identity is not researched enough in the literature on the second generation. I would concur with her argument and note that this is still the case today. Butterfield concludes that regarding ethnic and racial identity, it is not a choice between the two, but particular identities are emphasised depending on context.

Lee (2004) provides us with an insight into the class dimensions of second generation Korean Americans and the relationship this status has with their ethnic identity. Lee's study found that working and middle-class Korean Americans had different perceptions of their ethnic identities based on their interpretation of the idea of model minority. According to Suzuki (1977) the 'minority model' imaginary emerges in the US during the Watts riots to showcase a minority that was a US success story and is the widely held perception that Asian Americans are all hard-working and well-educated. In Lee's (2004) work this idea was adopted by the middle classes but for the working-classes, that identity was seen negatively. The 'model minority' construction used may be relevant to the Ghanaian community in the UK who are seen in the literature as studious and holding education in high regard (see Goody and Grouthes, 1977, Vasta and Kandilige, 2007).

Lee's study addresses both working and middle class Korean American identity and fills a gap, as previous studies have only ever focused on the middle-class. However, as Lee notes, finding working-class participants was difficult and it is not clear how many were interviewed in the study, so the robustness of the findings may be called into question. In total sixty in-depth interviews were conducted by Lee with second generation Korean Americans living in New York City⁹, with the neighbourhoods where

⁹ These took place over a period of three years; Lee used snowball sampling through professional associations to obtain middle-class participants and the local police precinct to obtain working-class participants.

the participants resided reflecting their socio-economic status and linking to their formation of identity. There is no main Korean neighbourhood in New York. The middle-class Korean Americans lived in predominantly White neighbourhoods so did not form co-ethnic relationships with large numbers of other Korean Americans or other Asian Americans until they went to college – a finding echoed by Butterfield's (2004) research. The experience of going to college and interacting with other Asian Americans enabled them to create a 'symbolic' Korean identity based on the model minority theory. They also bonded with co-ethnics through the shared experiences of their parents, who mostly had experienced downwards mobility through migration.

According to Lee, the working-class Korean Americans recognised that their level of education and where they were educated affected their outcomes whereas the middle-class saw their outcomes linked to their ethnicity. Lee (2004) argues that working-class Korean Americans construct a reactive identity which is linked to their experience of growing up in the US and not their parents' lives or cultural norms. This theory of second generation identity formation is interesting but unfortunately Lee does not explore the ideas further. The idea that the participants are not being influenced by their parents and cultural norms is questionable. Their initial ideas of 'Korean-ness' would surely have come from their parents. Forging their own links with peers or Korean-based organisations would have come later. It could be argued that the middle-class Korean identity is constructed in the same way. They 'react' to the reality of being in two cultures by embracing a version of that ethnic identity, yet Lee does not see their construction of self as reactive. It is possible with the small sample of working-class participants that there is a class bias appearing in the results. For the working-class Korean Americans, a Korean ethnic identity was something they were moving away from because they felt ashamed for not meeting the 'model minority' ideal.

Lee (2004) concludes her argument by stating that Korean ethnic identity is being shed by the working-class Koreans who see it as something negative, and, because of this, distance themselves from other co-ethnics. Ethnic identity is being used symbolically by the middle-classes. Lee believes more research into the working-class group is needed and that if this trend continues, the 'model minority' concept will be the dominant narrative, but one that will only apply to middle-class Korean-Americans as the working-class will cease to identify themselves as Korean Americans. This study

shows how identity can be fluid and the impact that class and perhaps even educational experience, can have on identity. Concerns which I also explore within my own work.

Class and socio-economic status when intersecting with racialised identities has been shown to have an impact on ethnic identity. This has been found amongst the second generation who have stayed in a space or migrated 'home'. Butterfield (2004) and Lee (2004) highlight the effect of education, subsequent socio-economic status and the impact on ethnic identity in their studies. However, my main critique of Butterfield and Lee's work is that they presuppose fixed homogenous identities that are bounded by nation and take no account of the influences of visits or relationships abroad.

Ghanaian second generation

The Ghanaian second generation in the UK do not feature in the literature as a research subject. They are mentioned in passing in other studies focused on the first generation (Goody and Grouthes, 1977, Anarfi et al., 2003), and none really focus on the UK. Anarfi *et al* (2003) noted that from the 1970s a number of children of Ghanaian migrants were being born abroad and classify these children born to Ghanaian parents as Ghanaians. As Peil states 'Citizenship in Africa has tended to be defined by ethnicity, so place of birth is less important than ancestry' (Peil, 1995:346).

Under Ghana's constitution citizenship is also extended to the second generation so they are free to apply for dual citizenship. Peil found that the children often settle in the country where they have grown up but identify Ghana as 'home', however not always to the same extent as their parents, but many also maintain links with 'home' (Peil, 1995:362). Anarfi *et al* also highlight that these children may not return at the same time as their parents and might only do so when they can afford to pay for themselves (Anarfi et al., 2003:6). But the idea here is that the second generation do make their way back to Ghana, at some point – they go 'home'.

In the US, Arthur's (2008) work on Ghanaian migration used some case study material from the second generation. The wider populace saw the second generation Ghanaians in this study as African American. Their parents' primary concern was whether their children would 'adopt Ghanaian identities or assume the identities and

the normative value systems of their parents and grand parents' (Arthur, 2008:104). The children adopted cross-cultural or American identities with urban Black America being the predominant influence. In the case studies used there are stark contrasts in the definitions of identity between those born and raised in the US and those children that came later. The case study of a youth who had come to the US later showed a definite link with his Ghanaian cultural heritage of which he was proud. However, a quote from a girl raised in the US differs starkly:

The culture of Ghana cannot offer us the future; the culture chains you, puts a noose around your neck, and is too moralistic ... The culture has no meaning for me to identify with.

(Arthur, 2008:111)

At the time of the case studies, the US second generation participants were teenagers, so further work would be needed to see whether their identity changes over the course of the life cycle.

In summary, the second generation inhabits a more complex situation regarding the formation of their ethnicity and their identity overall, in comparison with the first generation. When looking at those who are labelled Black, race will also impact on their identity formation. Adding class to the discussion provides another layer to how people enact, create and represent their identities. I argue that identity is not fixed; it is fluid and impacted by a multitude of factors. I challenge Gans and Waters' work on ethnic choice - those who are labelled as Black do have choice. Choices can be made by the individual on how they assert their identity and the labels that they use for themselves.

Transnationalism

One key aspect of all the aforementioned studies is the idea of nation-state. Identity is often linked to a particular place that is bounded and fixed. Transnationalism is a relevant concept for my study because it is a concept that moves away from the notion of boundaries and fixed states. It encompasses the relationship of the natal country and how the first and second generation can develop or maintain their ethnic identity whilst living in the host nation. Through this lens writers such as Levitt (Levitt and Waters, 2002, 2006), Tamas and Palme (2006) and Glick Schiller et al. (1992b, 1992a)

are conceptualising belonging for the first *and* second generation. As I will go on to show, some of my participants do behave in a transnational way and this enables them to find a place to belong.

These scholars see the definition of transnationalism as living in two places simultaneously as opposed to the circular migration posed by Castles and Miller (2003) and they expand Beck's (2000) notion of 'social proximity' – discussed below.

For these writers, the lens of transnationalism is used to understand migration in the world today. The notion of borders and nations is broken down as people live across these borders and actively engage in *both* societies. This living across borders raises issues for governments about national security (Tamas and Palme, 2006) but is made possible through the changes of globalisation (Vertovec, 2004). Bloemraad et al., (2008) believe the borders are no longer solid due to globalisation – '... globalization is a reality that undermines the relevance of borders and state sovereignty' (Bloemraad et al., 2008:165)

Fouron and Glick-Schiller (2002) describe transnational migration as:

... a process of movement and settlement across international borders in which individuals maintain or build multiple networks of connection to their country of origin while at the same time settling in a new country.

(Fouron and Glick Schiller, 2002:171)

Transnationalism is more than visiting on occasions for holidays or having an emotional link to a space – it is about action and the actual way lives are led. Glick Schiller et al., (1992b) use the term 'transmigrants' to describe those involved with transnationalism and define their lives thus: 'Transmigrants take actions, make decisions and feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously' (Glick Schiller et al., 1992b:1-2). The term was coined as Glick Schiller et al., (1992b) believe that the conceptions of immigrant and migrant are no longer sufficient to describe a new kind of migrating population - immigrants become transmigrants.

In their work on understanding migration patterns, Castles and Miller (2003) propose that the new technologies available enable migrants to keep in contact more easily with

the home country and enable a form of circulatory migration. ‘...[P]eople migrate regularly between a number of places where they have economic, social or cultural linkages’ (Castles and Miller, 2003:24). According to Castles and Miller (2003), this model puts the emphasis on human agency and a transitional community can emerge when the transnational aspect is a central part of the lives of a group. This idea is related to diaspora however, they believe transnationalism lacks the emotional connotations signalled by ‘diaspora’. The term diaspora, as is discussed in *Chapter 3*, suggests exile and a desire for a homeland – transnationalism does not.

Beck (2000) sees the idea of transnational relationships in this way: ‘...transnational coexistence means social proximity in spite of geographical distance – or, social distance in spite of geographical proximity’ (Beck, 2000:105). Quayson and Daswani open up this discussion and see the definition in this way:

As a paired term to diaspora, transnationalism on the other hand focuses on various flows and counter flows and the multi-striated connections they give rise to. Transnationalism encompasses not only the movement of people, but also of notions of citizenship, technology, forms of multinational governance, and the mechanisms of global markets.

(Quayson and Daswani, 2013:4)

However, moving forward, transnationalism no longer just encompasses the world of the political. It is indeed about the personal and the transfer of social and cultural processes:

Transnationalism, which began as a deterritorialized concept, has in more recent years grounded itself into examining more material, embodied, and cultural processes of transnational identity formations in and across different spaces. Taken together, diaspora and transnationalism are both important concepts in order to understand when, how, and under what circumstances people leave, settle, return, and resettle and how their decisions are shaped by structural, political, social, cultural, and subjective processes at different scales.

(Datta, 2013:88)

For Levitt (2006) the concept of transnationalism means that the old understandings of migration are no longer useful. She states that social science categories have a national bias embedded within them, but the idea of nations is no longer valid. Instead, she suggests that we should look at transnational social fields (Levitt, 2006:25). Transnational social fields are defined as:

...a set of multiple interlocking networks of social relationships through which ideas, practices, and resources are unequally exchanged, organized and transformed.

(Levitt, 2006:25)

Levitt (2006) argues further that, by conceptualising migration in this way, it includes those who stay behind – thereby encompassing those affected by migration in the form of receiving remittances but losing a family member.¹⁰ Using the concept of social fields also provides a way of highlighting the difference between *being* and *belonging*. The social relationships and practices which are engaged in by an individual are seen as *ways of being* whereas *ways of belonging* refer to practices which are linked to identities which show a connection to a particular group (Levitt, 2006:26). Migrants can be fully incorporated into either space – host or sending country and their relationships are not in opposition to each other, there is a 'simultaneity of connection' (Levitt, 2006:26). Whilst Levitt is aware that this conceptual approach to migration may seem controversial and is subject to critique because it moves away from methodological nationalism, the author believes the importance of the actions of transnational migrants needs to be addressed. Their actions have an impact on the economic, political and social aspects of the source country.

The concern, for the nation states, around the idea of transnationalism focuses on the loss of borders and the sovereignty of the nation state. Theoretically, it also pushes against the idea of cultural assimilation, with assimilationist ideas being seen as 'outdated' as they are based on the idea of a nation (Bommes, 2005). The idea that the concepts are compatible is expressed by Foner who says ' Assimilation and

¹⁰ Oppong (2004) discussed the impact of remittances in his work on Ghanaian migration. The effect of remittances impacts not only those who are in direct receipt of them but also widens socio-economic divides. Remittances play a large part of migration culture.

transnationalism... are not mutually exclusive but can go hand in hand. (Foner, 2002:250).

Beauchemin et al. (2011) have researched immigrant assimilation and transnationalism in France. In their research they highlight the focus of US studies into assimilation and transnationalism and note the consensus that seems to be emerging – ‘that transnational participation is not detrimental to immigrant incorporation. They go on to say that they believe ‘assimilation especially from a social economic viewpoint is believed to foster increased transnational engagement’ (Beauchemin, 2011:1). Their study examined the first and second generation and in relation to transnationalism found that the second-generation experience high degrees of transnational behaviour if they married a spouse from the same background as themselves – first or second generation – and transnational behaviours were increased if they married a first generation from the same background. Also, levels of discrimination experienced in the host nation led to higher transnational behaviours. (Beauchemin, 2011:18).

The second generation are able to engage transnationally through social fields and activity. This is a crucial notion to consider when investigating the second generation – even if they do not physically visit their parents’ country of origin, they still experience aspects of the homeland through their parental connections. In a globalised world, distance is no longer a barrier for interaction or knowledge transfer. The notion of ‘home’ transcends physical or political borders or barriers enabling a generation to be influenced thousands of miles away. How they are treated by the host nation also has an impact on their relationship with the host nation and their parents’ homeland.

Second Generation Return migration

Whilst the focus of research into the second generation has dealt with their lives in the countries they have been born or raised in, there is a growing body of work addressing second generation return. Studies have looked at areas such as integration and/or the failure to integrate (Tsuda, 2004) and myths of return (Marta, 2007, Reynolds, 2008). Within these studies, the focus is not just on the cause of return but also the reality of living in the parental homeland and the strategies used by the returnees to sustain themselves in the ‘host’ country. The dilemmas are about being and belonging and issues of home.

Tsuda's (2004) analysis of the Brazilian-Japanese returnees (*nikkeijin*) investigates the lives of return second and third generation ethnic Japanese raised in Brazil. These migrants returned for economic reasons and their labour is prized by the Japanese because of their Japanese appearance. Tsuda explores the concept of home and homeland arguing that they may not be one and the same but that this does not stop people creating a home. The diaspora feeling of longing for 'home' may change on their arrival:

Although they have returned to their ethnic homeland, their diasporic homecomings are often ambivalent, challenging their previously nostalgic feelings of attachment to their country of ethnic origin.

(Tsuda, 2004:126)

The Brazilian-Japanese in this study experienced spatial segregation and socio-economic marginalisation on their return. The participants had not expected the degree of social separation and this led to them feeling 'a profound sense of social alienation, which was manifested in reactions of discontent, displeasure, and even dismay bordering on outrage' (Tsuda, 2004:131). These migrants create their own self-contained ethnic communities in Japan. Services are supported by local government, for example, support guides in Portuguese, and the *nikkeijin* have been encouraged to enrol their children in Japanese schools and the children are supported in learning Japanese (Tsuda, 2004:135). The family play an important role for the *nikkeijin* as they help to counteract the negative experience of exclusion and isolation. Tsuda concludes that the *nikkeijin*, in response to the alienation in Japan strengthen their ties with Brazil and come to the realisation that 'their country of birth is their true home' (Tsuda, 2004:141). However, this does not stop them making Japan their 'home' but it is no longer their 'home-land'. Tsuda's work provides much food for thought in relation to the study of second generation returnees. The returnees, in general, have the same ethnicity as the home population but how are they perceived on return? If they have negative experiences do these experiences lead them to identify the natal country as their homeland?

Studies on second generation return which specifically look at Black and Asian migration from the UK proffer insight into why people leave and the problems they incur

in their new 'home' – specifically with their self-concept. The Potter and Phillips (2006) study on return of second generation Barbadians, the so-called 'Bajan-Brits', highlighted the role of discrimination in the UK on the decision to migrate. Using Fanon's framework of '*Black skin, White masks*' to explore the formation of identity, Potter and Phillips found that the Bajan-Brits, prior to migration, experienced a disavowal of Blackness in their youth by the White majority, and felt that they had to wear a 'white mask' as they grew older. This led to feelings of alienation and discomfort (Potter and Phillips, 2006:911).

The decision of the Bajan-Brits to migrate to Barbados is viewed, at least in part, therefore, in the context of an alienating Black skin-White mask identity. Viewed in these terms, it is perhaps not such a surprising decision to 'return' to the land of birth of their parents. In fact, the general consensus articulated by the respondents was that the move proved to be an affirmation of the self.

(Potter and Phillips, 2006:912)

However, this 'Black skin, White mask' identity afforded the returnees a degree of privilege in Barbados – mannerisms and accent help secure this privilege. This is linked to the colonial past of the island and the relationship it had with England. Barbados has the nickname 'Little England' and these returnees are seen as 'symbolically White' (Potter and Phillips, 2006:912-914). Whilst the privileges are manifested in the workplace, for example being able to access job roles because of their British accents, those same accents led to some returnees being victimised - being overcharged in shops is one example. Their positions of privilege lead them to occupy 'an uneasy space' where their identities are contested in the postcolonial context they find themselves. Their study delivers an insight into postcolonial spaces and how some Black people negotiate their identity in these spaces.

Reynolds' (2008) research covered several different Caribbean islands and second generation people from different parts of the UK. The work addressed the ways in which second generation return was 'produced and sustained by transnational family networks' (Reynolds, 2008:4). The transnational lens is used, and Reynolds concludes that transnational activities and links maintain cross-generation ties, provide a 'third space' where the second generation could belong and that facilitates return migration (Reynolds, 2008:11). Strong family ties enable movement and support settlement in the

origin country. Reynolds focuses on the 'myth of return', a concept perpetuated by the parents, that coupled with experiences in Britain lead the second generation to ethnically identify with the country of origin. This identification is tied to experiences of discrimination, lack of real or perceived social mobility and feelings of not belonging in Britain.

...return migration to their parents' homeland acted as a 'survival strategy' and represented an alternative and viable route in which to achieve economic success and social mobility, opportunities they felt were denied to them living in Britain.

(Reynolds, 2008:14)

The discussion on the aforementioned research opens up questions which I interrogate within the thesis: Do British-born Ghanaians have a 'third space'? Do they live transnationally or use transnational social fields?

On moving to the parental country of origin, the returnees in Reynolds' (2008) study expected to be seen as outsiders and developed strategies to enable adjustment in their new space. One strategy employed was the maintenance of transnational relationships. Again, like the Potter and Phillips (2006) study, second generation identity in the new space is transformed, questioned and re-evaluated. However, Reynolds' conclusion is not just focused on what happens when they move but also *why* they move. Reynolds concludes it is the failure of multicultural practices in the UK which is leading to second generation return migration. With social mobility being a key focus for first generation Ghanaian migration, for the second generation, the idea of a glass ceiling limiting that mobility could contribute to the decision to move. Whilst the research by Potter and Phillips (2006) and Reynolds (2008) provides some explanations for movement and strategies for those that stay (for example, the 'myth of return'), the Ghanaian second generation may have very different migration experiences. One aspect that may have an impact on their migration experience is language. Although English is the official language in Ghana several others are spoken socially – the Caribbean returnees had to deal with accents as barriers but not necessarily other languages, a lack of which may affect integration and mobility.

Conclusion

In this chapter I explored a range of studies on the second generation across the UK, US and Europe. I discussed the different ways in which they are categorised and researched. What these various studies have shown is how the concepts of 'race', discrimination, identity and belonging all contribute and affect the lives of migrants and their descendants. In the UK, multiculturalism policy is crucial to the understanding of the second generation in the UK. The adoption of a policy approach where the nation state did not require the individual to remove cultural markers and fully assimilate meant my participants could grow up being able to express their ethnic identities. The UK research has explored the idea of the Black British identity and addresses what it means to be Black in Britain as shown through the work of Alexander (1996) and Back (1996b). The US studies explored all show that those who are racialised as 'Black' have their choices of alternative ethnicity limited, which is also relevant to those based in the UK. The battle then is for recognition and to de-centre Whiteness as a norm as otherwise the Black second generation can never be considered part of the mainstream. In brief, whilst the UK has a very different history with ethnic groups, the US studies can provide some insight into the fortunes of the next generation of ethnic minorities, irrespective of whether they adopt a specific American identity or one as a racial minority. Whilst Gans (2007b) and Waters (1999b) believe that the centring of Whiteness means that those who are labelled as 'Black' lack agency over their identity, I disagree with this notion and instead argue that by utilising their ethnic identity and education the second generation can bypass notions of inferiority, succeed in their natal country and call it 'home'. Both Lee (2004) and Butterfield (2004) highlighted how Koreans and people of Caribbean origin used their ethnic identity and education in this way.

I argue that the second generation born and raised in the UK and are not here temporarily – it is their 'home' but whether it is their 'home-land' is another matter (Brah, 1996). Engaging with transnational social fields may provide a way for the second generation to create a 'third space', as proposed by Reynolds (2008), which enables a home away from 'home' to be established. Also, by taking a transnational social field's perspective, as advocated by Levitt (2006), the lives of the second generation who migrate and those that are left behind can also be considered. As the studies have shown, for some the only way to truly establish a sense of identity is to 'return'. But moving is not without its problems, the intention may be to be amongst

'their own people' in order to not be discriminated against, however social segregation could lead the second generation to become a minority population again, as shown by Tsuda's (2004) study on the Brazilian Japanese returnees. Or they risk different types of discrimination due to their accents or 'ways of being' inherited from their natal country as found in Potter and Phillips (2006) study on Bajan Brits. Tsuda's (2004), Potter and Phillips' (2006) and Reynolds' (2008) studies all show different strategies employed to enable the moving and then sustaining settlement e.g. building social capital and creation of new communities. The field of research into second generation return migration is sparsely populated and more work needs to be done to explore this particular phenomenon.

The role of class and race in the identity formation of the second generation is also explored within this chapter. The intersections of class and race, and the perceptions of class, cut across ethnic groups as well as within them. These intersections, as well as gender, have been shown to impact the development of ethnic identity in certain contexts. There are other dimensions such as location, nation and education which all appear to have a very real affect on life chances. Coupled with the experiences that the second generation has throughout the life-cycle, they are led to create specific ethnic identities. This leads to questions on the role of location and education, and the effect these have on the second generation.

The next chapter addresses the theoretical frameworks used in the study which I have used to analyse my findings.

Chapter 3 – Theoretical concepts

Background and concepts

Introduction

In the literature review, I discussed the research informing my study. This work, together with key theoretical concepts, constitute the lens through which I will be analysing the participants' narratives. Here I will discuss those theoretical concepts. To further understand how the second generation is constructed, constituted and located a discussion which engages with the sociological debates is required. The structures and power dynamics which are part of the society in which my participants have been raised and still negotiate as adults, ideas around race, class, black identity and intersectionality needed to be unpacked and examined, as my participants are located at the intersection of class (particularly middle class) and race.

These themes are fundamental to this thesis as they affect my cohort and the creation of their identity. As this thesis deals with the second generation, an understanding of Black identity is also needed. My respondents, like others with African-heritage, have been understood as a homogenous group – overlooking their heterogeneity – which has been created through their shared migration. They exist in spaces in the UK where they are visibly different. To better situate this work, I will explore these concepts within this chapter.

Class:

Discussions on class have moved on from the works of Marx and Weber, and new studies such as the *Great British Class Survey (GBCS)* have opened new dialogues on class in British society. However, as Rollok (2014) argues, these newer understandings on class still fail to see the impact that race has on the ability of those who are seen as Black to inhabit and easily display a middle-class identity. I explore some of the more recent theories on class using the work of Bourdieu. I argue that Bourdieu's theories on capital, field and habitus are important in the understanding of how the Black middle class in my study use different capitals to succeed. However, his theories are limited in relation to race and class identity as he does not greatly discuss race. I also examine the *GBCS* in more detail – the survey proposes an alternative view of the class structure in the UK and adds a new dynamic to the discussion of social class in the UK.

I also will be examining the role of class in Ghana and providing background on a very different manifestation of class to those dominant in Britain. I include a discussion on class in Ghana to highlight my argument that class operates differently in different spaces and my cohort have an affinity with both Britain and Ghana. It is also made clear here that the role of other factors, for example, the position held in Ghanaian society - royalty, chief etc., provide a more expansive view of class beyond the limits of income and occupation. The dual heritage of my participants calls for the examination of class from dual perspectives.

Race and racism: I include a discussion on the theoretical dialogue on race and racism and note how political changes in terms of policy and discourse, impact the lives of the participants in my work. I argue that whilst 'race' is a constructed concept, the legacy of slavery and the view that people of African heritage are inferior to the White majority, persists today. Discriminatory practices across social spheres such as employment, education and policing are noted to highlight how the system works and to foreground historic and present-day issues. Discussing the evolution of race and racism and the role these issues continue to have in society is part of the context of the relationship my participants have with the UK. I propose that Black people are positioned in the UK as 'other' - by being seen as outsiders, it makes it difficult to fully feel at home, to belong. Whilst legislation has also been developed to promote equality. I argue that it has not been able to remove racism from our institutions where it still exists.

Construction of Black identity: Whilst I argue that the second generation is part of the African Diaspora, I also explore the wider notion of diaspora construction and the building of Black identity as a way of contextualising the space within which the second-generation participants in this work are located. The debates around the construction of Black identity and indeed a Black British identity are detailed in this chapter. At this point, I acknowledge the problematic use of the term 'Black' and the use of labels – however, it is used in my work as a signifier for those of African descent and is also used in part, by the participants in this study. The historical views of Blackness, as being something for society to view with concern and suspicion, still have relevance today and can be seen in 'stop and search' and other discriminatory practices. To counteract some of this negativity, identities such as 'Black British' were constructed to seek recognition of the new generations growing up in the UK. I will

explore in this chapter how Blackness is a constructed identity and argue that to counteract the negativity of the 'Black' identity, African identity has also been reclaimed.

Intersectionality:

The discussion here centres on the conceptualisation of intersectionality, how it is used and understood by sociologists. I argue that without taking an intersectional perspective to race and class, the impact of both cannot truly be understood. Their intersection is key to holding these powerful structures together.

I will begin with a discussion of some of the theoretical, political and societal issues that relate to the analysis chapters in this thesis. I provide an overview of class construction and how this relates to my participants. I explore race and racism, how it is constructed and the impact it has on my participants. I then examine Black identity and the construction of Black identity globally and specifically in a UK context before finally discussing the role of intersectionality.

Class and Bourdieu: field, habitus and capital

The role of class in British social science is an important one as according to Savage it 'played a key role in defining the subject matter of this new social science' of sociology (Savage, 2000:p5). By focusing on class, sociology found a legitimate space as an academic discipline. It continues to be an area of interest and historically, academics have examined class through the theories of Marx and Weber and their ideas have had a lasting influence on theories of class.

However, class can no longer be simply connected to positions in relation to labour and production. Whilst Weber does discuss social status in his work, Bourdieu seeks to reimagine the role of status (Chan and Goldthorpe, 2010). More and more sociologists (Vester, 2004, Devine and Savage, 2004, Savage et al., 2013, Rollock et al., 2015) are looking to theorists such as Bourdieu, who links notions of cultural, social and economic capitals with the positions people hold in social arenas (fields) and their dispositions (which constitute habitus), to understand how class can impact individual lives and society. Jenkins describes 'dispositions' as 'a spectrum of cognitive and affective factors: thinking and feeling, ... everything from classificatory categories to the sense of order' (Jenkins, 1992:76). As Reay (2004) notes, the concept of habitus is

complex and takes different forms even in Bourdieu's own writing. Edgerton and Roberts (2014) put forward this definition of habitus:

Habitus is the learned set of preferences or dispositions by which a person orients to the social world. It is a system of durable, transposable, cognitive 'schemata or structures of perception, conception and action' (Bourdieu, 2002: 27). Habitus is rooted in family upbringing (socialization within the family) and conditioned by one's position in the social structure.

(Edgerton and Roberts, 2014:195)

Bourdieu's work is relational therefore his three most well-known concepts (habitus, capitals and fields) need to be considered in relation to each other. His work moves away from the economic analysis of class and shows how power and dominance can be derived from other sources e.g. social capital (Crompton, 2008, Crossley, 2008). For Bourdieu, capital, exists in three different forms: economic (income and assets), cultural capital (further discussed below) which can be converted in certain conditions into economic capital and social capital (social networks) which again can be converted in certain conditions into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1983).

Bourdieu's approach appeals to sociologists researching inequality as his theorising constitutes a comprehensive lens through which issues relating to social mobility can be understood. A useful summary of Bourdieu's work by Devine and Savage discusses how he explores inequalities:

Bourdieu explores this broad issue [inequality] through his conceptual trinity of field, capital and habitus. The concept of field has some of the same property as structure in the conventional sociology of stratification. Fields 'present themselves' as 'structured spaces of positions (or posts) whose properties depend on their position within these spaces and which can be analysed independently of the characteristics of the occupants' (Bourdieu 1993: 72)... Fields only operate when there are skilful people, interested in the stakes that fields can offer, who are prepared and able to make it work. People have to be competent to operate in these fields... People's competence to participate in fields is critically related to their habitus, and their socially and historically acquired dispositions.

(quoted in Crompton, 2008:100)

Devine and Savage continue the discussion by stating that 'capitals can only be mobilised in particular fields and by people with appropriate *habitus*' (Devine and Savage, 2004:14).

In this thesis, I have used Bourdieu's work on cultural capital as a way of discussing the achievements of the participants. I refer to his discussion on cultural capital as it is this form of capital to which my participants have greater access, in comparison to economic capital, and they use it to maintain or move their social class positioning and generate economic wealth. According to Bourdieu:

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

(Bourdieu, 1983:241)

As mentioned above, social capital, Bourdieu argues, is the sum of resources, actual or potential that is available to a group which enables that group to collectively own capital. These groups require investments to be built and maintained and through the exchange of things such as gifts, recognition is created and this mutual recognition reinforces the membership in the group (Bourdieu, 1983).

Habitus and cultural capital

In my discussion of habitus, I will use the definition proposed by Devine and Savage. It could be suggested (cautiously) that there are aspects of a shared habitus amongst the Ghanaian middle-class second-generation resident in Britain. There is a shared fund of knowledge and understanding of the cultural heritage of Ghana, as well as some shared experiences from this country. The accounts of many participants, as further discussed in the analysis chapters, also show similarities in socialisation and habitus.

Coe and Shani (2015) in their paper on Ghanaian migrants in the US opt for the following definition of cultural capital:

After reviewing the range of meanings of cultural capital in Bourdieu's work, Lamont and Lareau define it as high-status cultural resources that affect a person's inclusion or exclusion from high-status positions, including the ability to garner economic resources. These attributes need to be internalized, embodied, and regularly enacted as part of the *habitus*, or the dispositions of persons (Reay, 2004).

(Coe and Shani, 2015:564)

I mention here the relationship between habitus and embodied cultural capital as the two are interlinked. Embodied cultural capital denotes what cultural tools you have, and habitus shows how you *choose* to deploy those tools. In the case of my participants they are (mostly) brought up to see education as a route to social mobility, therefore working hard in school is expected. Bourdieu discusses cultural capital with regards to academic qualifications which is of interest as it is through this form of objectified cultural capital, namely obtaining academic qualifications, that my participants enable their social mobility.

With the academic qualification, a certificate of cultural competence which confers on its holder a conventional, constant, legally guaranteed value with respect to culture, social alchemy produces a form of cultural capital which has a relative autonomy vis-à-vis its bearer and even vis-à-vis the cultural capital he effectively possesses at a given moment in time... In this case, one sees clearly the performative magic of the power of instituting, the power to show forth into secure belief or, in a word, to impose recognition.

(Bourdieu, 1983:249)

Bourdieu discusses why cultural capital is important in the role of educational achievement of children from different social classes. Children can obtain qualifications which lead to the creation of economic opportunity. I use this to explain the situation of my second-generation participants. Of course, the more economic capital you have the more you can afford to invest in your child, for example, private schools, tutors etc.

The importance of economic capital in social mobility and in the maintenance of power must also be noted here as Bourdieu states:

When class fractions who previously made little use of the school system enter the race for academic qualifications, the effect is to force the groups whose reproduction was mainly or exclusively achieved through education to step up their investments so as to maintain the relative scarcity of their qualifications and, consequently, their position in the class structure. (Bourdieu, 2013:127)

The second-generation participants in my study, except for three, all hold degrees but all have high regard for the importance of education, as demonstrated later in *Chapter 8 - Education*. The Ghanaian second-generation participants in my study use education as a way of elevating themselves both economically and socially. However, education is not the only source of cultural capital as Coe and Shani's (2015) work shows.

The Ghanaian migrants in their study foreground 'American educational credentials' but also the importance that their children are 'disciplined and respectful' and lastly the 'importance of persevering through hardship' (Coe and Shani, 2015: 572). This echoes the findings within my own study of the expectations that the participants' parents had of them. The migration project is one that is designed to improve life chances through social mobility, so I agree with the view proposed by Coe and Shani on the role of cultural capital:

It therefore makes sense to employ the concept of cultural capital: parents' formation of cultural capital in their children is affected by their cultural imagery of how success is generated as well as by their cultural practices to achieve those goals.

(Coe and Shani, 2015:568)

Franceschelli (2016) makes a similar point. She uses Bourdieu's work in her research on identity and upbringing within South Asian-heritage Muslim families and she notes the importance of the concept and the relation to class:

'Lareau argues that Bourdieu is crucial for anyone who tries to understand how parents 'strives to maintain or improve their social position and that of their children' (Lareau 2011:360)...Bourdieu argues that by passing on their cultural

capital to their children, parents produce and reproduce their class status.

Bourdieu's theory provides an understanding of the implications of the 'the passing on' from parents to children, which is at the core of the process of upbringing.

(Franceschelli, 2016:251)

The second-generation participants in my study, whilst having their own social capital have also inherited some cultural capital from their parents, then they must use it to make their own way in the world. As I will examine later in this chapter, the barrier of racism can hinder their progress.

Bourdieu and Black cultural capital

Whilst Bourdieu discussed an Algerian community, he did not specifically write on race, therefore, others have taken his ideas and translated them to other spaces. Wallace (2016) provides an overview of authors who have used Bourdieu's work to create new versions of capital, for example, transnational cultural capital, to understand why ethno-racial diversity had an impact on class relations. He goes on to state:

These nuanced renditions of cultural capital are fundamentally about persistent racialisation – about the stratified hierarchies that influence symbolic and substantive meanings attached to 'race' and ethnicity.

(Wallace, 2016:6)

Rollock et al., (2015) translate Bourdieu's ideas to their research on the educational strategies of the Black Caribbean-origin middle-class as there has been little work which shows how capital is deployed within that community. They focus on social and cultural resources and how these are used to support their children. Like other middle-class groups, Black middle-class parents are seen by Rollock et al (2015) as being in possession of forms and volumes of social and cultural capital that are valuable in the field of schooling. An example given of capital deployed by Black middle-class parents is the use of 'code switching' - being able to use 'a particular accent and vernacular in mainly White spaces' (Rollock et al., 2015:175) - this is a way to display their middle-class credentials. However, at the end of their study, Rollock et al conclude that:

Therefore, while the Black middle classes possess legitimate forms of capital and deploy it within the applicable context, the actual worth and power assigned

to their capital is dependent on White power-holders or agents in that field. Put another way, there are two stages to the successful mobilisation of capital: it needs to be appropriately deployed by agents *and also be recognised and accepted as legitimate by other agents* within the field. Both stages need to be operational for the capital to have any ultimate worth or effect. It is our contention that while the Black middle classes deploy their capital, the fact of their Blackness and the ongoing fact and permanence of racism means that it is not recognised as having worth or much value by Whites.

(Rollock et al., 2015:177)

The capital held by the Black families can be seen by some White majority power holders as having less value due to their lack of recognition and acceptance of both these forms of capital and their possessors. The parents of the participants in my study do use different types of capital as part of their strategies to engage in social mobility and these are explored in more detail in *Chapter 6 – Racism* and *Chapter 7 – Class*.

A critique of Bourdieu

Bourdieu's work has been widely used but also criticised for complexity *and* for being overly reductionist and tautological. Crompton criticises Bourdieu for underestimating 'people's capacity, agency, reflexivity', noting that 'habitus involves resistance, as well as compliance' (Crompton, 2008:102). In his introduction to the 2013 edition of *Distinction* Bennett notes that '[Bourdieu's] interpretation of the habitus as a unified and unifying mechanism has been hotly contested' and that he had a 'tendency to over-polarize the tastes of different classes' (Bennett in Bourdieu, 2013:xxii).

The critiques show that Bourdieu's work whilst useful requires problematisation. In *Distinction* (Bourdieu, 2013) there is a rigidity in what is defined as 'high' and 'low' culture. Bourdieu's perspective does not allow for juxtapositions, for example, enjoying art galleries *and* nightclubs, neither does it note cultural/religious sensibilities when drawing the boundaries between groups. In relation to my cohort, as they are 'raced' as well as 'classed', they are not the dominant majority. Therefore, they are always in a position of disadvantage due to racialised identities. Also, groups are rarely homogenous, and within groups that may share a similar social position, there is still variation. The variants may be due to other factors such as religious beliefs, sexuality

or gender which will also impact the space they *feel* they can inhabit and the spaces that they *do* indeed inhabit. Savage et al (2013) try to address some of these issues in their research which leads to the construction of their new class structure, as discussed below.

What is clear is that the middle classes are much more fragmented, much more diverse in constituent parts and encompasses a wider range of individuals than when Marx and Weber were writing. In the next section, I examine newer studies which explore the more fragmented class structure.

Class Matters – The Great British Class Survey

The question of whether class matters or is still a salient issue for discussion is raised frequently. How it is defined, manifested, and enacted are all debatable but whilst advantages are given to some and not others based on perceptions of worthiness, it is still relevant.

Class matters because people think it matters. So long as it is salient, class should be a matter of interest, whatever problems there may be in providing a satisfactory deductive concept of class.

(Savage, 2000:23)

There have been numerous attempts to find ways to classify people in terms of class. In this work, I have used the National Statistics Socio-economic Classification (NS-SEC) classification system, which is based on employment profiles, to categorise the current class status of my participants. These schemas are based on work which Goldthorpe started and which he termed a 'neo-Weberian' schema (Crompton 2008). These forms of classification have helped to identify roles and social mobility. Analysis using the schemas can show, over time, the impact of education, the influence of parents and grandparents on the occupational outcomes of an individual (see Erikson and Goldthorpe, 2010). What they do not show is the impact of race and ethnicity, the role downward mobility plays, the status of the parent in their natal place and the influence that all these factors can have on an individual, their beliefs about themselves and how that plays out in how they achieve.

Savage et al (2013) acknowledge that Goldthorpe's class schema has been of great significance and has enabled the analysis of social mobility. However, they critique it as lacking the ability to incorporate wider cultural and social activities as well as identities which are not closely linked to class positions. Another criticism of the schema is that income and wealth can no longer be easily measured by occupation alone. Savage et al (2013) point to other ways of analysis highlighting Bourdieu and his different kinds of capital model - economic, cultural and social - which 'provide a much more complex model of social class than is currently used' (Savage et al., 2013:223).

Thus, Savage et al (2013) have created a new version of social class classifications. They took data from 161,400 completed surveys to create the schema. They asked about people's social networks (social capital), their leisure activities (cultural capital), and household income, savings and assets (economic capital). From this information, they created seven distinct categories: Elites, Established middle-class, Technical middle-class, New affluent workers, Traditional working class, Emergent service workers and Precariat. The highest number of ethnic minorities can be found within the group labelled *Emergent Service Workers*.

What these categories show is the traditional working-class/middle-class divide is no longer adequate to analyse class. The authors feel that a more fluid understanding is needed because of the way social-cultural distinctions have changed in recent years. The idea of white-collar and blue-collar jobs has limited value now, given the growth in relatively low-skilled service sector work and the decline in manufacturing which both disrupt this binary divide. Lifestyle is now also important to understanding class - activities such as going to the gym, the theatre or to restaurants were featured and plotted on a variety of axes.

Whilst this is a very exciting model and seeks to put forward an alternative way of addressing class in our society, this system is not without its critics. Queries have been raised concerning whether the questions posed by the researchers are dismissive of working-class culture (Bradley, 2014), and whether the sampling method allowed for a representative sample of participants (Mills, 2014). Rollock's critique relates to the survey's findings not taking into consideration how having a Black identity may affect the ability of an individual to inhabit a particular class position (Rollock, 2014). As noted earlier, the intersections between race and class can delegitimise the capital held by

the Black middle class. Rollock links her critique to the findings from the study on *The Educational Strategies of the Black Middle Class*¹¹ and the different degrees of readiness by the respondents to use the label 'middle-class' (Rollock, 2014). For most, their reluctance stemmed from the perception that a middle-class label indicates privilege and Whiteness.

I present this discussion here to show how class is still valid within the field of sociology and that there is no perfect way to capture class identities. Whether you use notions of different forms of capital or completely reframe the 'traditional' categories of class, the construction is still problematic, but class as a concept still has a strong relevance and impact on society in the UK.

The Middle-Class in Ghana

An altogether different class system occurs in Ghana. To better understand part of the context in which my participants exist, class in Ghana needs to be explored. At present, the African Development Bank defines the middle class as those spending from \$2 a day to \$20 a day and Africa has the fastest growing middle class (Heeralall, 2015).

Along with the rise of the middle classes are coming 'middle-class values' more recognised outside the continent: families are smaller; they are owning their own homes, and heads of households have salaried jobs or run their own small businesses.

(Heeralall, 2015)

These are very broad criteria and whilst applicable to a large percentage of the population (around 30%) a middle-class position may be very precarious as noted by the African Development Bank, as 60% are 'barely out of the poor category' (Ncube et al., 2011). In the report by Ncube et al (2011), Ghana was ranked eighth in Africa in terms of its middle-class population. Debates held with Ghanaian residents by BBC Africa (Douglas, 2013) showed that whilst on paper some of these individuals are making a comfortable living, there are times that they cannot afford to put petrol in the car. They also being priced out of the property market in Ghana by expatriates and foreign investors.

¹¹ This was a study of 62 Black Caribbean heritage middle-class parents, which addresses the educational strategies employed by their participants to support their children.

My participants' various views of Ghana and what it means to be middleclass are based on their experiences of return and their parents' experiences when they were growing up in Ghana. This means to some, returning to a space where they have household staff, drivers and a big house. However, this is not a middle class existence in Ghana - this is an upper class existence in Ghana. Thus, there is some degree of myth-making, as the Ghana that is held in the minds of my participants, was not always the reality on the ground. Also, these interviews took place in 2011 at the time of economic prosperity in Ghana and articles were written about the country as a shining example of prosperity in Africa and good governance, championing its growth and development.

Class structure in Ghana

Arthur (2014:24) argues in his book on Ghanaian class structures that there are some subtleties and nuances that are particular to Ghanaian social class formation which is linked to the economic and non-economic maximisation of class membership there, and to privilege or status:

Upon migration to host societies (particularly the United States), social class status attributes among African immigrants are constructed (delineated) and demarcated by socially and culturally complex genres of immigrant rationalizations, articulations of import or meaning that migrants assigned to living and working abroad. These social cultural genres include immigrant subjective and objective articulations of social class and status membership in the host society, the articulation of transnational class status membership in the country of origination and its economic, class and social implications, immigrant conceptualisation of class and status relationships as defined by immigrant's sense of nationalism, pan-nationalism, tribal or clan affiliations, and social networks.

(Arthur, 2014:8)

Arthur highlights how difficult it is to conceptualise class in Ghanaian society but notes that it is frequently articulated in reference to the material nature of living conditions and life chances. 'Ghanaian rendition of class is rooted in access to property, rare commodities, possession of goods, and the ability to influence decision-making in a group setting' (Arthur, 2014:30). This contrasts with Savage et al's., focus on lifestyle –

in Ghana the economic factors are of greater importance. However, it is possible that individuals are given high status due to other non-economic reasons, for example, it could be religious or cultural areas where they are dominant – for example, being the clan/tribal leader.

Education is at the forefront of social class and change - 'for many Ghanaians, education is a proven path to social mobility' (Arthur, 2014:33). Historically those that were elite and studied abroad came back to posts in the colonial administrations, they are also the vanguard in the road to independence. Children of workers of the colonial civil service went on to study at local universities which were established to support this group. It was during this period (the late 1950s-1960s) that the bulk of students that migrated to continue their studies overseas left Ghana. Arthur notes the change in the clan structure occurred following Ghana's inclusion into the global system:

The new class system came to be represented by an amalgamation of merit-based and traditional Ghanaian social constructions of status positions... the Ghanaian traditional systems of chiefdom which had dominated the social structure of the country before colonisation started to weaken because they had to compete with a new form of achieved and merit-based systems of social class rankings.

(Arthur, 2014:35)

Arthur notes differences between ethnic and tribal groups in terms of achieving social mobility and dominance in particular tiers of society. He says that in terms of the ethnic and clan geopolitics that is found in Ghana, it is the Akan-speaking people including Fantes who tend to dominate the middle and upper classes within the Ghanaian society, whilst people from Northern Ghana, coming from the Fra Fra, Hausa and Fulani tribes have the most poorly educated youth, and Northern Ghana lags behind the South in terms of political and economic power. The disparity relates to rural and urban areas and is also the legacy of the colonial administration as the infrastructure imposed on the country created inequality of provision and access (Arthur, 2014:86). The middle and upper classes and those who were in education are no longer the sole groups that dominate the class structures. Levels of status, power, wealth and prestige can also be gained through entrepreneurial endeavours; in the military; the family business; inheritance; being involved in political parties and also returning from abroad

with assets (Arthur, 2014:128). The income earned abroad also enables an improved lifestyle on return to Ghana, whether for visits or a permanent project as Coe found in her research¹²:

Transnational migrants further challenge the notion of stable social classes by assuming dual and complex class statuses in different social fields.

For example, they may be in the middle class in Ghana but in the working class in the United States. One of the participants in our research, Irene, worked as a home health aide in the United States, living in elderly people's homes for weeks or months at a time. She said that in her line of work, she had to be "submissive."...However, when they went back to Ghana, she said, they lived like "queens, not doing any work around the house"... Her social class standing in the United States had some connection to her status in Ghana, since the income from her work in the US enabled her to originally build the structures that supported her relatives in Ghana. However, disconnections exist as well, since one's social class standing in one social field does not convert into the same standing elsewhere. For example, Irene felt like a humble servant in the US and like royalty in Ghana; her low status in one place did not affect her high status in the other.

(Coe and Shani, 2015:567)

The class and status held by the first generation are transported with them to their new homes. Arthur's (2014) book explores these issues in further detail showing how the recreational Ghanaian activities relating to tribes and clans enable the first generation migrants to continue to hold the class positions they occupied in Ghana in their new home in the US, irrespective of the class positions in their adopted country (Arthur, 2014). For the professionals that migrate and occupy professional roles, whilst they maintain their class in the US, they still have race as a barrier:

These immigrants work and live in the middle to upper tier of the class structure of American society. And they continually carry the baggage of negative history with them for being black or foreign-born which either trivializes or mutes their accomplishments on account of their race and ethnicity.

¹² Coe and Shani conducted their research separately at different times but collaborated to write their published paper. The quote refers specifically to Coe's research.

(Arthur, 2014: 201)

What this discussion shows is the complexity of class identities for my second-generation cohort as they negotiate dual class systems. Like the immigrants featured in Arthur's (2014) work, my participants' parents bring with them their own class backgrounds and also maintain statuses in Ghanaian networks that are not always recognised in the UK. I explore these issues in more detail in *Chapter 7* on class.

Racism impacted the first generation in the UK, and whilst the second generation in my study has been successful in fulfilling their parents' planned mobility projects, racism still has an impact on their lives. The following discussion explores this in more detail.

Racism(s) – old and new

Race is a social construct, emerging from the views of those in the West about 'others' narrated in pseudo-scientific terms. In the history of the study of race, the 19th-century saw the emergence of racial science – which created a hierarchy of different races which was based on phenotype. In the 20th century, scholars looked at race from a social perspective - as created through social interactions but not something that is a 'natural' part of the world (Daynes and Lee, 2008). The Black subject has been seen through a Western lens as the 'Other'. Irrespective of phenotypical or cultural difference, 'Blackness' has been linked to the lowest rung of a hierarchy constructed by Whites.

The centre invests the Other with its terrors. It is the threat of the dissolution of self that unites the irrational hatred and hostility as the centre struggles to assert its boundaries that construct self from not-self.

(Rutherford, 1990:11)

As Miles (1989) states, this sense of 'Otherness' was not only grounded in visible difference but also cultural difference. In relation to Africans, Miles (1989) describes the historical representation of their 'otherness' in this way:

The representation of the African as Other signified phenotypical and cultural characteristics as evidence of his inferiority and the attributed condition of Africans therefore constituted a measure of European civilisation.

(Miles, 1989:30)

This idea of 'otherness' was maintained by 'negatively evaluated characteristics' (Miles, 1989:30), leading to the racialisation and ethnicisation of social relations, meaning people relate to each other in terms of stereotypes based on 'race' and ethnicity (Castles and Davidson (2000). Castles and Davidson decouple the idea of historical power relationships from the current 'social, economic and political' position of the group - it is not race alone which leads groups to be marginalised or discriminated against. This theme is also expanded by Gilroy:

Poverty, exploitation and economic marginalisation remain the most important sources of many of the complex conflicts that it is facile to write off as expressions of the eternal, natural capacity of 'race' to divide and enrage.

(Gilroy, 2002:xxi)

This construction is key to the development of the idea that the people from the New Commonwealth would be and continue to be viewed as the 'Other' - a point echoed by Hall in his examination of the Caribbean diaspora and the West (Hall, 1990).

The social, economic and political factors are important as they form part of the reason why these groups are continually marginalised, but the visible clue to their difference cannot be dismissed. It affects all subsequent generations and constantly reinforces the idea of difference – which I explore in *Chapter 7 - Racism* and *Chapter 9 – Being Black, Being British, Being Ghanaian*. Whilst the historical/biological ideas relating to 'race' may have changed over time there is a constant differentiator and that is skin colour (Miles, 1989:39). Miles defines racialisation as a concept which usually categorises the 'Other' somatically (Miles, 1989:75) - the phenotypical features being the basis of this categorisation. He defines racism as:

...a representational form which, by designating discrete human collectivities, necessarily functions as an ideology of inclusion and exclusion...However unlike the process of racialization, the negative characteristics of the Other mirror the positive characteristics of the Self.

(Miles, 1989:79)

The historical origins of the terminology of racism and its creation have been documented by many social scientists (Quraishi and Philburn, 2015, Miles, 1989).

Its usage in common parlance is to describe the feelings of prejudice or even hatred towards those who have a different skin colour. The historical notions of White superiority helped to legitimise the slave trade and were the basis of Nazi Germany's bid to 'cleanse' its population and create an area for a 'pure' race. The legacy of some of these ideas and notions of superior races and inferior races exists today and impacts on many, particularly those who are visibly different.

In the act of defining Africans as 'black' and 'savages', and thereby excluding them from their world, Europeans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were representing themselves as 'white' and 'civilised'. Moreover, by using the discourse of 'race' to exclude and inferiorise, that same discourse, but with inverted meanings, served to include and superiorise: if the population of Africa was represented as a 'race', then the population of Europe is simultaneously represented as a 'race', albeit a supposedly superior one.

(Miles, 1989:39)

To further contextualise how some of the historical viewpoints still impact today, the level of overrepresentation of Black and minority ethnic (BAME) populations within the criminal system in the UK may be influenced by concepts such as martial races and the idea of criminal tribes. As noted by Quraishi and Philburn (2015), martial race theory states certain races are inherently more suited to warfare than others and therefore need surveillance and control. This view persists today and can be seen in the relationship between the police and people from BAME groups, which is often pervaded by suspicion. There is disproportionality in deaths for Black and minority ethnic individuals in police custody and in police-related shootings. Between 1990 and 2016 there have been 153 deaths in custody, or by shooting of BAME individuals. There is also a difference that remains in 'stop and search' - if you are a young Black man, you are more likely to be stopped and searched by the police than if you are a young White man (INQUEST, 2016). Two of my participants mention being stopped and searched and Tony's story is told in *Chapter 6 – Racism*.

Anti-racist movements in the 1970s and 1980s fought for equality and for Black identity to have space in Britain. The new cultural politics were addressing what it means to be British and the place that Black has within that notion. Prior to large scale migration, whether there was 'no Black in the Union Jack' – i.e. Black people not seen as being

part of Britain – was not the main concern for the White population of Britain. However, Hall (2003) believes that this absence did matter and 'we' must care. How the second generation find a place in UK society is relevant. As part of this movement, the new category of 'Black British' was created and used in the census. The argument for a place for Black people in British society is particularly relevant given the long history shared through migration and the descendants that now call Britain 'home'. Some of my participants used 'British Ghanaian' to describe their dual heritage. Recent debates in Britain have related to whether it is possible to feel and be perceived as both Black and British. These debates are focused upon the second and subsequent generations born in Britain but are also part of other concepts, for example, diaspora theory. According to Craig (2012), old established communities are not being addressed when policymakers look at race and identity today:

Long-established minorities, however, face continued discrimination and disadvantage, while finding their experience often reified and misunderstood. The direct racism 'they' experience competes with the more subtle, ever-changing, indirect and systemic discrimination, emphasising 'their' difference while maintaining 'their' metaphorical status as the 'other'.

(Craig, 2012:5)

The creation of the 'Other' occurs from notions of difference – from initially focusing on phenotypes to the move towards culture and faith as the main point of difference which is seen in policy today, as well as part of the everyday lived experience (Lentin, 2014).

Quarishi and Philburn (2015) think it more accurate to speak of 'racisms rather than of racism' to encompass a variety of behaviours. Alongside racism, we also have prejudice, discrimination, stereotyping and institutional racism. The term 'institutional racism' was defined by Lord William Macpherson in the Macpherson enquiry report, 1999, into the murder of Stephen Lawrence¹³, and is defined as the:

...collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture and ethnic origin. It can be seen or detected in processes, attitude and behaviour which amount to

¹³ Stephen Lawrence was an 18-year-old Black teenager who was killed in an unprovoked racist attack in Eltham, London on 22 April 1993. A public enquiry led by Lord Macpherson was held into the handling of the case.

discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotypical behaviour. (Macpherson, 1999: para.0.34)

(Quraishi and Philburn, 2015:19)

In the UK, there has been a raft of legislation to bring about a fairer and more equal society - starting with the 1965 Race Relations Act and culminating with the most recent Equality Act, 2010. Shouting racist abuse is now a criminal act, denying someone access to services, their rights or jobs based on the colour of their skin or their religion etc., is now illegal. Society has moved a long way since the signs of 'No Blacks, No dogs and No Irish' outside pubs, housing and other social spaces (which were present when some of the participants' parents arrived in the UK).

Multiculturalism – celebrating and welcoming ethnic and racial difference - was prominent in public policy, including in education, when my respondents were growing up. However, this does this does not mean that people feel that they are still accepted within certain social spaces or are comfortable within them. Discrimination does still happen, although it may be subtler, for example being treated differently in restaurants or those with non-White English names on their CV not being selected for an interview. Some examples of the subtle (and not so subtle) discrimination faced by my participants are explored in *Chapter 6 – Racism*.

To address some of the issues of inequality in UK society, there have been policies relating to multiculturalism and more latterly community cohesion, aimed at creating a shared sense of Britishness – 'British values' are now taught in schools. Schools are now inspected on their promotion of British values and are also required to promote community cohesion (but at the time of writing, no longer inspected on that element which may mean it is not given prominence in the curriculum).

At the same time, Britain is creating harsher immigration policies to restrict access to the UK.¹⁴ There has been the introduction of the citizenship test, English language tests (through the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002) and further restrictions on access to entry into the UK from people from the Commonwealth.

¹⁴ At the time of writing, we are in the middle of one of the biggest humanitarian crises since the Second World War of over a million displaced people across Europe following the serious civil war and the rise of conflicts across the Middle East. Access is restricted to refugees and economic migrants.

Across Europe the rise of right-wing and extremist parties is visible, coming into power focusing on anti-immigration rhetoric as well as racism in its purest form¹⁵.

Thus racisms - old and new – are alive and well in Britain in today and the impact is felt on those who are visibly different:

Seven in ten (71%) ethnic minorities think that racist beliefs are still widely held in the UK but are not openly talked about, and 60% believe that racial discrimination is common in the UK. The message is that even if it is less socially acceptable, discrimination on grounds of race has not yet been consigned to the history books.

(Crouch and Stonehouse, 2016)

In his review of 50 years after the introduction of the Race Relations Act, Andrews (2015) highlights the role the act played in tackling overt discrimination and assaults but argues that it failed to actually tackle systemic racism:

Britain's entire approach has been to deal with the racist "bad apples" who are seen to be the problem, while ignoring the systemic, structural problem of racism. Racism is the systematic oppression of communities based on their colour and can thrive even when open prejudice has declined.

(Andrews, 2015)

As Andrews (2015) succinctly states, racism is about structures, not (just) individuals. If the systems are not changed, then racism remains a part of the society and discriminatory practices continue.

The participants of this study have grown up through the many changes that have occurred in the history of race relations in the UK. The population is also changing. In the UK, 14% of the population are members of the non-White category according to the 2011 census, with the fastest growing group being Black Africans (Jivraj, 2012). As mentioned in previous chapters, trying to define the precise social positions of the Ghanaian second generation residing in the UK is difficult. However, as is discussed

¹⁵ The 2017 French Presidential elections saw a centrist president elected however President Macron's negative comments on Africa saying it has 'civilising problems' shows old colonial and paternalistic views die hard.

later in the chapter on class, we can see that a substantial number of Black Africans come under the heading of middle class through their occupations. Issues relating to race and racism are not confined by class boundaries and in fact, class is a key variable when looking at the construction of racism as Miles highlights:

Hence, when analysing representations of the other, it is necessary to be alert to the class position of those producing and reproducing them, and to their dynamic and heterogeneous nature, as well as to their more constant features... Rather, contemporary representations are always the product of historical legacy and active transformation in the light of prevailing circumstances, including the pattern of class relations.

(Miles, 1989:39-40)

I have argued in this section that despite an increasingly diverse population in the UK and legislation against overt discrimination on the grounds of race, racism is still an intrinsic part of UK society and has an impact on my participants irrespective of their class status. I noted briefly the importance of Black identity and move now to explore this in some more detail as it relates directly to how my participants are perceived and indeed perceive themselves.

Black identity

In this next section, I explore the concept of diaspora theory, the construction of the African diaspora, how 'home' is constructed and the evolution of Black identity and consciousness. It is in this new space that the migrants become 'Black', an identity that is created through being seen as the 'Other'. It is into this environment that the participants in my study are raised – they are part of the migration story but are not migrants, they are given and indeed take on a Black identity because of their location, visible difference and being seen as the 'other'.

In order to better understand what factors contribute to the creation of identity for my second generation participants, it is necessary to understand the historical relationship that Black people have with the UK, including consideration of the theories which relate to diaspora and Black consciousness. Focusing on the work of Du Bois, Fanon and Césaire, I address the construction of Black identity and draw on Hall, Hesse and Gilroy to highlight the unique Black British context in which my participants were raised.

I reflect on the literature relating to diaspora and Black identity to help position my participants and incorporate their own views and narratives on their identity and their creation of identity.

Diaspora theory and the African diaspora

The original meaning of diaspora as seen by the Ancient Greeks was linked to migration and colonisation (Cohen, 1997). According to Cohen (1997), it later came to take a more 'sinister' meaning for certain groups e.g. Jews and Africans – 'diaspora signified a collective trauma, a banishment, where one dreamed of home but lived in exile' (Cohen, 1997:ix). Clifford defines diasporas in the following way 'Diasporas usually presuppose longer distances and a separation more like exile: a constitutive taboo on return, or its postponement to a remote future' (Clifford, 1999). The term diaspora has also come to mean the connection of 'multiple communities of a dispersed population' (Clifford, 1999:217)¹⁶. According to Clifford this change of use has occurred because of 'decolonisation, increased immigration, global communications and transport' (Clifford, 1999:219). He distinguishes diasporas from immigrant communities and sees immigrant communities as possibly being temporary whilst the idea of diaspora involves several generations e.g. African Americans (Clifford, 1999:224) or people from the Caribbean (Hall, 1990). Within this context, the presence of the second generation of Ghanaians resident in Britain together with their parents constitutes a diaspora. The Diaspora African Forum (AUDAF), part of the African Union, specifically include the second generation within their definition of diaspora:

There is also the group who left Africa in search of 'greener pastures' in other countries abroad, and who have found themselves living there for the greater part of their lives. They and their children qualify to be called diasporas.

(DAF, 2015)

Across the literature the 'old' African diaspora are those who were forcibly moved during the transatlantic slave trade, mainly forming the Caribbean and African-American communities. In research conducted amongst African communities, Koser found that they preferred to use the term 'diaspora' as it was less negative than

¹⁶ Cohen refers to this concept as the 'imagined' home as it may not have been the place of birth.

'immigrant' or 'asylum-seeker' (Koser, 2003:26). These groups Koser describes as the 'new' African diaspora (Koser, 2003).

Writers on diaspora such as Clifford (1999) and Safran (1999) highlight the idea of a 'diaspora consciousness'. This diaspora consciousness is created through negative experiences, exclusion and discrimination. This consciousness becomes a defence mechanism against the problems they experience in the 'host' country. The defence is actually the creation of a myth which explains why they are away from their homeland (Skinner, 1999, Safran, 1999). Whilst Safran (1999) sees the creation of a homeland myth as just part of this 'defence mechanism', he does not see the myths as a form of preparation for return. They are created to sustain the group and individual whilst in another land.

This 'myth-making' was discussed in relation to the first generation in an earlier study (Twumasi-Ankrah, 2006). In that study, I argue that children were raised believing the space they were in was temporary and that 'home' was elsewhere. Yet simultaneously they were expected to negotiate with and excel within this temporary homeland.

Some of these ideas have been discussed by Brah (1996) who explored how myths were used to sustain groups who were away from their homelands (see *Chapter 2*), Similarly Hall, writing about diasporas, sees people from the Caribbean as forming a cultural diaspora, and that this is a fundamental part of their identity, but agrees with Brah that identity is not fixed and is always being created.

Cultural identity

Hall argues that conceptions of cultural identity as 'oneness' are critical in shaping postcolonial struggles, highlighting the role of movements such as *Negritude* and Pan-Africanism. The key theme of these movements was linking the diaspora to Africa and putting Africa at the centre. Hall chooses to look at cultural identity from the position of 'becoming' as well as 'being'. By using this lens, cultural identity is tied to the past as well as the future and is able to transcend 'place, time, history and culture' (Hall, 1990:225). This idea is very like Cohen's view of diasporic connections - the shifting over space and time and not being limited to fixed boundaries but being routed

through a place, real or imagined. It is also from this viewpoint that the 'traumatic character of the colonial experience' can be understood (Hall, 1990:225).

The ways in which Black people, Black experience, were positioned and subjected in the dominant regimes of representation were the effects of a critical exercise of cultural power and normalisation.

(Hall, 1990:225)

This domination and subjugation were, in this context perpetuated by the West, creating the concept of the 'Other'. It was not enough that the Black diaspora was seen as the 'Other', but Hall believes those in the West had 'the power to make us see and experience *ourselves* [Caribbean people] as the Other'. The notion of the West's impact is taken up again when looking at difference amongst Caribbean people. There is sameness and difference – the sameness links to the shared history – which Hall sees as being important as this shared history connects them across their differences. Hall defines this diasporic experience as one that recognises 'heterogeneity and diversity' and it is a diasporic identity which embraces difference and hybridity (Hall, 1990:235). However, for White people, living in the West, the tendency is for all Caribbean/Black people to be seen as the same:

We belong to the marginal the underdeveloped, the periphery, the 'Other'. We are at the outer edge, the 'rim', of the metropolitan world – always 'South' to someone else's *El Norte*.

(Original emphasis Hall, 1990:227)

This positioning of Caribbean/Black people is relevant to *all* Black people living in the postcolonial/Western space. For Hall, the developed West is his point of reference. Irrespective of the historical trajectory of different people, arguably all visibly Black people in 'the West' are perceived through this lens. Diasporic theory's key themes of identity, belonging and creation of myth are very relevant to theories of settlement and how groups are able to find a space in the host/receiving country.

The creation of Black identity

As has been noted, the Black subject has been seen through a Western lens as the 'Other'. Irrespective of phenotypical or cultural difference, 'Blackness' has been

positioned within a particular hierarchy, in which it finds itself at the bottom (see Miles, 1989). Alternative views which provide positive representations of Blackness are discussed at this point. These theoretical perspectives may deliver insight into the formation of Black identities and the mechanisms used to enable the Black subject – first or second generation – to feel at home in their own skin when away from ‘home’. By understanding how Black identities are formed in the host nation, I can examine the process for my participants.

Fanon’s book *Black Skin, White Masks*, was first published in 1952 and the concepts and ideas it contains are particularly relevant to the post-war immigrants and their experiences. However, the ideas are still useful today as they have influenced notions of postcolonial identity and point towards the need for alternative views of Africa in order to change the fate of its diaspora. In his book, Fanon explores the duality of the colonised Black person and the methods adopted to enable the individual to create a space in Western cultures for themselves whilst maintaining their original culture and sense of self. This is relevant to my participants and is explored in the data chapters. Fanon builds on the idea of duality which was first posited by Du Bois in his theory of ‘double consciousness’. Speaking about African Americans at the turn of the 20th century, Du Bois’ theory focused on the idea that the Black person always operated in a state of double consciousness – seeing the self through the eyes of others as well as his/her own. This occurs because the ‘negro’ is in a space where they are always the outcast and a stranger, experiencing the binary of both being a Negro and an American but not being recognised as both: ‘One ever feels his twoness – an American, a negro; two souls, two warring ideals in one dark body whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder’ (DuBois and Kenan, 1995:xiii). This ‘twoness’ is not just felt away from home but also *at home* – issues that some of my participants expressed when they discussed visits to Ghana.

Fanon’s desire to escape from a colonised mind and embrace the ‘negro’ identity, whether home or away, is a key theme of his work. As Nursey-Bray and Ahluwalia (1997), state - ‘The physical presence of the coloniser can be removed. But the mental presence is harder to dislodge’ (Nursey-Bray and Ahluwalia, 1997:27). Two other major effects of colonialism are raised by Fanon. By constantly seeing the (Black) self through the eyes of the White man and being constantly denigrated, the Black man can never be himself. The solution for Fanon is to remain amongst Black people – ‘As long

as the Black man is among his own, he will have no occasion, except in minor internal conflicts, to experience his being through others' (Fanon, 1967:257). The idea that being amongst other Black people is the only way to find a sense of self is a very powerful one. Vincent et al (2013) found this to be the case for some participants in their work on the educational strategies of the Black middle-class, in particular where race and class intersected.

The strain of living in a society where Whiteness is the norm extracts psychological costs – described by Jean as wearing a 'tight pair of shoes' – which, in some cases, is compounded by their mobility into the middle classes and away from their family origins. Jean is clear that she does not want her children to feel they have to show 'one face out there and a different face at home because I have seen [the costs] so much'.

(Vincent et al., 2013:140)

As part of a strategy for survival, some of the participants in Vincent et al's study created public identities which were deployed in White spaces. Being around people who were like them in terms of class and race enabled them to take off their 'masks' – as one participant in their study noted it was only around her Black professional colleagues that she could have a break from the 'mask' (Vincent et al., 2013). Some of my participants similarly highlighted the need to be around 'people like them' within their friendship groups.

Fanon's teacher Aime Cèsaire is credited with the coining of the term '*Negritude*' bringing the ideas behind the concept to the fore alongside Léopold Senghor and León Damas (Ahluwalia, 2006). *Negritude* asserted the history of pre-colonisation and the importance of Black civilisations, it focused on the idea of Black pride and the contribution of African values to society (Frutkin, 1973). This was to be the way forward for Black people and *Negritude* sought 'to reverse the racial vilifications of the coloniser and to declare unequivocally that "Black is beautiful"' (Nursey-Bray and Ahluwalia, 1997:32).

The sense of alienation felt by Cèsaire et al (2000) as immigrants in Paris led to the creation of the movement. In Ahluwalia's (2001) critique of *Negritude*, he criticises the authenticity of the term's creators as they were 'thoroughly imbued with the values of

the coloniser' and were part of the cultural elite (Ahluwalia, 2001:23). He argues that it was a sense of alienation from *both* their cultures and a feeling that they did not belong in either their own or the coloniser's culture which became a problem for them. Whilst this is a critique, it highlights Fanon's theory of the destructive effect of the colonised mind on the sense of self and illustrates Du Bois' double consciousness theory by focusing on the sense of alienation. As Ahluwalia himself stated, as quoted earlier, it is hard to remove the colonial presence from the mind. Theoretical flaws aside, the denigration of the Black subject and the effect of colonialism cannot be dismissed and is also a key theme in the work of Cèsaire (2000).

I am talking about millions of men in whom fear has been cunningly instilled, who have been taught to have an inferiority complex, to tremble, kneel, despair and behave like flunkies.

(Cèsaire and Kelley, 2000:43, author's emphasis)¹⁷

These ideas relate to a view of Africa, which sees it as a space which was perfect before colonialism. Africa was a key component to both Fanon's thinking and the proponents of *Negritude*, but Africa was conceptualised very differently within their theoretical frameworks. *Negritude* promoted an idealised and romanticised notion of Africa which had little bearing on the realities of the continent (Marable, 1987:46). Nursey-Brah and Ahluwalia (1997) argue that Fanon saw the attempted resurrection of African culture 'founded on the claimed glories of the past' as a 'fruitless exercise' (Nursey-Bray and Ahluwalia, 1997:33). Fanon's Africa was to be reconceptualised and created on a non-European path and was not to become a 'third Europe' (Wallerstein, 2009:123).

By re-imaging Africa and creating it as a place of positivity, the Black subject is empowered and able to create a sense of self. I will go on to argue that for many of my participants, using their ethnic identity fulfils the same role and they move to create a third space to combat the feelings of alienation from both spaces – UK and Ghana.

Whilst Fanon's, Cèsaire's and Du Bois' ideas came from a diasporic view created outside of Africa, the concept of Pan-Africanism came from *within* the continent. Whilst it is difficult to say exactly who created the idea of Pan-Africanism (Ackah, 1999), the

¹⁷ Fanon opens *Black Skin White Masks* with this quote.

concept looks towards unifying African people both on the continent and in the diaspora. Ackah states that the role of Pan-Africanism is a part of the fight for equality, whether it was from colonialism or the fight against discrimination in Britain today. This relates to the idea of Black pride and the development of a sense of self – as is highlighted in the ideas of *Negritude* and Fanon's concepts. Both Fanon and Du Bois later went on to live in Africa and reformulated their ideas after having lived in the continent.¹⁸ By placing Africa at the heart of their theories, Fanon, Césaire and Hall use it as an anchor to provide a concept of Blackness which focuses on pride and strength. This is deemed necessary for the Black subject to exist in the colonised world, which whilst not explicit in Ackah's analysis seems, to serve the same purpose for the African abroad.

For people of African descent who had settled in Britain, the construction (by both Black people and the wider society) of the Black subject in Britain from the late 1970s emphasised concepts of representation and voice. From this view, the term 'Black' (as used in the literature) signals a wider discourse regarding inclusion and exclusion, with the origins of the debate on the term 'Black' in the race relations struggles of the 1970s. There was an increase in participation in politics which had begun to emerge in the form of community groups in the 1960s (Solomos, 2003). The popular use of the term 'Black' began in the 1970s; for Hall (2003) the term was created in reference to the common experience of racism and discrimination shared by minoritised communities (Hall, 2003:90), an idea echoed by Brah. The term 'Black', was transformed into 'a political colour to be worn with pride against colour-based racisms' (Brah, 1992:127). Coalitions of African-Caribbean and South Asian groups and activists adopted the term in opposition to the term 'coloured', to have ownership of the language used to describe them as a community.

After a generation or two, people with parents from the sub-continent of India and from the Caribbean began to exert some influence, if not control, over the terms that were publicly used. On one hand there was a drive for solidarity of a whole population who were likely to experience racial hostility. This was an attempt to consolidate a political Black identity.

¹⁸ Fanon had an ambassadorial role in Ghana and lived in Algeria. Du Bois' own personal quest led him to Ghana where he lived after being invited by Nkrumah to work on the *Encyclopaedia Africana*. He died in 1963, the day before Martin Luther King's *I have a dream* speech.

(Fenton, 2003:125)¹⁹

The other argument against the term ‘coloured’ was that it assumed that Whiteness was not a colour, the ‘invisible norm’ (Rattansi, 2007). The evolution of the term ‘Black’ and who is included within it has been analysed by Hall (1991), Brah (1992), Gilroy (2002) and Rattansi (2007). Brah (1992) explores the criticisms of the use of the term in relation to South Asian, African and Caribbean diasporas. These groups are not homogeneous within themselves and in relation to each other have their own cultural specificity. Brah’s (1992) analysis of the three main criticisms of the use of ‘Black’ are that in common use it refers to people descended from sub-Saharan Africa, many South Asians do not describe themselves as ‘Black’, and finally, it is used by the local state to allocate resources, thereby positioning groups as internally homogeneous. Brah (1992) disagrees with this assertion that the term denied South Asians their specific cultural identities as the meaning constructed by the African-Caribbean and South Asian communities did not deny the existence of cultural differences between the two. Rattansi (2007) sees the change in usage as happening in the late part of the 20th century and believes that fragmentation of British minority populations occurred leading to a need to separate out into national/regional categories, for example, Pakistani and African. Hall talks about the ‘silences’ of the term Black, specifically that it silences the experience of Asian people and he also highlights the issue that some Black people did not identify with the collective identity and it can act to silence groups such as Black women (Hall, 1991).

All the writers point to a movement away from the original political ideology of the term ‘Black’ - it no longer holds the political significance that it once did. Gilroy describes the change in this way – ‘the delicate and special dynamics of what used to be called ‘Afro-Asian unity’ no longer colour either the strategic alliances or analyses in the same manner’ (Gilroy, 2002:xiii). When looking at the future of ‘Blackness’ Gilroy sees the turning away from the ‘simpler efficacy of Blackness’ as having removed the political focus from anti-racism and that ethnicity is being re-specified ‘exclusively in the contentious cultural terms of lifestyle and consumer preference’ (Gilroy, 2002:xiv). For Gilroy, the risk is that ‘Black’ becomes a commodity to which anyone can ascribe if they listen to the ‘right’ music, wear the ‘right’ clothes and use certain forms of

¹⁹ Changes to terminology saw less use of the term ‘West Indian’, the move to Afro-Caribbean and now to the use of Caribbean or African-Caribbean as an identifier for this group.

language and conform to certain stereotypical behaviours. This version of 'Blackness' influenced by American conceptualisations – it could be described as an MTV Base nation²⁰ – has resulted in a proliferation of videos and programmes which depict certain lifestyles led by mostly African-American artists.

The symbolic and linguistic system in which political Blackness made sense was a phenomenon of assertive decolonisation and is now in retreat. Its defeat is also connected to wider cultural shifts like the rise of identity politics, corporate multi-culture and an imploded, narcissistic obsession with the minutiae of ethnicity.

(Gilroy, 2002:xiv)

Hall explores a very different view of the change in the use of Black and the effect this has on ideas about ethnicity. In the late 1980s Hall (2003), argued that there was a shift in the conceptualisation of 'Black' caused by the anti-racist movement and the post-war Black experience. He contended that the original struggle for representation 'was predicated on a critique of the degree of fetishization, objectification and negative figurations which are so much a feature of the Black subject' (Hall, 2003:90). The fight was for access to representation and the contestation of the negative images that were portrayed of the Black subject, an idea Hall calls 'relations of representation' (Hall, 2003:90). The shift towards a new view of representation is linked to the construction of 'Black' and the role played by ethnicity. According to Hall, 'Black' is a 'politically and culturally *constructed category*' and by recognising the diversity and difference in the histories and culture of the Black subject – the notion of 'race' weakens or fades (Hall, 2003:91). When using this new view of representation, the notion of ethnicity is also changed but Hall felt there was still a need to decouple the term from negative conceptions:

We still have a great deal of work to do to *decouple* ethnicity as it functions in the dominant discourse, from its equivalence with nationalism, imperialism, racism and the state, which are the points of attachment around which a distinctive British or, more accurately, English ethnicity have been constructed.

(Hall, 2003:93)

²⁰ MTV Base is the name of a channel shown in the UK which plays soul, hip-hop, R'n'B and other music described as 'Black' or 'urban'.

As is discussed in more detail later, Ghanaian ethnic identity (in its many variations linked to tribal relations) is indeed important to my participants.

Wright, in her examination of Black identity, argues that in the West it has been shaped by Western racism. Her book addresses Black identity across America, the Caribbean, Africa and parts of Europe including the United Kingdom and describes 'Black' in this way:

I use the term "black" as a signifier for the complex negotiation between dominant minority cultures that all peoples of African descent in the West – philosophers or not – must make in order to survive, whether physically or psychologically (and here we might include the rejection of one cultural identity over the other as a negotiation, however unsuccessful).

(Wright, 2004:25-26)

Wright also critiques writers such as Gilroy for seeing Blackness in relation to masculine norms and Du Bois and Fanon who she thinks came from a 'heteropatriarchal' position, leaving out the Black female subject. She argues that much of the writing has been done in isolation from considerations of gender, sexuality and class (Wright, 2004).

Black British Identity

In addition to the old "relations of representation" the new cultural politics was addressing what it means to be British and the place that Black has within that notion. Clifford (1997) sees the current concerns for the Black diaspora in Britain as the struggle that they have in finding different ways to be 'British' (Clifford, 1997:287). This struggle has a complex relationship with 'shared histories of enslavement, racist subordination, cultural survival, hybridization, resistance and political rebellion' (Clifford, 1997:287). Clifford uses the term diaspora not in reference to movement but as a way of describing the local community's political struggles within a historical context of displacement.

Brah also uses the diasporic lens to address the debate. Her argument stems from the idea of diaspora and conceptions of home and is linked to her 'homing desire' theory

outlined earlier. Brah (1996) views the debate through the lens of the racialised imagination. As the descendants of migrants are not 'native' to Britain 'they can be 'in' Britain but not 'of' Britain' (Brah, 1996:191). Brah's argument sees colonised people as being turned from the Native into the 'Other'. Now that the 'Other' is in the colonisers' space they are perceived as not being British because they are not native to Britain. This then leads to a discussion of how they should be identified. Hesse (2000a) takes the view that Black British identity is another choice of identity for this group that is visibly Black yet born in Britain. For Hesse, the Black British subject exists because of certain conditions:

The Black British subject is therefore born out of an imposed contradiction between "Blackness" and Britishness, British-ness being equated with whiteness and the dominant symbolic order. The Black British identity is one of the multiple identities emerging in the post-colonial era, both within the west and in the former colonies, and in the continuous, human, cultural and material conflict between the two.

(Hesse, 2000a:95)

In comparison with Clifford, Hesse's definition of the Black British identity is one of multiple constructions. These constructions conflict with each other and are only capable of existing because of the link with post-colonialism and the West. Both ideas see Black British identity as one involving conflict/struggle. In contrast to the ideas of identities in conflict, is Hall's viewpoint of the identities being multiply expressed and recognised at the same time:

Third generation young Black men and women know they come from the Caribbean, know that they are Black, know that they are British. They are not prepared to give up on any of them.

(Hall, 1991:59)

Hall does not pose an *either/or* theory but one that incorporates - *and* it is possible to be Black *and* British *and* Ghanaian *and* whatever else, without having to *state* a single identity. Hall explores the idea of multi-layered identities and realises the complex make-up of individual identities. Whilst Clifford sees a struggle between the identities and Hesse sees them in conflict, Hall sees a desire to hold onto all the different

identities. By taking this concept further, it could be argued that identities or strands of identity are so entangled they are not extractable as they all make up the person which they belong to and include non-racial identities such as gender. It then becomes a choice of when, where and in what situations certain identities are asserted, a concept that is shown by my participants in the study – see *Chapter 9*.

Intersectionality

In more recent times intersectionality has been a key approach which enables scholars to examine through multiple lenses, the exercise of power through structures, which impact on identities. These lenses address the interaction of gender, sexuality, class and race and other aspects of identity to enable a fuller understanding of the complexities relating to identity and the second generation. As Vincent et al., state:

Intersectionality emphasises fluidity, and the importance of different locales, situations, spaces, times, different dispositions and subjectivities, for understanding particular interactions and identities.

(Vincent et al., 2012a:261)

Intersectionality is 'rooted in Black feminism and Critical Race Theory, intersectionality is a method and a disposition, a heuristic and analytic tool' (Carbado et al., 2013:303). Kimberlé Crenshaw created the term in 1989 to show how Black women were marginalised. She drew on a specific policy context in the car manufacturing industry that offered some protection against discrimination to Black male and White female employees but not to Black women. She used the term to show how racism and sexism interact to impact on the experiences of Black women:

'... the intersection of racism and sexism factors into Black women's lives in ways that cannot be captured wholly by looking at the race or gender dimensions of those experiences separately'

(Crenshaw, 1991:1244).

One of the reasons for creating the concept of intersectionality was to remove what Crenshaw called the 'single axis framework' (Cooper, 2015:386), that looked at either race or class or gender. As noted by Cooper, Crenshaw called attention to the way the

single-axis framework erased the experiences of Black women and exposed the larger challenge that:

“These problems of exclusion cannot be solved simply by including Black women within an already established analytical structure” (140). The “intersectional experience,” Crenshaw averred, “is greater than the sum of racism and sexism,” meaning that “any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which Black women are subordinated” (140).

(Cooper, 2015:386-7)

Following on from Crenshaw’s original work, other scholars have used the concept of intersectionality to look at other groups and have used it as a theory and method to show how particular groups are excluded from debates. Preston and Bhopal used intersectionality to analyse issues in race and education – positioning it as a model to understand otherness:

Intersectionality has become a model upon which to understand, analyse and engage with difference in which difference itself becomes a defining feature of ‘other-ness’. Otherness is related to the notion that identity itself is fragmented, fragile even, yet constantly evolving through multiple engagements and relationships in society; and through this complexity, intersectionality helps us to engage with understanding outsiders and what it means to be a ‘stranger’ in modern society.

(Bhopal and Preston, 2012:1)

Rollock et al., (2015) use an intersectional analysis to explore the Black middle class experiences which are at the centre of their work. The method is chosen because it ‘emphasises fluidity’ and enables the researchers to highlight the ways in which ‘race, class and/or gender can come to the fore’ in particular situations (Rollock et al., 2015:11).

An intersectional approach allows the fluidity of identities to be expressed and acknowledges how the different levels of intersection can foreground marginalisation. However, intersectionality is not without criticism, and writers such as Vincent et al.,

(2012a), Hill Collins and Chepp (2013) and Cooper (2015) have all highlighted some of the limitations or criticisms which have been discussed in relation to intersectionality. These include the numerous definitions of the term, difficulty in using it as a specific theory or methodology and the drift to fixed identity categories within analyses. There is also the difficulty in knowing how to focus the analysis: on the intersection of gender, class, race, sexuality, religion etc., what Barry Troyna called 'commatization' - '...commatization': social class (comma) women (comma) blacks (comma) gays (comma) youth (comma) and so forth' (Troyna, 1994:332).

Whilst these issues cannot be dismissed, neither can the importance of the concept of intersectionality. Without understanding the intersections of different aspects of their identities, it is hard to understand the ways in which the different elements come together to shape and affect my participants' lives. Race alone, whilst fundamental, as these are visible minorities, must be discussed in relation to other dimensions of identity and the power those dimensions have or do not have depending on the context and the structures that surround them, as Hill Collins and Chepp note:

The analytic importance of relationality in intersectional scholarship demonstrates how various social positions (occupied by actors, systems, and political and economic structural arrangements) necessarily acquire meaning and power (or a lack thereof) in relationship to other social positions. This highlights the intersecting and co-constructing nature of social systems and structures organized around power and inequality.

(Hill Collins and Chepp, 2013:61-62)

In my work, the space that intersectionality occupies is one where I consider both race and class equally as structures which impact the identity formation and lived experience of my participants. This is not to discount other areas of importance for example gender, sexuality, disability – but these were not areas on which I focused within my study or which the participants raised. The classed society they are raised within, the racism they face and the ways in which Black identity is created, perceived and lived, these were the themes of the interviews, and all contribute to the creation of self and the participants' lived experiences. It is only through looking at these elements simultaneously and relationally can the impact be realised.

Conclusion

The concepts discussed here have been chosen and explored over the period of creating this thesis, as my focus has shifted and developed. The complexities behind identities based on class and race are expressed here and these key topics inform the later analytical chapters. Current class structures affect the second generation in terms of how they are perceived and how they perceive themselves. At the same time, the participants are living with the influence of another context – that is of an inherited Ghanaian class system – one which is not visible to those outside of the culture but is still part of their relationship with their parents and indeed with their parents' natal country. How racism is constructed and enacted also shows some of the problems that the second-generation participants face in relation to establishing or indeed maintaining a particular position in the UK. A key resource both within the construction of class and how to navigate racism is education, and the role of credentials in particular, as tools that are used to ensure success.

Bourdieu's work is discussed to illustrate how social mobility can be achieved through the use of cultural capital which is possessed by my participants, especially in the form of educational qualifications which give access to professional positions. Bourdieu's 'conceptual trinity' of capital, field and habitus (Crompton, 2008:100) provides one of a number of conceptual resources through which to view the successes and struggles of the Ghanaian second generation in my study and a way to examine how power dynamics legitimise or delegitimise the deployment of particular forms of capital.

In providing a discussion on diaspora and Black identity theory, I have explored the term 'Black' and how the Black subject has been created and sustained. I have also shown how a positive view of Black identity can be deployed as a strategy for survival for the second generation.

An intersectional lens is necessary to see the ways in which these separate powerful structures of class and race, with the specificity of diaspora, meet to create very specific circumstances for my participants. As will be explored in further detail in later chapters, they are classed, raced and given identity labels - these are the multiple axes that impact on the lives of my participants. Class, race and given identity labels are labels which are dealt with simultaneously, which work in relation to each other. In the middle of this overlapping Venn diagram of key themes are my participants, who, as

shown in the analysis chapters, still manage to find a way to negotiate these structures and succeed.

The next chapter focuses on the methods used and issues that arose when conducting the research. The chapter details the recruitment and interview process and my approach to the analysis of the data.

Chapter 4 – Methodology

Introduction

This chapter outlines the methods used to gather and analyse the data, how the sample was selected and the rationale behind the chosen methods. It also addresses issues that arose in the data collection and my role within the research over the 10-year period in which it was conducted, analysed and written. The main method used to gather the data was qualitative interviewing and the information was analysed thematically.

The overall research explores how second generation middle-class Ghanaians construct and maintain their ethnic identity. To recap the research questions are:

- What impact does social class have on the construction of identity of middle-class second generation Ghanaians?
- How does being racialised as Black affect the identity of the Ghanaian middle-class second generation?
- In what ways does the intersection between social class and ethnic identity affect the lives of the participants?
- How do middle-class second generation Ghanaians experience transnationalism and view return?

Using a semi-structured interview approach, I spoke to 21 second-generation Ghanaians who were aged between 27-41 years old. I was interested in their narratives and chose an interview style that would enable them to easily provide me with their stories; there is further discussion on methods later in this chapter. The interviews lasted between 45 minutes and four hours and whilst the majority were conducted face-to-face in homes, offices and even a park, a small number were conducted via Skype and on mobile phones. The interviewees were mostly managers, senior managers or professionals with 18 out of the 21 holding a bachelor's degree. In addition, four expert interviews were also conducted with the chairs or founders of key organisations and

with an official from the Ghana embassy, which provided additional background to the participant interviews. All the interviews took place between 2010 and 2011.

Method

The value of using a qualitative interview method is that it provides the researcher with a tool that can assess individuals 'attitudes and values' (Byrne, 2004). Semi-structured interviewing, in particular, provides a flexible framework of questions, which can be used to address the main research question. The focus in these types of interviews is on the interviewee's interpretation of what they deem to be important regarding events or behaviour (Bryman, 2008:438). Semi-structured interviewing provides 'a degree of precision' whilst encouraging 'openness' from the interviewee (Gillham, 2005:71). Semi-structured interviewing has been used across the literature on studies involving second-generation participants (Gillham, 2005). Therefore, my study positions itself in a space where it can be compared to other studies that address similar sample groups.

Three interviews were conducted in home environments, two in the participant's places of work after hours, nine in an office within a university, three on the phone, three via Skype and one was conducted in a busy park. Permission was obtained from the participants for the interviews to be recorded. Telephone and Skype interview have been successfully used in qualitative research and provide an alternative way for the participant to engage in the research, irrespective of geographical distance, it is cost-effective and - in the case of phone interviews – can help maintain feelings of anonymity (Sturges and Hanrahan, 2004, Hanna, 2012). In addition, the advantages of using Skype and telephone interviews were that it allowed people not currently based in London, or indeed the UK, to participate. However, most of these interviews were notably shorter than face-to-face interviews, the latter allowing a more spontaneous rapport to develop. Face-to-face interviewing enables analysis of body language and interviewer and interviewee interaction. Non-verbal clues require interpretation especially if they conflict with what is being verbalised. Keats suggests the use of probes to obtain clarification to these kinds of conflicting messages (Keats, 2000). This was notably more difficult in the phone interviews. Although Skype allows for visual cues, it was harder to use because only our faces were visible which meant wider body language could not be used to build rapport or be read to aid understanding. Whilst this was the case, if I were to re-run this research project, I would have Skype and telephone interviews because it did

enable participants to engage, where otherwise they would not have been able to take part.

It is important to address how the interviews were to be conducted and the role played by the interviewer within that process. Rubin and Rubin (2005) have proposed a model of interviewing they define as 'responsive interviewing' (Rubin and Rubin, 2005:30). This style of interviewing acknowledges that the interviewer and interviewee are both human beings and allows for the development of a relationship. The interviewer is not neutral in this process and must be subject to constant self-reflection. In part, this was used in the study, whilst no interviewer is ever neutral and comes with their own notions and biases, as I am also a member of the cohort I interviewed, I am acutely aware of the role of bias and how easily assumptions can be made. Within the interview process, I needed to develop a relationship – however brief – with the participants to obtain the data. To fully utilise Rubin and Rubin's method the research design must remain flexible – each interview is distinct, so new questions should be created for each interview. My loose topic guide provided a framework but within each interview, I used probes to delve deeper into areas or to obtain clarification and asked different questions of each participant depending on what emerged in the interview. The fluid nature of the structure proposed by Rubin and Rubin would make it difficult to analyse so this method was not fully used as a research framework. However, the acknowledgement of humanity and self-reflection in the research process is important and this was incorporated into the study.

Two pilot studies were conducted to decide the best approach for interviewing. In the first pilot, a detailed questionnaire was used with two participants and whilst it solicited some interesting comments the rigid structure felt cumbersome and left little room to explore areas of interest to the participants. I then piloted a looser structure with an additional two participants, which had key themes I was interested in rather than very specific questions and opted for that approach for the rest of the interviews. The process was more relaxed and still enabled in-depth discussions. It also provided space for the participants to ask me questions and to cover topics that I may not have touched on in the interview or areas they wished to expand upon. Using this method opened the research and provided richer data. I have included comments from all the pilots, where relevant. As this approach to interviewing was adopted, I then chose to use thematic analysis derived from the constant comparative method to analyse the

data. The change in method also reflected my move between institutions and a change in direction for the research project to focus on a middle-class cohort.

Focus of study and framework(s)

Constructionist epistemology

Whilst this study looks at notions of class and ethnicity it also addresses identity and the creation of the 'Ghanaian self' amongst the participants, therefore, a constructionist stance is taken in the analysis of this study. Constructionist (or social constructionist) epistemologies view all knowledge as created through social construction and the role of the researcher in the creation of that knowledge is also a key part of the theory (Seale, 2004). Semi-structured interviewing is used as the main tool to obtain data and the constructionist standpoint sees the relationship between the interviewer and interviewee as not being natural. The researcher's interpretation of the interview and the interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee is also constructed (Seale, 2004). Another interviewer may have received different responses to the same questions. Responses are located in specific times and places and created through interaction.

...social constructionism is relativist, seeing knowledge as historically and culturally located. At different times and places there will be different and often contradictory interpretations of the same phenomena.

(King and Horrocks, 2010, p22)

Race is also a constructed notion and as this study addresses a visibly different population, issues of 'race' and racism are discussed with the participants. It should be noted here that ethnic identity is not seen as fixed and is also constructed. I would argue that participants have a view of what being 'Ghanaian' is and whether or not they meet the criteria set by themselves or by others. In part, there was a bias in the participants who came forward through the method of sampling, as it was purposive - I chose people who already viewed themselves as being 'Ghanaian' by using certain groups as places to recruit and advertising for people who were Ghanaian to respond to my call for participants. By setting the boundaries of having both parents being Ghanaian migrants ideally meant that I could manage the number of potential national/regional identities within the individual's make-up e.g. Ghanaian, British,

English or indeed Londoner or hybrid variations of these. I was keen to just address these identities hence the parameters set for the sample.

Ethnic Identity, class and transnationalism

Chapter 2 provides a detailed summary of the second generation and ethnic identity with further discussion in the previous chapter. Here I want to note that the work of Gans (2007a) and Waters (1990a) on ethnic options and symbolic identity has been used in creating the framework for analysis in this study alongside transnationalism. As noted, transnationalism refers to living in two spaces equally, engaging in politics, keeping a home, being a part of the local community.

These ideas and concepts constitute the framework from which this study is addressed. By using them, certain assumptions are made, and these assumptions also affect how the data are analysed. However, whilst these approaches and lenses are used, the voices of the participants remain central. Their stories and areas of importance have led the themes I identify in this thesis and challenged some of the ideas put forward by other theorists.

Sampling and selection

At present, the various literature that exists on the Ghanaian community, (Peil, 1995), provides insight into first generation migrants that have migrated to Britain over the last 60 years. The first generation consists of people that have migrated and settled in another country. The second generation is described as the children in the host country born to immigrant parents (Levitt, 2006:26). Statistics on the second generation are few and far between. They are not classified by their parents' country of origin in large surveys (i.e. Census 2001/2011) and can be found in categories such as Black African and Black Other. They are (usually) citizens of the country in which they reside and studies which have addressed the statistics of these groups are woefully out of date (see Daley, 1996), and do not necessarily shed any light on the lives of the second generation Ghanaians that are the focus of this study. The mismatch of data is also prevalent in spatial studies (Van Hear et al, 2004 and school statistics (i.e. National Pupil Database). It is not always possible to see whether the data refers to the first or second generation. For example, a person who is 40 years old could have been born in England; migrated to England as a child or teenager; solely come for education/work or be classified as an asylum seeker or refugee. However, the data would not show any of

this information. Therefore, a comprehensive sample size of the second generation is not known and is very difficult to statistically analyse.

However, as noted in *Chapter 1*, what is known, is most of the West African communities from Sierra Leone, Nigeria and Ghana are based in London. To find a sample for this study, a purposive sample was drawn from second generation Ghanaians living in London²¹, and primarily from members/attendees of associations or networks:

- Ghana Black Stars Network (GBSN)
- Star 100
- Ghanaian Londoners

These groups were chosen for their large number of members, the range of activities through which they engage their members/users and the different types of membership which they attract. The members of these groups were chosen as their membership represented the age range chosen for the study and whilst they attracted different social class groupings, they were primarily organisations that contained middle class individuals. This was not the only point of entry into the community and snowballing was also used. The participants were self-selecting, but they had to meet the following criteria:

- Both parents must be from Ghana and migrated to the UK
- The participant must have had the majority of their schooling in England
- They must be between 21 and 50 years old

The need for the respondents to have been educated in the UK was important, as the education system is a major institution that would impact on their socialisation and development as adults in the UK. The age parameters set for the interviewees from the second generation ranged from 21-50. This age range covers the parents who have arrived since the 1950s until 1985. The intention was for the interviews to be split evenly across genders and social groups. The majority of the respondents were middle-class by occupation and there were more women than men.

²¹ Three participants were based outside of London but had grown up in London and moved recently for work/marriage reasons.

As part of my interview process, I asked the participants to complete a questionnaire, which provided details of their age, occupation, location, their level of education and that of the parent who migrated first, parent's occupation and parent's year of migration. The information on the parents was only based on the parent who came to England first. This data provided some small insight into social mobility and enabled me to look at theories such as second-generation decline (see *Chapter 7 – Class*). It also gave me a measure of class status based on their occupation and educational attainment. The measurement chosen to identify class was the National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification (NS-SEC), which has eight common classification levels but also has variations on the levels.

Table 1 - Participants NS-SEC classifications²²

NS-SEC	Amount
1. Higher managerial, administrative and professional occupations	15
2. Lower supervisory and technical occupations	4
5 Semi-routine and routine occupations	1
N/a (unemployed)	1

It should be noted that the labels participants verbally gave themselves did not always match their 'on paper' status. Their professions and level of education put the majority in the middle-class bracket, but many did not see themselves in that way, which is discussed in more detail in *Chapter 7 - Class*. Some were middle class due to their backgrounds and or their professions, others had moved from working class backgrounds to the middle class because of their occupations – further exploration of their class backgrounds and positioning is examined in *Chapter 7 – Class*. In further discussions with the participants, aspects of their lifestyle emerged which also provided another view of their classed identities – for example, leisure pursuits, how and where they lived.

Given the sample size, it is not possible to use the findings to generalise across a larger sample of the population. However, that said it by no means dismisses the

²² In the questionnaires, the labels used are from the National Readership Survey (NRS) which I mapped onto the NS-SEC categories. The NRS labels are commonly used in surveys and statistics and used language that many were familiar with. At the time of the creation of the study the NS-Sec categories were being changed.

relevance and importance of the voices featured or the themes which emerged. Indeed in Hoque's insightful look at third-generation Bangladeshis, only six participants were featured as in-depth studies (Hoque, 2015). Notions such as generalisation, validity and reliability are problematic in qualitative methods as Howell (2013) notes, their usage does not help with the understanding of the data which emerges and alternative rationales are sought:

Indeed, in many instances the holy trinity of validity, reliability and generalisation failed to deal with the vagaries of qualitative research. 'Many qualitative researchers have struggled to identify more appropriately how we do what we do. So, rather than take terms from the quantitative paradigm, qualitative researchers have ... offered alternative ways to think about descriptive validity and ... case study work' (Janesick, 2000: 393). Rather than validity, phenomenological and more qualitative analysis should pursue trustworthiness. 'Terms such as credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability replace the usual positivist criteria of internal and external validity, reliability and objectivity' (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000: 21).

(Howell, 2013:189)

Later in this chapter, I provide more detail on how I approached the sampling, coding and my relationship with the participants.

In my study, there are some shared narratives that I would argue are part of a shared ethnic identity amongst second generation Ghanaians. Stories about parental expectation, the role of education and cultural 'norms' all form part of these ideas and are assumed by the participants to be part of the cultural narrative of the second generation. These themes and narratives were also heard at meetings and events and on occasion formed the topic of discussion for the evening, which suggests a level of shared experience.

I focused the search for participants in London, which has the largest Ghanaian community in the UK (BBC, 2005). There were many respondents who had been born in the UK and then raised in Ghana or who arrived in the UK after their infancy. I also wanted to focus on those raised in London. London has one of the most diverse populations in the world and each area in London has specific communities, which are dominant in each borough. My participants were based in London but mainly in the

southern and outer boroughs i.e. Lewisham, Merton, Bromley, Greenwich and Lambeth.

The idea of place and community and belonging came up in the interviews and had an impact on many of the participant's sense of self and views on culture and identity. This was relevant whether they were one of the few (or in some case only) Black families in the local area, whether they lived close to or within a Ghanaian or other African community or indeed if there were predominately people from Caribbean backgrounds as the majority. These concepts are addressed across the data chapters.

Call for participants - limitations and sample size

My call for participants, through the organisations, was posted in their newsletters and on their websites. The best response was from advertisements placed in the e-newsletters. I also posted calls for participants to Facebook groups and other e-groups hosted by other Ghanaian organisations (including church groups), these did not produce any responses. Participants who were interviewed also sent my call for participants to their personal networks and colleagues were kind enough to also use their contacts. This method yielded four interviews with the majority coming from the membership organisations. My own personal networks were also used. However, I was keen not to interview too many people from my own networks as I had used that method in my Master's research and one of the drawbacks was that there were too many similar people in the study and I felt it was important to interview a wider part of the community. Initial contact with participants was generally via email – more detail was passed on to the participant and this method provided me with the opportunity to check if they met the criteria. A telephone conversation was then arranged to discuss the work in further detail and if they were still interested an interview date was arranged. In general, this system worked well. However, some initial respondents contacted me then did not respond to emails, others arranged dates and then cancelled. I also had many responses from participants who were not able to take part in the study but were interested in the topic and just wanted to find out about my research.

I had intended to interview across the class spectrum and across my chosen age range. Trying to obtain participants from the higher part of the age range proved to be difficult as many of the participants who were over 40 had not been born or raised in the UK. Parents migrated and left elder children behind or sent children born at that

period back to Ghana to live with relatives. Some participants were born in the UK and then were sent to Ghana for parts of their schooling – either primary or secondary. Using the associations as an entry point also meant that I did not have many potential interviewees who were under 25. The members of the associations tended to be older and this is reflected in my sample. The members also tended to be middle-class based on professions and level of educational attainment.

It was also very difficult to find participants who were not degree educated, three participants did not have a degree and one had recently obtained one in her late 30s. Of the three who did not have degrees, one had just started a degree. So rather like Lee's (2004) participants, the majority found themselves engaging with further education. Those that responded to my call for participants tended to be middle-class professionals who have an explicit interest in Ghana, their identity and wanted to tell their stories about growing up as a second generation Ghanaian in the UK. Writers such as Rosnow and Rosenthal proposed over 40 years ago that volunteer subjects who choose to engage with research have a tendency to be better educated than non-volunteers and have a higher class status (Rosnow and Rosenthal, 1976:99), which is still true today and was reflected in my study.

Across the literature, there are a range of sample sizes used within qualitative studies and advice on the number of interviews varies across institutions and the academy (see Bryman, 2008, Sarah and Rosalind, 2018). When the study was originally going to be conducted using a questionnaire framework with different research objectives, my goal was to complete 30-50 interviews. Changing to a topic framework and amending my research criteria meant that richer data was obtained from longer face-to-face interviews. Towards the latter stages of the interview process, some key patterns emerged and similar statements were made by multiple participants. Mason states that:

There is a point of diminishing return to a qualitative sample—as the study goes on more data does not necessarily lead to more information. This is because one occurrence of a piece of data, or a code, is all that is necessary to ensure that it becomes part of the analysis framework.

(Mason, 2010:1)

In agreement with my then supervisor, between 20-25 interviews was my final goal, which was achieved despite the challenges of obtaining participants. As noted some of

the potential participants were not eligible for the study as they did not meet the criteria. The two main reasons were not having both parents from a Ghanaian background or having spent the majority of their education outside of the UK - others were ineligible as they were not raised in London. There were also interviews agreed with eligible participants, but they did not respond to confirmation emails or telephone calls, so they were unable to go ahead.

Membership organisations and background to choices

As discussed, I used specific membership groups to obtain my sample. When this study was originally conceived, I had planned to interview a wide range of second generation Ghanaians and explore identity across different classes. My criteria were fixed, and I knew that the respondents would be self-selecting. To attract a wide range of participants I approached different organisations who had contacts with second-generation Ghanaians. I decided to use church groups and community organisations (including hometown associations) who are linked to first and second generation Ghanaians in a bid to ensure diversity of class backgrounds. However, this approach yielded no responses – I was not a member of any of these groups and gained access through other contacts. Some never responded to my initial calls or emails and others did send out my call to action, but I received no responses. I experienced a similar response when collecting data for my Master's research – requests for interview participants were given at hometown associations meetings and emails sent, however, no participants came forward.

I also contacted groups that had a large second generation cohort as they attracted the British born cohort that I wished to engage with my research. The first generation had their community groups which are mainly hometown associations (primarily serving the older generation who migrated in the 1960s-70s), attempts were made to start organisations for younger mostly British-born Ghanaians e.g. Society of Young Ghanaians, which were not sustained. New groups have emerged, groups such as *Star100* and *Ghana Black Stars Network (GBSN)*, *Akwaaba UK* and *Ghanaians in London* have all been created since 2000. They were all London-based and encouraged their members to strengthen links to Ghana in a variety of ways e.g. charitable giving or organising events that are held in Ghana. These organisations were young at the time of my research, but their growing membership and activities highlighted the level of interest e.g. *GBSN* had over 2000 people on its mailing list.

The emergence of second generation focused organisations shows that some second generation individuals are choosing to assert their Ghanaian identity and create networks around that identity.

As mentioned, participants were recruited from across the members of three Ghanaian membership organisations - *Star100* and *Ghana Black Stars Network (GBSN)* and *Ghanaian Londoners* - as well as through snowballing and personal contacts. The organisations were chosen for their mix of members, the time established and levels of activity. *Star 100* describes itself as:

...a network of Ghanaian professionals in the UK (London) and US (New York). Whose purpose is to encourage members to share knowledge and expertise through networking, for personal benefit as well as the good of Ghana.

(*Star100* website, 2011)

Young first generation professionals, who worked in the City of London, established the group in 2004 as a drinking club for Ghanaians in the City. It was all male and met on the last Friday of the month. It still meets at that time but is now it is open to both men and women and has large numbers of members who are second generation. They host regular networking events as well as special events which can be hosted by members or feature specific areas of interest e.g. oil in Ghana.

Ghanaian Londoners Network was the newest organisation of the three and was launched in 2008 but it had a mailing list of about 5000 members in 2011. It was a registered social enterprise 'with a focus on business and community development of Ghanaians and BAME communities in the UK' (*Ghanaian Londoner's* website). They networked using Facebook, Twitter and bi-monthly meetings as well as hosting other events throughout the year.

Ghana Black Stars Network – was focused solely on the second generation in the UK. Established in 2007, they organised showcases and business expos to highlight Ghanaians in the UK:

The GBSN is a collective of young professional British Ghanaians who have come together and created a portal for Ghanaians from all over the world to reconnect with Ghana.

Using a structured questionnaire, I have also conducted four expert interviews via telephone and Skype, which lasted between 30 minutes and 50 minutes. The interviews had been commissioned as part of a freelance contract and permission was gained to use the data gathered in this research. The interviews were conducted with a senior official at the Ghana High Commission and the chairs/founders of three of the Ghanaian associations: Star100, GBSN and Ghanaian Londoners. The focus of these interviews was what the associations did for their members; return migration and opportunities for the Ghanaian diaspora in Ghana. These interviews provided another viewpoint from the interviewees as these expert respondents represented larger numbers and a mix of first and second generation voices. They also provided an 'official' view of the Ghanaian government on the diaspora and what its role could/should be in the future of Ghana. These interviews helped with analysis and informed my thinking in relation to return, Ghanaian identity and Ghana/diaspora relations.

I also became a member of all the organisations and attended several meetings taking notes after some of the meetings on the experience. As I had not obtained permission to observe the meetings I used the information purely as a reflexive exercise and to provide additional insight into the target group. I also joined Ghanaian online groups and forums to keep abreast of debates.

Analysing the data

My loose structure for interviews had an initial focus on certain areas, for example, school life, but further themes emerged from the interviews. The key themes form the chapters within this thesis. Within each theme, there were numerous sub-themes and where these were repeated across narratives I have highlighted them and included that particular sub-theme. Ideas were also gleaned from articles, both scholarly and non-scholarly, expert interviews, online articles and observations. The process of going through the interviews, notes and literature and coding the concepts was lengthy but the comparative nature of analysis threw up other areas which were more important to the participants in terms of creating and maintaining their ethnic identities, changing my initial notions.

Theoretical ideas, common-sense expectations, and stereotypes often play a key role. Indeed, it is these that allow the analyst to pick out surprising, interesting and important features in the first place.

(Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:165)

Hammersley and Atkinson argue that the data should be used to 'think' with (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:163) and throughout the process of the research the new information obtained influenced the emerging concepts and shifted the parameters of the research. The lenses were kept in mind, but each interview brought new questions and made me look at the initial ideas from different perspectives.

What was uncovered was a complex interaction between racism, education, place and 'Otherness' that has led to the creation of a very particular identity manifested by most of the participants. Class and notions of their classed selves play an interesting part in their identity and are woven through the other themes – it is linked to levels of education, where they grew up or now live and how they perceive themselves or how others perceive them.

The participants who told me their stories were of different ages and at various life stages and these altered their perspectives on some areas. Their views on marriage, parenthood, education (theirs and their children's or potential children) reflected their different life stages. For many, this had been the first time they had spoken about their experiences and had time to reflect on them.

Social actors create their sense of the past and their own biographies through acts of memory. The past is evoked through narrative performances. In analysing members' accounts of their own and others' lives, therefore, we need to be attentive to the ways in which the past is repeatedly constructed.

(Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007:180)

Constant comparative method and coding

During each interview, notes were taken and issues that were given emphasis by the participants were highlighted. As the interviews were recorded I could listen to the interviews repeatedly to pull out themes and cross-reference with my original notes.

I combed through each individual interview to see what themes and key strands could be found using the constant comparative method as my guide:

The *constant comparative method* is an inductive data coding process used for categorizing and comparing qualitative data for analysis purposes. ... True to its roots in symbolic interactionism, inductive analysis enables the investigator to build an understanding of the phenomena under investigation through the lives, relations, actions, and words of the participants themselves.

(Mathison, 2005:81)

As noted, I had key themes which I used as a framework, the data from previous interviews were compared to subsequent ones and working in this way, themes across and within the interviews were highlighted. The constant comparative method enabled me to see whether the issues highlighted outside of the main themes were shared by a larger number of participants. There was no specific theme in my topic guide on racism yet nearly all participants discussed it and the impact on their lives. Romantic relationships were also mentioned in some interviews, but friendships were discussed in more detail, therefore, feature more prominently in the data chapters. Mason discusses the role of coding and how it can be applied, she notes:

The central idea of indexing (some writers and researchers call it categorizing, coding, assigning nodes, or 'code and retrieve') is that the researcher applies a uniform set of indexing categories systematically and consistently to their data. These could simply take the form of serial indexing categories, inserted as subheadings at the relevant points in text-based data, either whilst the text is being produced, or at some stage afterwards. These are likely to function in the same way as headings and subheadings in the chapters of a book, giving a descriptive sense of what each section of text is about, and may be useful as a way of directing the reader's eye through an individual text.

(Mason, 2002:150-151)

I followed this method to create this thesis. The interviews were hand-coded, and sections marked to highlight themes for example 'bullying', 'transnationalism'. This was done repeatedly to see what emerged and themes which featured the most were examined in further detail. These key themes were then put into a mind-map format

which enabled me to see the areas of interest, and the sub-themes, which became the chapters in this thesis.

The interpretation of data is subjective as the person doing the interpreting controls the outcome. In this case, I was the sole interviewer and analyser of the data and applied the same tools for each piece of data. As Bryman notes 'reliability refers to the consistency of a measure of a concept' (Bryman, 2008:149). The constant comparative method provides a consistent way of examining qualitative data. Quotes were transcribed verbatim and are used to illustrate the key thematic areas and give voice to the participants. After each interview, I verbally recorded or wrote notes on the experience as part of my reflections.

Each interview took place in different locations and at different times of the day. In some circumstances, the location had an impact on the interview. For example, on two occasions where I interviewed in the participant's home, I had to adjust for their domestic circumstances. One participant had three young children who interrupted the interview over five times as they wanted their mother's attention. Also, her husband was not in the house for most of the interview and on his return, he interrupted the interview and there were areas of conversation that were not expanded on because he was present in the house. Another had his partner in the room and was reluctant to discuss certain topics in her presence. He gave verbal and bodily clues which I saw as reluctance – he repeatedly glanced in her direction, became restless in his seat and hesitated in his speech. These factors should be noted in the analysis of the interviews as they had an impact on the construction of that interview.

Case Studies

Two case studies are featured in my thesis and are introduced after this chapter. Case studies provide an in-depth way to examine a participant and as Stake suggests '*Its best use appears to me to be for adding to existing experience and humanistic understanding*'. (Stake, 2009:24). Case studies aid in contextualising the narratives by providing a holistic picture. The cases have been chosen as the narratives illustrate the different ways in which the second generation can inhabit a Ghanaian ethnic identity and/or engage with a third space narrative. They reflect experiences from inner London and being part of a Black and/or Ghanaian majority and an outer London experience of being in a White majority area.

I was interested in how the narratives were juxtaposed but intrinsically showed that the participants had the same passion and pride in their Ghanaian heritage. I have included one male and one female voice - Kofi, came from a working class background and did not define himself as middle class, whilst Ama was happy to identify as middle class. Ama, at 27 was one of my younger participants and Kofi was 31 - the majority of my participants were in their 30s. Both identify as Ghanaian but have very different views on that identity. Ama and Kofi also spent their entire childhoods in London with a similar pattern of trips to Ghana throughout their lives. Both participants had come to the study via snowballing and our first face-to-face encounter was during the interview. In different ways, in both interviews, my identity was discussed and provided notes for reflection which I explore later in this chapter and in the case studies. Across my sample, it was these two voices comprehensively address multiple aspects of my study and were an important part of *Being Black, Being British, Being Ghanaian: Second Generation Ghanaians, class, identity, ethnicity and belonging*.

Ethics

In order to conduct this research, the proposal had to go through an ethics committee for approval. The committee had to be satisfied that my belonging to the group would not compromise the anonymity of the participants.

I did not know many of my participants as they came from outside my social circles. Also, whilst I may have attended some groups I do not have close relationships with many other attendees. The participants were given assurances of confidentiality and their names have been changed in the thesis. Participants that knew each other or had personal relationships with someone else I knew, were assured that their comments would not be repeated to the people they knew. We discussed intimate details and covered areas such as marriages, deaths, bullying and racism at school. I engaged in active listening, and in some cases needed to offer to stop the interview if the subject matter was particularly emotive and I ensured that they were happy to continue. A level of trust and rapport was built to enable the interviewees to feel comfortable enough discuss these matters with me. I avoided using data which compromised the promised anonymity. Names have been changed but ages and locations have been kept. The participants were asked to choose their pseudonym and where they did not choose one I have allocated a name.²³ Names of schools and, where possible, specific places have

²³ The choice of name chosen by participants was also interesting as in some cases they reflected how they viewed their ethnic identity. Some participants opted for 'day names', figures from history or English

been omitted to ensure anonymity. As a member of the British Sociological Association, I am bound by their code of ethics and conducted the study in accordance with those rules. Participants were advised of the study, how it would be conducted and their ability to withdraw consent.

Use of the word 'class' was deliberately not used in the call for participants. Using it in interviews sparked a mixture of reactions and the relationship to the use of the word is explored in *Chapter 7 - Class*. Other authors have also highlighted the relationship participants have when labelling themselves as a particular class (see Sayer, 2005a, Rollock et al., 2013). Matters relating to class were brought up during the discussion and prior to interviews, it was made clear that the study was looking at people from different social class backgrounds and Gans' (2007a, 2007b) and Waters' (1990a, 1999b) work was discussed to illustrate some of the ideas with the participants. Informed consent forms were used to ensure that both sides were fully aware of the parameters of the interview process (Bryman, 2008:122). The intention is to bring to the fore a group that is excluded from public debates but in the conducting the research I did not wish to cause harm or damage to the networks.

Belonging to the interviewed group can have an impact on the results and has an effect on ethical responsibility. As Ladson-Billings states:

Scholars must be challenged to ask not only *about* whom is the research, but also *for* whom is the research. The question of *for whom* is not merely about advocacy, but rather about who is capable to act and demonstrate agency. This agency is enacted through both epistemological and discursive forms.

(Ladson-Billings, 2000)

The idea of not causing harm to the participants is echoed across the literature and in the various codes of conduct that are applicable to researchers. This includes data protection (as covered by law) and who else may use the research after it has been conducted and the consequences it may have on the community.

Role of the Researcher

Much thought has been given, across the social sciences, to the role of the researcher and how different aspects (e.g. their race and gender) may affect the interview.

names. As names were chosen by participants in some cases there are repeated names e.g. Ama. To differentiate them I have used subordinate initials for example Ama.A.

Analysis of the effect on interviewing cross-culturally opened the debate of ‘racial matching’ – whereby it is deemed better for people from the same racial or ethnic background to conduct the interview in that particular community in order to produce better results. Writers such as Phoenix (1994) have argued against the idea that racial matching produces better results. Phoenix suggests that the theory of racial matching stems from a ‘realist epistemology’ (Phoenix, 1994:66). Black interviewers are considered more likely to obtain ‘the truth’ from the Black interviewees and she acknowledges that there is some evidence of closer rapport in data collection (Phoenix, 1994:66). However, by taking a constructionist viewpoint, the accounts given are seen as constructions that require analysis and this stance does not take for granted that the interviews produce ‘the truth’. Therefore, it is not clear whether racial matching produces ‘better’ or ‘richer’ data. So when approaching racial matching as part of the methodological process it is not “better” *always* to have black interviewers interviewing black interviewees’ (Phoenix, 1994:66, original emphasis).

However, these arguments, like those posed by Gunaratnam (2003) in her work on researching race, are based on wider research projects with multiple researchers. They are noted here to acknowledge the work addressing Black researchers in the field and the impact of these methodological approaches on the role of race in interviewing.

There are still gaps in the methodological literature relating to intra-cultural interviewing specifically relating to solo-researcher led projects. What has been written has come from a variety of disciplines e.g. anthropology, sociology and education and sub-sections of these disciplines, for example, feminist theory. In the UK, Song and Parker’s (1995) paper provides insight into the commonalities and differences found when researching a group that the researcher is part of ethnically or is somatically perceived as being a member. Whilst researching Chinese communities in the UK both researchers found that their ethnic identities were used as part of the interviewee’s construction of self and sometimes this was negatively manifested. Parker’s mixed identity was often used as a yardstick for the participants to gauge how ‘Chinese’ they were. What they both found was that when it came to matters of discrimination the participants would find commonality with them. This ‘shared’ experience of discrimination was a concept that was noted over thirty years ago by William Julius Wilson, a US sociologist who critiqued the idea of Black insider status (in Twine and Warren, 2000). He argued that class differences might mean that the Black middle-

class person may have more in common with the White middle-class person. Song and Parker's experience also links to Twine's racial fields concept – where the researcher themselves experiences racialisation when working in particular contexts or national fields (Twine and Warren, 2000). Twine's experience as a Black American researcher in Brazil highlighted how ideas of race are understood and negotiated in different contexts. Her class, accent, skin colouring and choice of partner all led the interviewees to construct her in different ways, some of which she found insulting and upsetting (Twine and Warren, 2000).

Within this research, some of these issues came to the fore. I am a second generation Ghanaian woman and a member of several of the organisations that were used in this study. My membership and personal networks enabled me to gain access to this community. However, there was no guarantee that I would be ascribed 'insider' status by any or all the participants. As several authors have noted (Phoenix, 1994, Song and Parker, 1995, Twine and Warren, 2000) the status is negotiated and an aspect that has been uncovered when inter-cultural research has been conducted is the degree to which multiple identities come into play. This links to the roles that class, gender, personal appearance and even choice of partner play and can manifest during the interview.

Researchers almost always have characteristics that set them apart from those being studied. You might be a black woman, interviewing black women, only to find that class, income, education or diction separate you from your interviewee.

(Rubin and Rubin, 2005:87)

Assumptions were made on the nature of my own Ghanaian identity, which I found being explored within the context of the interview. Controlling the level of disclosure, whilst seeking openness from the interviewee, is something that is difficult to manage. The issues relating to self-reflection and self-awareness are amplified in the case of inter-cultural interviewing as my biases, pre-conceived notions of 'Ghanaian' identity, upbringing and socialisation could all impact on my interpretation of the data. I had to also reflect on my own class identity and how the participants perceived it – indeed, I was often positioned as middle-class by the respondents.

The concept of the researcher as the instrument of research is highlighted by Gillham (2005) and Rubin and Rubin (2005). This concept links to the idea of the researcher being human, and the interview is an interaction between two human beings. There is a move towards including the 'human' element into research and acknowledging the 'self of the researcher:

There has long been a tendency to view the self of the social science observer as a potential contaminant, something to be separated out, neutralized, minimized, standardized, and controlled.

(Fine, 2000:108)

The interviewer brings to the process their knowledge, biases and their physical self (face-to-face) to interviewing. Trying to assume subjectivity would mean ignoring many of the things that make people human.

Whilst acknowledging these biases, the role of reflection in the research process is highlighted. By taking a constructionist stance, the role of the researcher in the construction of knowledge is taken as being part of the process. Across the field of social science reflexive practice has a variety of meanings all of which highlight the complexities of relationships between the process of knowledge production and the producer of the knowledge (Alvesson and Sköldberg, 2000). I choose to address reflection in two ways – firstly on the actual 'doing', how the process is managed and secondly by analysing the role of my own biases etc., in the writing up of the data. In the same way that the interviewee is questioned, the interviewer should ask questions of themselves. How can questions be better probed? Did I choose to write a section based on my preconceived ideas rather than from the information from the interview?

My role as an insider was assumed by many of the participants, statements were made which I was expected to understand instinctively – 'you know what Ghanaian parents are like?' Assumptions of my own upbringing, beliefs and relationships to Ghana were made and whilst most of the interviews were open and friendly, there were some interviews which stand out - one was very difficult as the participant did not seem as if they wanted to talk, their partner was in the room the entire time and he accused me of judging him. The other interview that remains memorable was a participant stated that did he not think I was passionate about Ghana. Whether trying to be neutral,

professional or trying to engage a reluctant interviewee, ideas about who I was, became important to the interviewee. With a large majority of the female participants, there were times in the interviews where I was treated as an old friend and confidences were shared. After each interview, I wrote notes on the contents but also how I felt about the process and analysed my own behaviour within the interview. Debriefing with my supervisor also formed part of my reflection and enabled me to share early findings and discuss any difficulties.

Throughout this work, I have reflected on my potential insider status and knew that this 'insider' status was not always assumed by participants. As I am interested in people's narratives I am not surprised if they are interested in my own, so I was prepared to share them if necessary. What my position enables me to have is some insight into some of the shared narratives that are linked to cultural behaviours (e.g. never taking something with your left hand, the greeting of elders). Participants took for granted that I would understand these cultural behaviours or use of particular words in Twi (main language spoken by the Ashanti people and part of the cluster of languages which are known as Akan). I would ask for an explanation of phrases/comments to ensure I understood what they meant and did not interpret using my own experience.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I outlined how the interviewees were recruited, interviewed and how their stories were subsequently analysed. By using very specific networks I narrowed the likely respondents to those who fit my tight criteria and engaged multiple methods to get a sample which could match my requirements. What I found was far more variability in my interviewees in terms of tribal background e.g. Fante, Ga, Ashanti but I had limited access to non-graduates or at the upper or lower age range, meaning that those voices are mostly absent from the study. However, with the sample found, depth and richness of response have been obtained through using a topic guide and a case study format.

Qualitative interviews with a loose topic structure were chosen to enable open discussions and rich data. The narratives of the construction of their identities were shared and examined. By using a constant comparative method more themes emerged and could be interrogated using the theoretical frameworks chosen for the thesis. Themes which were highlighted became the content for the data chapters which follow.

Reflexivity was a key component in my study as is the constructionist nature of qualitative interviewing. I am both the observer and the observed. My presence impacts on the participant's views and I am aware that many perceptions, were projected onto me by them and I am interviewed by the participants as much as the participants are interviewed by me. My 'insider' status enabled me to hear specific stories – which frequently echoed my own.

The next chapters contain the data gathered from my interviews, I begin by focusing on the two case studies featuring Kofi and Ama as a way of introducing the reader to the narratives in the study.

Chapter 5 Case studies – Kofi and Ama

Introduction

In this section I provide in-depth case studies on two participants Kofi and Ama. Their voices also feature in other chapters however by presenting case studies I am able to explore these participants' experiences in a nuanced and detailed manner.

Kofi and Ama are both proud to call themselves Ghanaian but have very different views on Ghanaian identity and belonging. As noted in the previous chapter, I have chosen them to explore in more detail as their narratives illustrate the different ways in which the second generation can inhabit a Ghanaian ethnic identity and/or engage with a third space narrative.

I begin with Kofi who exhibits a 'thick' ethnic Ghanaian identity and who has strong views on who is 'authentically' Ghanaian and the factors that create that specific identity. This is followed by Ama's narrative – the main theme within her case study is one of being an outsider, someone who does not belong and how she shapes her identity in that context.

Case Study – Kofi

The interview took place at Kofi's office based in the City of London. We were high up in the building looking out at the spectacular view of the London skyline at night. Kofi is a 31 years old, single IT professional and grew up in South London. The interview was held in the evening and whilst we taped about an hour and a half we spoke for longer as we got to know each other a little before the interview and chatted for a time afterwards²⁴. We broke the ice by discussing the World Cup as Kofi had recently been in South Africa following the Ghana football team. As a football fan, myself I was able to share my experience of attending the previous World Cup in Germany.

We started off a little awkwardly as we tried to establish rapport. I was being very professional and trying not to dominate the conversation, but he commented that he did not feel that I was 'passionate' about Ghana. I felt that in his eyes I wasn't being 'Ghanaian enough' for him. This led me to share stories of my identity journey after which he opened up more as the rapport was more firmly established. This dialogue was important because it speaks to his identity and how he believes second-generation

²⁴ This interview was one of two piloting a thematic method as opposed to a detailed questionnaire. After the initial interview, I went back to ask further questions. Based on the outcome of this and the subsequent interview I changed my methodology and used a thematic approach.

Ghanaians should be – passionate about Ghana. Kofi's identity is primarily as Ghanaian, and he is very proud of his heritage, including his real name which denotes a strength of character and pride in identity. The youngest of five children, much of the conversation we have revolves around family and the role of the family in his upbringing and his choices.

His home, growing up, was a three-bedroom flat in a south London borough - an area where he still resides, his siblings have all moved away but not very far and keep in regular contact. His father now splits his time between Ghana and the UK. Before Kofi was born, his three elder sisters had been sent back to Ghana as his parents were preparing to return. His brother remained in the UK where Kofi was born. He jokingly says his surprise arrival made his parent change their plans. He is not sure of the actual reason. He believes his parents had always planned to return and their goal was to come to the UK, get an education, save some money and then return. His mother trained as a nurse and his father was an engineer.

He feels that he would have loved to have grown up in Ghana and engaged in the boarding school culture. He sees attending boarding schools in Ghana as providing friends for life and a network that can be relied upon to help you later in life – he noted that these networks help in the job market. His own friendship groups span his school life and he is still in contact with people he went to primary school with. During his time at university, he ran event promotions, and this is where he created his own business-oriented network. During his primary and secondary school years, there was limited scope for meeting other Ghanaians as they were few and far between in his area. His friendships groups are mixed ethnically and come from 'all walks of life'. He mentioned that he was the only Ghanaian student in his primary school. He has always maintained a Ghanaian identity and recollects a common confusion made by people in his childhood between Ghana and Guyana. His parents sent him to a secondary school outside of the area due to what he describes as the 'high crime' aspect of the neighbourhood in which he lived. He developed more Ghanaian friends during and post university.

Between the ages of three and about 14 his family had regular visits from relatives based in Ghana. For Kofi, these visits were great as he got to know his extended family members and additionally gave him an opportunity to develop his language skills:

It wasn't a thing where I felt uncomfortable because they were in the house and it wasn't always the same person, one day it would be my mum's brother, next day it would be her sister, next day it would be my dad's brother or sister or something like that, and I suppose what they brought with them was again another dimension to the Ghanaian culture, so I got to learn about their experiences as well as my mum's experiences, I got to learn about the interaction between them and my parents. I got to pick up the language a lot easier as well, because people were having that dialogue in the house, so in terms of speaking Ga, I'm able to speak Ga and understand Ga as well, which I think maybe if it didn't happen, I can't really say, I may not have been able to pick it up as quickly maybe. So, it was definitely a positive experience, there wasn't anything negative that I could take from it. And again I think what was good about it was it enabled me to build relationships in Ghana, so now those people are back in Ghana I know their children, I know my cousins, I'm able when I go over to hang out with them, go and see this person and not feel uncomfortable or not know them, so it sort of just extended, I suppose my family, in the sense that I was able to know them, understand them and have that relationship with them.

The family visited Ghana quite regularly but the first trip he remembers was when he was about seven years old. The next few times he went were for bereavements. At age 22 he visited Ghana again – I asked what it was like visiting as a 22 year-old. This was his response:

It was by force [he laughs] because again, unfortunately my mother passed away, but she passed away in the UK so in terms of her stuff and some other stuff, we had to take back to her family, so basically we had to go and visit my mum's family, who we knew anyway, ... so it was more like a coming home, sort of thing. But I was cool, I didn't know what to expect, all I had was the visions of the gutters and the potholes and the sweet-smelling food and the heat and the mosquitoes, I had all those sort of visions of how it would be. So, when I went in 2003, totally different, they had roads, which was great! (He laughs) Family welcomed us with open arms it was sort of like a homecoming, ... so we were just chilling with family and stuff like that and it sort of like opened me up to going back to Ghana, potentially. So, after that I went every single year, up until now.

The increased visits were also connected to his father who has moved to Ghana. His parents were separated at the time of his mother's death and following his mother's passing, he developed a stronger relationship with his father. His decision to return frequently is linked to his feeling of home and belonging – 'going back to Ghana for me, I love it. You know, it's quality of life, I know people there, there's opportunities there that need to be tapped, so, yeah Ghana's home'. He already has established social networks and a particular lifestyle was available to him. The strong connection with Ghana was established through the transnational relationships and cemented by his own development of a relationship with Ghana. The catalyst of his mother's death meant he moved even closer to identifying as Ghanaian.

The experience of interacting with his parents' friends when they came to visit helped create the basis of his Ghanaian identity through engagement with particular cultural and social practices. We spoke about how the first-generation interacted and he gave an example of people sitting and eating together from the same bowl. His narrative also highlighted gendered roles with women cooking and serving men the food. He notices that people who have come from Ghana still maintain these patterns of behaviours but the second generation, born in the UK, do not engage in these behaviours. He gives three reasons why this is the case, firstly they may not have experienced this way of engaging, secondly because a vast majority of the second generation are unable to cook Ghanaian food, and finally because this way of behaving (sharing a bowl of food and eating with your hands) is no longer the 'norm' for this generation - 'I suppose it's what you make it, if you make it the norm it will be the norm.'

Throughout our dialogue, he used the term Ghanaian in different and intriguing ways. He used it to describe people of Ghanaian origin from various generations, born in different spaces and also used it to describe himself. He would also use it when he was in Ghana to identify himself and stated that the people there may not deem him to be Ghanaian. He uses his knowledge of Ga to 'prove' that he is and gain acceptance.

It definitely helps, it definitely helps being able to speak the language, because as much as they laugh at you, they admire you. Knowing that you're from London and you haven't lost your culture. And I'm not saying all Londoners have lost their culture because I don't know all Londoners, but the experience I've had with like family and aunts and uncles, ... they encourage you and they

try and talk to you and if you even try and reply in English, they tell you not to reply in English they say to reply in Ga, sort of thing. Which is good for me because it keeps fresh, keeps it going, sort of thing, because I don't get to speak it every day because some of my friends, some of my Ghanaian friends aren't necessarily Ga, they might be Ashanti or Fante or something else, so I don't get to have that dialogue. The ones that are Ghanaian, I try and have that dialogue randomly. I love speaking Ga at work, especially when I'm on the phone, because no-one can understand a word I'm saying!

For Kofi, language, therefore, is linked to an 'authentic' identity. The ability to understand the native tongue means that the individual can participate in Ghanaian culture and, more interestingly he used it as a way of differentiating himself within his office environment. He could assert his Ghanaian identity by using his language in the open plan office and knowing that there were no other Ga speakers there.

The idea of authenticity is raised within this discussion. Kofi has clear views on what makes a Ghanaian and this was articulated early in our discussion with his challenge to my degree of 'passion' about Ghana. Being deeply involved in the culture and the country also forms his view of who fits into Ghanaian identity. Kofi adopts a 'thick' Ghanaian identity and foregrounds that identity whereas as many others, like Ama (whose story is told in the next case study) inhabit the 'third space' as they do not feel able to fully embrace a Ghanaian identity.

Kofi has no affinity with a British identity. Rather he sees himself as culturally Ghanaian and therefore does not engage with what he sees as English or British culture. A few months before our interview Kofi returned to Ghana with the intention of working in the country. He had made contact and sent his CV ahead of his visit but was frustrated by the system and by people telling him they could help him find employment and then finding out that they were not able to do so. He applied for a role at a Ghanaian branch of an international company and flew back to Ghana for the interview and was again frustrated by the lack of a job description and the suitability of the role. He eventually got the job he has currently which he is enjoying and is enabling him to make the move to Ghana by providing him with skills and financial capital:

Whether it be six months, one year, a year and a half, it [the move] will definitely happen it's just about when and what opportunities will come out of it as well. I've thought about doing my own thing out there as well, which again I'm sort of

like researching and looking into as well. But again, it's about forming reliable partnerships with people.

It is very clear that Ghana has a central part in Kofi's future. At the time of the interview, he was single, and we discussed the role of romantic relationships and how that fits with his plans. His previous girlfriend was Ghanaian and when he eventually settles down he feels that ideally his partner will be Ghanaian allowing him to preserve his culture and pass it on to any children. The desire to maintain and pass on the Ghanaian culture is a theme that emerges in other narratives. Kofi would like to ideally meet someone who wants to relocate or is already there, but he would not let his desire to relocate impact on his choice of a partner, although he wishes to maintain a Ghanaian identity for the third generation:

... I'm a Ghanaian man and ideally I want my children to have that same culture and upbringing that I had so I'll probably end up settling down with a Ghanaian person for the sake of the culture because we're all second generation Ghanaians, somewhere down the line the culture started off like this and it's going end up like that, you know, and it's going to get a point where if we're not careful no one will be doing outdooring's²⁵, no one will be doing engagements, you hear what I'm saying? So, for me that perseverance is important because I suppose because of what my parents went through in terms of trying to bring us up the best way they knew how, what they tried to instil in us. I think, there is nothing wrong in dating outside of your race and family but for me, and it's always going to be a personal thing, I would like to maintain that culture within my family. And it just makes things that touch bit easier in terms how are you going to bring up your children, your ideas, your morals, your beliefs and stuff like that.

Interviewer: Would she have to be Ga?

Kofi: I'm open to a wider tribe.

Kofi's desire to preserve his culture to maintain traditions and a Ghanaian identity which is closer to what his parents had, is very strong throughout our conversation. His is a narrative of nostalgia – the desire to hold onto past traditions and ways of being that he sees as becoming lost among the second generation here in the UK. Perhaps

²⁵ An 'outdooring' is a customary practice where a new-born baby is named and formally introduced to the wider family and community.

the knowledge that if plans had gone the way they were intended he would never have grown up in the UK plays a part in his creation of identity – he was supposed to be in Ghana, that is where 'home' lies.

The subject of class supplied an interesting discussion with Kofi. He describes the categories of class – lower, middle and higher class which exists in the Ghanaian community in the UK but also noted where the second generation is today and when he speaks about the struggling 'us', it is not just the second generation he is referring to:

The reason being is that a lot of Ghanaians came here to get educated to improve themselves and the lives of their families here and back home. So I suppose us as second generations, have actually got to that stage where they can actually say alright cool we are kind of doing well for ourselves. We've all got, well not all of us (laughs), some of us have got decent jobs etc. But I think there are still of lot of (2 sec pause) lower class Ghanaians here as well, in the sense that there are still a lot of people struggling to make ends meet, struggling to provide for their family, doing two or three jobs at a time just to put food on the table or put a roof over their head.

He did not like using class labels or class identifiers and struggled to use the term 'middle-class' and at one point muttering it under his breath as if it was a swear word, pausing and sighing at the use of the term. He did articulate that there was indeed a Ghanaian middle class in operation in the UK. The discussion focused on the difference in middle-class lifestyles in the UK and in Ghana. In Ghana, your disposable income is able to do more for you, for example, have live-in childcare - if you are in the UK that may be a struggle because the cost of labour is so high:

Whereas here [sighs] being middle class [mutters under his breath] ...Middle class, you still need to go through those same struggles [as the working class], you may have a little bit more disposable income at the end of the day, but I don't think you're in the same position as people back home.

Whilst he did not give himself a specific label he did talk about himself in terms of somebody who was raised in a 'lower' class social bracket. He talks about his

aspirations when he was growing up in relation to particular types of companies that he saw were not somewhere he could work because he was Black:

I don't know, it's funny when I was growing up, I don't know if I said this the last time but I never actually thought that I could apply to work in an investment bank or Price Waterhouse or anything. I don't know why but it never crossed my mind at uni to apply for one of those companies and I don't know if that's come from seeing my parents struggle and thinking ok cool that's what the norm is or maybe because I thought that Black people can't get those sort of jobs. I must of had a viewpoint basically but fortunately an opportunity came along and I applied for [xx] and got the job. But initially when I finished uni I didn't want to look in that direction, at those sort of companies, so I'm assuming that basically lower class people might have that sort of mindset in the sense that they might not see opportunities for themselves or they might look at it from the point of view where I don't want to live like this, I want to get out of this, so I'm going to work hard to get to these sort of companies so I can progress.

The idea that certain types of people were excluded from certain professions and spaces because of race and class is made clear here. In his description, he not only shows how the working-class may feel that investment banking is not for 'people like them' but also see opportunities for people to be socially mobile, not bound to self-imposed constraints, but to succeed in moving into more privileged spaces.

Kofi clearly shows the role transnational relationships play in the transmission of cultural identity and he displays a very strong ethnic Ghanaian identity. He assumed his race was a barrier to entry into a particular work sphere. He overcame the barrier but then chooses to use his ethnicity and culture while in the workplace to assert his difference – e.g. the use of Ga in the workplace to ensure his colleagues cannot understand his personal phone calls. His only connection to a British identity for him is the education he had in this country and the passport that he holds. Ghana is and always will be the place he calls home.

Case study - Ama

The interview took place in an office at the UCL Institute of Education on a summer's evening. We found it easy to establish rapport and spoke for over an hour. We met after Ama had finished work for the day – she works within the hospitality industry and is 27 years old and married. She is happy to describe herself as Ghanaian in any context, whether she is in the UK or Ghana. Within the narrative, she explores her identity in contrast to other Ghanaians, British Caribbean's and other Black British identities. The themes of being isolated, an outsider and feeling different are very strong within her narrative. Also, in the course of the discussion, we explored her class views and values and Ama clearly has a middle-class identity.

Ama was born in an inner-city borough in West London and moved further west to a more affluent, but also very White, outer London borough, an area where she lived between the ages of four and nine. Her parents got divorced which led to another move to a slightly less affluent still but predominately White area. Ama is the youngest of three children from that marriage. Her father has three additional children from his second marriage. Ama and her sisters felt that after moving from the inner city, they were isolated from other Black people and in particular the Ghanaian community due to their location, but through her mother's engagement with the Fante association, they would attend events and get to interact with other Ghanaians families.

...I did find it hard sometimes because everyone knew who the Black family were in the town... we kind of got used to it, it was one of those tags which was attached to us, we kind of got used to it.... I remember being about five and feeling really uncomfortable in my skin, mainly because of the community that I was living in. I think my mum done a good job because when she first came to this country she joined a Fante association and she also went to a very well-known boarding school in Ghana and they have an association here as well, so she was part of those two associations so she had a lot of friends in the Ghanaian community, so when there was any functions or event she would take us there. So that was how I got to know or got in touch with the Ghanaian community. But after that if I had made friends, and a lot of the time they were in predominantly Black areas, and then we have to go back to (our town), that would be it, that would be the end of the contact.

Relationships with other Black people are highlighted throughout the discussion. Trying to form friendships and friendship groups proves difficult due to her location or due to perceived notions of Blackness as explored later in this case study. She contrasts her experience growing up in a predominantly White and middle-class area with that of her husband who is of Caribbean heritage, who grew up in the inner city and is from a working-class background:

...so, for example, my husband, he grew up in East London in a council estate, predominantly it was mixed, whereas I grew up in the outskirts of London in a four-bedroom house with a big garden.

The experience of growing up in a mainly White and middle-class area meant that Ama felt slightly uncomfortable when she went to more inner-city areas. The need to purchase Ghanaian foodstuffs meant that they had to go to markets and other areas in spaces that were in the inner-city with a high concentration of ethnic minorities and these areas were often very working class. Each area of London has a large market which caters to the ethnic minority residents e.g. Brixton market, Shepherd's Bush market and Ridley Road Market, Hackney.

Looking back I think I was just uncomfortable because I never, I was always in, I was always on the outskirts of London. If I was socialising, I had my friends or we'd play outside and that was that and every now and again - it wasn't a party - but just going out on to the street in the daylight and just travelling around and it was just like a new world to me. And when I try and explain that to some of my friends who were brought up in inner London, in a predominately mixed community, they don't quite understand. But I say see as if it was the opposite way, if you were to come to the outside of London, ok, you'll feel uncomfortable for slightly different reasons but I'd say can you understand that? That's the norm for me.

This discomfort was also because she was marked out as different by other children who were family friends. She was seen as 'posh' by them because of the way she spoke.

Whilst I was at primary school, the majority of my friends were White...when we went to family friends a lot of them would have children that were the same age group, and we'd get on fine but I noticed as I got older, I think going from about

10 onwards they started to say I sounded posh, they noticed a difference, that I was different so that was one thing.

In contrast to her primary and secondary school experience where she was surrounded by White students, at college there was a large Black population. In this space her class location and 'Blackness' was also challenged:

I just remember that there was one girl, I'll never forget, and she just kind of highlighted the fact that oh, you're really posh, oh you live all the way out there, what's it like? And I just remember trying to fit in, that was a time when I was trying fit in, so probably from the age of 15-16 to 17 I just really tried to fit in to what was Black. So then I started to have the Black friends.

Ama describes how she is 'Othered' based on an idea of what Black identity should be and is singled out because of a perceived 'posh' way of speaking and because she does not live amongst the local Black community. This links to my earlier discussion on the idea that Black equals working class (ideas discussed in the next chapter). She felt she needed to change herself in order to have friendships with other Black people in her surroundings. She changed how she dressed and wore her hair and the music that she listened to in order to be a part of the Black culture in the college.

Class differences are noted by Ama in relation to her husband and the perceptions his family have of her. She states that she and her husband have no problem with the difference and does not mention her family viewpoint on it but in the following excerpt points to some of the dialogue she has with his family:

My husband would class himself as working-class, from a working-class background and actually that was, when I first met him - it wasn't a problem, we haven't had an issue with that, or even where either of us are from - but I noticed it more with his family. So, his extended family, such as nieces, cos his oldest niece is kind of close in age, so nieces, I think they were actually surprised at me, I know that they thought I spoke posh, I wasn't from the area ... That I was going to university and I just wasn't in their circle, you know I just wasn't in their circle. I think it kind of in a way, they had their prejudgments of

me thinking that 'oh she probably thinks she better than us' but, I don't know, what am I trying to say?

In her quote, she is struggling to articulate the intersection of class and race. Her identity as a Black woman and as a Ghanaian woman has changed as she matured. Her marriage and desire for motherhood have had an impact on her views of culture and reflections on her own upbringing and educational journey. In total, she has been to Ghana four times – aged 3, 4, 11 and then at 18 – she is now 27. At 18 she went to Ghana without her parents. It was during that trip that she felt she became more aware of the Ghanaian community and her culture. She does not speak Fante and after this trip was spurred to learn. Her parents chose not to speak to her in the language, as they wanted her to 'fit in'. Ama had intended to start a course in Fante but did not feel she should pay what she felt were high fees when she could have received the tuition for free from her parents. She would like her future children to speak her language, so she feels she needs to learn as soon as possible in order to be able to pass on this knowledge. Ama also thinks about how her children will identify themselves. She wants to raise her future children in 'a Ghanaian way' and is particularly keen to ensure this culture is passed to the children as her husband is not from Ghana. To understand what Ama means when she talks about 'raising her children in a Ghanaian way' she provided a deeper insight by examining the role of education and discipline in her household in comparison to her husband's background. Again, the different intersections of class and race are explored.

I think a lot of it has to do with values and mentality, because I'm just thinking my daily routine may not differ to someone who was from a Caribbean community or someone from the European culture but ... for example my husband he's Dominican, from the Caribbean, and I don't understand how, not that I don't understand, out of all the brothers and sisters, and there's eight of them, one made it halfway through university and that was it. But their parents didn't encourage them in terms of education, I can't understand that - how and why, didn't they check up? And this, that and the other, but to them it wasn't, well in my eyes it didn't seem to be one of their priorities...I would say that there are certain values which I feel the Ghanaian community see it as landmarks. So what jobs their children are doing for when they're [the parents] going to talk to whoever in the community, they can say that they're this that and the other

and they're doing this.... It's about enhancing the individual, it's about pride as well.

Whilst Ama resented her parents 'need to check and assess what she was doing at school, she feels her husband's family did not push their children to succeed. Also noted here is a demonstration of obligation towards parents and pride – the success of the child is something that parents want to talk about and show pride in, so what you are doing is not just for yourself but also for your parents. The Ghanaian values which are expounded here are the ones linked to educational success, of course, this is not a value peculiar to those with Ghanaian heritage (see Rollock et al., 2015).

As her husband is not from Ghana she is having to introduce him to different aspects of her culture. At the time of the interview, her husband had not visited Ghana and she hoped to be able to take him to visit. In her home, she cooks a mixture of Ghanaian and Caribbean food as she wants her husband to try it so when they have children she wants to feel 'comfortable' that she can give that sort of food to her children. This desire to feel 'comfortable' was marked out by the fact that certain ingredients had strong smells and flavours and she did not want her husband to have a negative view of that food so she could cook it freely and feed any children they had with the food she grew up with. She does not cook Ghanaian dishes as often as she would like but she has noticed that as she has gotten older she questions herself more on why this is. I asked whether she felt more strongly about wanting this Ghanaian space in her home as she contemplated becoming a parent and she agreed that this was definitely the reason.

Also, her views on her home and space are traditionally gendered – on getting married, Ama reassessed herself in terms of her ideas of what a Ghanaian woman should be and also looked to what her mother did in the household:

And then when we got married, I think it's also probably my views of what a married woman is and probably what a Ghanaian African woman is as well and also seeing what my mum done in the household. So, for example, cooking - the kitchen is mine, the bathroom is mine, if you want to cook I'll be around but you're using too many of my utensils and you don't wash it up straight away - I like to do it my way. But I would serve my husband, and whereas he finds it, he's like 'you

don't need to do that, I can pick it up myself' and I'm just like, but I've got ingrained in me that 'oh no you serve your husband'.

She talked about other cultural 'norms' that she had inherited from her parents besides serving her husband. She talked about greeting people and when you enter a room you start from the right and you go around to the left. She does this even in non-Ghanaian circumstances as for her, it is how you show respect.

She chooses not to engage with Ghanaian societies or organisations as when she was 'going through her phase of finding herself' she found them to be disorganised or she felt that she did not fit in, as the members of the groups knew each other from boarding school in Ghana and she felt that she could not relate to them. This was also linked to some people commenting on her inability to speak Fante.

Or they could speak the language and I couldn't and then for some people that's an issue.... I don't know but I just felt like I'd rather be comfortable with people regardless of where they're from rather than nit-picking on well you can't do that or you don't do this so you can't be a true Ghanaian. I just thought I'm not into that so I just left it.

The idea of authenticity is again present – even though Ama chooses to assert a Ghanaian identity, her right to assert that identity is challenged by other Ghanaians; she is understood as lacking authenticity. As noted above, Kofi discussed the role of language in his interview and how his ability to speak Ga enabled him to gain acceptance.

She described how her identity was constructed by others. Her Ghanaian identity was challenged in Ghana and her enactment of everyday tasks, for example eating and speaking, was deemed by other Ghanaians as not embodying an authentic identity. However, for her, embracing an English identity meant distancing herself from what she felt was her culture:

I'll start with, from my experience how when I've been in Ghana, how people see people being English, so that will be the way I walk, how fast I talk. I remember my cousin commenting on how I ate fufu, cos she said it's like I was scooping it like a spoon, making that assumption like... We don't eat as they would do, certain foods we wouldn't eat as the same as them, I don't eat fufu with a spoon! From my

experience, everything was done properly, everything was there for you, you didn't have to work hard, it was about money, fast, fast pace. And for me being English, for me it's just living the English way, just being perhaps detached from your culture. In a sense that...maybe I don't know, I'll have to think about that one.

When considering British or English identity, she would describe herself as British but not English, however sees the source of her identity as to where her parents are from rather than where she lives or the way she lives. For her, Britishness is more your lifestyle – the daily activities that you engage with not your heritage and background.

Ama finds herself in a position where she feels she has to justify aspects of her identity, but in Ghanaian spaces (in the UK and in Ghana itself) she feels she does not fit into a narrative of what a 'Ghanaian' should be. She was left feeling isolated from both spaces as her right to assert an English identity was also denied to her in England, due to her race. Her experience of being always asked where she was from left her feeling like an outsider as the question itself assumed she was from elsewhere. She felt left in the middle and not belonging neither in Ghana nor in the UK.

Ama clearly inhabits a 'third space' as she does not really 'fit' in the two main spaces that she sees that exist for her. She asserts her version of a Ghanaian identity in her safe home space and I would argue that her identity is constructed from observing the first generation, being seen as the 'other' in both the UK and Ghana *and* the notion of being in between spaces. Feeling rejected by those with whom she sought affinity has meant she does not have a sense of truly belonging in many spaces, her 'safe' home space is one of the few exceptions. However, that does not stop her thinking about maintaining or developing a relationship with Ghana and she has contemplated retirement there.

She discussed her sister's experience of moving to and living in Ghana. Ama sees her sister as isolated and dependent on her husband because of a lack of social networks. These reasons make her think about staying where she is, she also has to think about her husband and whilst she feels he would love Ghana, she does not wish to retire to Dominica:

It's something that I have to think about because he's always been like 'oh we could have two properties, one in Dominica and one in Ghana' I've been like 'yeah, yeah

we can' but I can't see myself retiring in Dominica because I just feel that if I'm going to retire to any country it should be Ghana. But then it's the whole thing of then would I be happy? Or would I be doing a similar thing to my mum where she'll stay for a couple of months and then come back to England, but then I just think I can't stay here in England and retire as I've seen how they treat the people.²⁶ So, I don't know it's one of those things I'll have to weigh closer to the time. For now I'll say no... think a lot of things would frustrate me. I think in terms of work, how they work in the office, just protocols. My sister at the moment she works with the family business, and just simple things like internet access. I don't know, I think I'm too Westernised sometimes. She's just talking about power cuts you know for three days, and probably when I'm out, when I've been out there it's happened and you've kind of just got on with it. But I don't know, I think certain things will just frustrate me and I'll think it's 'oh just too slow for me, I want a faster pace', I don't know.

I asked her whether she would consider living in Dominica as she does not want to live in Ghana. She felt that it 'was too small for her' and that 'people were in her business'. Many aspects of it reminded her of Ghana and she did not see it as a suitable replacement for Ghana.

Education played a key role in Ama's narrative. Both parents came to the UK in the 1970s for education. Whilst she obtained her degree, she seems to resent the pressure put on her by her parents. Her mother's job in a secondary school gave her information about the education system but Ama felt she was under closer scrutiny from her mother because of the role her mother held. Ama's parents perceived education as a way to be socially mobile. Taking a linear education path - GCSEs to degree - was also seen as the only way that success could be achieved. Ama describes her journey in education as, 'going through the motions' and 'toeing the line' (education is explored in detail in *Chapter 8*).

Whilst Ama increasingly asserts a Ghanaian identity she differs from Kofi in the degree to which this identity is manifested. She feels set apart from peers and aspects of the

²⁶ This comment was in reference how she viewed the elderly were treated in the UK which she saw as neglectful and left in care homes.

culture, whereas Kofi has fully immersed himself in it and his ability to speak a Ghanaian language may have made that journey easier.

Conclusion

These narratives show the complexity of the construction of identity for my participants. Their stories have shown how class, race, ethnicity, nation and 'homeland' are intertwined and how my participants make sense of them. They both asserted a Ghanaian identity, but in very different ways, and how they were constructed by *others* played a part in how the identity manifested within themselves. The participants make identity sound fixed and essentialist e.g. English or Ghanaian – 'a Ghanaian identity'. However, identity, as I have argued throughout the thesis, is more fluid than a label suggests.

The next chapters feature the themes which have emerged from my study. I begin by focusing on racism, addressing how it shaped and impacted the lives of my participants.

Chapter 6 – Racism

Introduction

This chapter provides a discussion of the development of the different forms of racism - from the overt racism in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s to the ideas of microaggression, White supremacy and White privilege found today and their impact on my participants.

In this chapter I argue that the racism experienced and witnessed by my participants growing up has a profound effect on the creation of identity and feeling of 'belonging'. Racism in all its forms can be found in the examples given by my participants. The damage of physical and verbal attacks is documented by them. In addition, the role of microaggressions has impacted on my participants as adults, again affecting their interactions and engagement with their natal country.

The participants in this study are British-born but the visible difference of the second generation leads them to be considered as the 'other'. The experiences they have which relate to the colour of their skin and ethnic identity, are involved in the shaping and defining of their identities. The participants in this study became adults in a post-Macpherson enquiry Britain (after 1999). Their parents were the post-war immigrant groups from the New Commonwealth who faced open racism and discrimination relating to housing, at work, in public and in many spheres of their daily life.

How those post-war immigrants were received and viewed has a bearing on their lives and that of the subsequent generation. The negative experience of these particular post-war migrants and their descendants is directly related to their visible difference (Miles, 1989, Skellington and Morris, 1992). These experiences can have a bearing on a sense of self, movement, and strategies used in settlement e.g. creation of community associations/groups.

I begin by discussing the experience of the participants and address their early childhood and formative years, examining the ways in which their local environment and the media context of the time shaped their views and identity. There is also discussion here on how incidents which affected their parents had an impact on their identity formation. The chapter also explores what tools they are given by their parents, and develop themselves, to manage sometimes violent situations.

I discuss the concepts of White privilege, define microaggressions and explore the idea of 'everyday racism' (Essed, 1991). The role of privilege, stereotypes and microaggressions is also demonstrated by the data and the impact on the individuals is documented and examined here. The labels used to denote their individual identity - British, British-Ghanaian - are also discussed in this chapter.

Growing up

Like their parents, the second generation experience discrimination and racism due to their visible difference. As noted in *Chapter 3 – Theoretical concepts*, Fryer (1984) described the second generation as 'born at a disadvantage'. His work on the Asian and Caribbean second generation highlighted the levels of discrimination that they experience. The 1970s saw right-wing groups such as the National Front, actively targeting people of colour in the streets, and the 1980s saw riots in Tottenham and Brixton, London and Toxteth, Liverpool – areas with large numbers of ethnic minority communities. Later studies, such as Back's (1996a) research into youth experiences of racism and multiculturalism, found the Caribbean second generation still dealing with racism and struggling with notions of Black and British identities. The 1990s had one of the highest profile racist murders, the death of Stephen Lawrence, which led to the Macpherson enquiry into institutional racism. As Potter and Phillips (2006), Reynolds (2008) and Vincent et al (2013) have also argued, discrimination is still a factor for the visibly Black second generation. This snapshot highlights the issues in the UK as the participants grew into adulthood.

As noted in the literature review, my participants experienced their early childhood in the 1970s and 1980s in London. This was a time of change and the emergence of multi-racial London, a time which also saw the rise of the National Front (NF) and extremist movements alongside new legislation, riots, and protests for equality.

In many of the stories recounted by the participants, there was a moment when they realised that they had a specific ethnic and/ or racial identity. There was a moment they realised people may not like them because of the colour of their skin and moments when they expressed or engaged with a Ghanaian identity (which is explored in greater detail in *Chapter 9*). For some, these moments happened when they were very young - within the primary school setting, and for others, they did not experience issues relating to racism and identity until they were much older. The experiences recounted ranged

from dealing with members of the National Front, verbal and physical abuse in the street, to much more subtle issues experienced in education and elsewhere. For example, Ekow says 'In primary school, back in the 70s, I remember being followed home by obroni [Twi for White/foreign people] youths, Caucasian youths, I remember stuff like that...' (Ekow, 29)²⁷.

Ekow felt that in some ways his Catholic primary school shielded him from a large amount of racism but on reflection, he also realised he was under more scrutiny than most other children in the school. There was one other Black boy in his class and another one in the year below, he was very visible in the school. During the interview, he reflected on an experience he had in primary school. He had been taken to the headteacher's office because he had been seen in a part of the school that was not out of bounds but he was questioned about why he was there. He had simply lost a pen and went to retrieve it from bushes. Other children had used the space without reprimand but his presence there meant he was taken to the headteacher's office. He believes now that he was singled out because of his race.

The racial 'coming of age' - a point where the participants experienced a heightened awareness of race and ethnicity and how it mattered to others and themselves, seemed to mainly begin around the secondary school years. For many in the early years of schooling, like Ekow stated, they found themselves more protected and perhaps unaware of racial issues. As they moved into middle and secondary school and started fully exploring and developing their identities, this is when many of the participants encountered racism, stereotyping and for those that developed 'thick' Ghanaian identities, this is when it began:

Middle school, er that's when you notice about racism more actually. Primary school is lovely, rosy, friends, everyone's friends and then you go to middle school and you realise there is a White/ Black thing and in Mitcham, there was a prominence of the NF at that time. I am actually probably quite lucky that I am a girl because if I was a boy there would have been issues about being beaten up quite regularly, or people threatening to beat you up. ...We came from different primary schools to meet at the middle school and that's when I realised

²⁷ Numbers next to respondent names refers to their age.

about different types of people! ...Generally, that's when you realise that hatred or dislike because of colour.

(Tracey, 36)

Tracey lived in an area in South London in the 1980s which was predominately White. There was a mix of other ethnicities including traveller communities living nearby. The National Front (NF) had a prominent presence in the area and she witnessed verbal and physical abuse which was mostly gendered, as it was aimed at local Black boys.

I've watched many a fight between a Black boy and a White boy. I've been called the 'N' word and a Paki - which I found quite funny as I clearly am not (laughs), by the boys that were your age and their bigger brothers were definitely active members of the NF...It wasn't anything to do with whether you were African or Caribbean it was Black, that was probably when I came to know, what's that comedian? He did that stupid accent? Jim, Jim Davidson, that's what the boys used to do, they used to do this silly accent. But like I said, being a girl, they would say 'but you're alright'.

(Tracey, 36)

Tracey highlights the racism easily found in the popular culture of the time in the guise of the comedian on television who parodied Caribbean accents. There were not many Black people on television at the time but negative and racist depictions of Black people could readily be found on the nation's screens. There was also a highly gendered difference in the likelihood of being on the receiving end of racist violence. As there was not a large Black community in the area Tracey describes, irrespective of their family origins, they were all exposed to the racism and prejudice in their local community.

Kofi A, 29, went to a private secondary school on a scholarship scheme and was one of the few Black pupils in the school. During his school years he felt that he had to defend being Black, as Black people were commonly portrayed as involved in street crime in the media and his peers saw Black people in that light:

Do you remember during the 1990s when Paul Condon²⁸ was talking about Black-on-Black crime and muggings? That period I remember often debating race, people saying things like 'I used to think all Black people were muggers but you're all right' (laughs) that was the level of ignorance, and having to defend the notion that you have any kind of, I don't know, intellect or contribution to civilisation as a Black person – I used to read a lot around that, trying to educate myself about Black civilisation as a result of that.

(Kofi.A, 29)

Both Tracey and Kofi.A illustrate the impact that racist depictions and comments in the media had on their lives. This is also echoed in conversations about African identity and how negative images and depictions of Africans led some participants to want to strengthen their African identity. The role of the media in helping the participants to construct, or fight against a particular identity, is important. Sally mentioned the role of the Internet in changing perceptions of Africans. In our discussion, Sally voiced her views about the perceptions of Africa and Africans and concluded that being African is understood more positively these days and there are fewer negative images in the media. She felt that these changes had happened from the 1990s and related this to seeing Africans in TV roles and gave the example of the character of Matthew in Desmond's. One of the ways the change in imagery has occurred is that African people are more likely to protest overtly negative images. The role of the media was a thread which ran through the conversation. Sally felt that the changing media available have contributed to positive image building and Africans have used these spaces to promote positive images. Moving forward to the present day, social media is being used by campaigns such as *Black Lives Matter*²⁹ to push forward agendas and open up new discussions on race, prejudice and inequality.

Kofi.A felt the need to defend Black people to his peers, and Ekow mentioned being shielded from some racism by his school. A discussion with Kojo, 37 explored the role of sports in school and being stereotyped:

Well, it's quite bizarre because I was always good at sport, so in a way, sport gives you a certain insulation from one type of racism. Now if you're a Black guy

²⁸ Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police from 1993 to 2000, now Baron Condon.

²⁹ See Epilogue for discussion on race and racism today.

and you're good at sport, at that point during the 80s it was either football, boxing or athletics, that was the expectation. As I became aware of sports influence on so-called 'Black culture' I realised that whilst I could focus on sports it might not be the best thing for me to do in terms of what - a self-awareness issue. So I thought I'd rather actually be a Black guy and have other options than simply focus on sports. Because there will always be Black guys who are good at sports and all that.

(Kojo, 37)

Kojo expressed the idea that Black boys in the school were stereotyped and that sports were seen as a good place for them to be. If Black students showed promise in sports they were pushed in that direction rather than pushed in an academic route by the school – irrespective of whether they had the ability to pursue other options. He decided not to pursue sports. He expressed that he saw it as a form of colonialism and limiting the opportunities for Black students:

But for me that's a different sort of racism, because instead of maybe focusing on the fact that you could academically achieve if you tried that little bit harder than focusing on what you should be good at. And it's the old paternalism, colonial paternalism. 'We don't want you here but you lot are better at that so you carry on over there.'

(Kojo, 37)

Yaw, 35, echoes some of the issues Kojo discusses regarding their school's level of expectation of them and the effect of prejudice and racism by his teachers:

If anything, it would be from the teachers, I know that sounds messed up but that's the truth. As I said some teachers had an agenda. Some teachers had preconceived notions about the kids and were acting it out everyday... You have to help them gain discipline not just turn them away. There were plenty of racist teachers there, I mean, I won't say his name but our economics teacher he was racist. He was from Blackburn, he had that Blackburn type of accent. He was racist! He was racist, he would treat the Black kids in a more-harsher way than he would our counterparts or whatever or kids who were White he would obviously treat different. And teachers got authority over the kids so you can more or less act how you want... We even had a Black teacher who was racist towards Black

kids!...Teachers weren't demons but they have their demon moments.

(Yaw, 35)

In the previous example, Yaw was discussing a local comprehensive school in the inner-city which experienced constant changes of staff and being run by supply teachers. The school had a multicultural population and multicultural staff. It was his perception that Black students were treated differently, and he felt that this treatment was evident to the wider school body but the school as an institution did not address these issues.

Kwadwo, 31, was sent to a grammar school out of his area by his parents who were a doctor and nurse. The area he lived in was close to two estates, one of which had residents with National Front leanings, and he experienced racial abuse – both verbal and physical (being spat upon) whilst growing up in the area. Black children were in the minority but in his middle school, there was a good proportion of Ghanaian children. He experienced racism at primary school and in his local area whilst out playing with friends. He described how he first encountered racism at a young age:

...So primary school you'll get called certain names and you don't have an understanding of why you're being called those names until you go home and I'd speak to my brother and I could speak to my mum about these things as well. So then they'd tell me, so basically pretty much whenever I realised that somebody was calling me something that wasn't good it would probably turn into a fight. So, I don't want to say that's how kids should settle things but that's how kids *do* settle things. So, I was called all the kinds of racist names and then I'd just pretty much beat people up! I wasn't an aggressive kid or things like that I just knew how to defend myself.

(Kwadwo, 31)

Kwadwo noted that he could also speak to his mother about what was happening in primary school, she gave him the following advice:

My mum would just say to me (putting on a Ghanaian accent) "if this kid picks on you then you make sure they learn they better not". So, she'd say if they push you once or whatever just ignore it, if they push you twice you warn them, if they push you three times then you sort it out. So ok mum, I listened to that and that's

pretty much what I applied.

(Kwadwo, 31)

As he grew, name calling and playground fights evolved. These incidents took place in a White working class area. He changed schools and spent more time in a more middle class area and encountered racism in that space. However, he notes the difference in how racism is expressed by the White middle-class:

What I realised is well-bred White people would never spit in your face or call you the bad words but they just have a view of you that you are not the same and you are not supposed to achieve what they achieve.

(Kwadwo, 31)

His experience with teachers had been positive in both primary and middle school but this changed when he started senior school. He recounts a specific incident below:

... my economics teacher, she'd give the homework or a test, anything which she'd mark she'd always mark it - how do I put this? Let's say you do a test and the scores out of 30 and you get 28 out of 30 or something like that, she'll always add it up wrong. So I'd get the paper back, it's got ticks on all the things, so there's only two incorrect answers but then she'd add the total up to 23 out of 30. And it was happening every week! ... and I was like I'm confused either this woman can't add or (laughs). I'm confused, so I go up to her and say 'ah Miss sorry I think you've added my marks wrong' and she'd go 'oh ok' grudgingly change the thing and give it back to me. But I had to do this week in, so I was, so like one day. Actually, I didn't do anything, I kept being the humble Ghanaian guy and correcting this error and one day she just flipped out. She just went 'listen, I don't care, I will never give you an A, I don't care what your score is, I'll never give you an A' that's what she said to me. Again, the rage, the same rage, from when that boy spat in my face and I was tempted to pick up a chair or do something silly. I walked out and went to see my form tutor, who I got on well with, and she was a very nice lady and she obviously pretended to be very understanding about it and nothing changed and that was enough for me to realise that this is something different here.

(Kwadwo, 31)

Racism for these participants happened in schools and in their journeys to and from school and whilst at play. There is no doubt that these incidences had an impact on the

lives of the participants and shaped their experiences of the education system in this country.

The first generation and racism

... I remember my mum being called the 'N' word in the street by some girls.

(Ekow, 39)

As discussed, the respondents are children of migrants, who migrated primarily in the 1960s and 1970s. This was a time of great change in the UK in regard to migrants from the Commonwealth and race relations. The flow of Ghanaian migrants began in earnest in the 1960s and continued through until the late 1980s. For those that came in the 1960s very direct and obvious discrimination existed. Their parents experienced racism and discrimination, which in some cases was witnessed by their children.

Ashantewaa, 27 saw her mother attacked in the street – shot in the leg with a pellet gun whilst pregnant and on her way to a bus stop. The police recorded it as a racially aggravated assault. They lived in a White working class area in South-East London, she was sent to primary school outside of the area and later the family moved to a more middle-class area. When discussing the incident, she talks about it in terms of race and class - her house was in between two poorer White families who actively disliked the family and would be racist in their engagement with them. Ashantewaa's family owned their house, whilst the other houses on either side were council properties. They were the only Black people on the street. The area itself had many racists living there – 'We were called racist names and had eggs thrown at our house...' (Ashantewaa, 27).

They lived in the area for nine years enduring racist abuse. Ashantewaa focuses not just on their racist behaviour but also on the class status of the racists. Her family had moved from a council estate outside of the area and this was their first step into home ownership. In the dialogue with Ashantewaa, there is a clear juxtaposition of White working-class and poor and the professional Black middle-class family in her narrative – their race and class make them a target. She also felt there was a degree of jealousy as they owned their home.

Kwadwo, 31, had similar experiences with the NF to Tracey – whilst he lived in a house in a part of the area, he had friends who lived in council estates where there was much more racism, and he recalls an assault he experienced as a child:

I remember this guy spat in my face and I think that was the first time I ever lost my temper as a kid. I just went mad as I never had that happen. I'd been called names and everything like that but being spat on was a different league...I think that's the first time I actually was angry.

(Kwadwo, 31)

Ekow, 39, quoted earlier, was raised in a middle-class family and his father had been a university lecturer, his mother variously, a stay-at-home mum and a secretary. Ekow's mother did not let the verbal abuse she experienced go unpunished - she slapped the girl who verbally assaulted her in the street in front of her child. At age 10, Ekow was moved to Ghana and returned to finish his university education in the UK. His father moved the family from the UK due to prejudice experienced in the labour market, a physical attack by the police and feeling of not being 'respected' in the UK.

He was used to being well, I suppose relatively well respected in Ghana and where he was living here he was made to feel like a second-class citizen, I guess in those days in the 70s he did as a Black person. It wasn't him, there was no subtlety about it. And I think he had an incident with the police as well, I think he was driving, I can't remember the full incident...they arrested him and it got very physical as well. So, it was incidents like that – he was very keen to leave this country.

(Ekow, 39)

These incidents will, of course, have an impact on the children. Whilst those noted here were extreme instances, parents mostly dealt with issues relating to race and racism by focusing on the mobility offered through education and access to high-status labour market positions. They used their skills and resources to enable them to move away from overt (White working-class) prejudice. Ekow went to Ghana and Ashantewaa to a middle class area where her younger brother was sent to private school.

Herbert et al (2008) note how the participants in his study have to 'swallow' the discrimination and/or insults they receive as they are focused on earning money to achieve their goals. In my study, when participants spoke about racism in relation to their parents, the strategies their parents offered for survival was to be better than their White counterparts. Only in one instance did the participant's mother recommend physically retaliating against racist bullies, but the instilling of the notion of working harder and being more successful than White counterparts was echoed in several interviews. Parents told the children that they expected them to work twice as hard (these issues are explored in more detail in *Chapter 8 - Education*).

The idea of having to 'work twice as hard, if not harder, than their white counterparts' is also noted in Rollock et al (2015) study on the Black Caribbean middle-class.

To be Black, in this context, is to recognise early on that there is no level playing field, opportunities are not equal. Our respondents must be alert. They must be ready to respond and to protect themselves from the constant threat of racism.

(Rollock et al., 2015:145)

The incidents mentioned by Ekow and Ashantewaa, highlight aspects of race, class and gender. They both occurred in poor White working class areas and happened in the 1970s and 1980s. They represent the extremes of racism and also touch on some of the issues relating to feelings of belonging, class status and identity by emphasising the children's feelings of exclusion and not belonging.

However, as addressed in *Chapter 2*, looking at the literature of racism, the nature of racism is not just derived from a few individuals. It is about the system of oppression that exists which privileges some over others.

White privilege, supremacy and microaggressions

The concepts of White privilege and White supremacy are being debated in several spaces currently in the academic and non-academic world. Sue provides the following description of White privilege:

White privilege is the unearned advantages and benefits that accrue to White folks by virtue of a system formed on the experiences, values, and perceptions of their group. White privilege automatically confers dominance to one group, while subordinating groups of color in a descending relational hierarchy; it owes its existence to White supremacy; it is premised on the mistaken notion of individual meritocracy and deservedness (hard work, family values, and the like) rather than favoritism; it is deeply embedded in the structural, systemic, and cultural workings of U.S. society; and it operates within an invisible veil of unspoken and protected secrecy.

(Sue, 2003:137)

Whilst Sue is writing from a US perspective, the analysis is relevant to the UK. As Andrews (2015) expresses, the systems in place in the UK enables racial inequality in every sphere – employment, health and the criminal justice systems are some of the institutions highlighted. It is inequality that creates disadvantage:

If we stopped measuring racism in attitude surveys and legislative change we would realise the real test is to analyse the disadvantages faced by ethnic minority communities. This is a test that Britain is hopelessly failing.

(Andrews, 2015)

Eddo-Lodge tackles structural racism in the UK in her book *Why I'm No Longer Talking To White People About Race* which is based on a blog with the same title. The book details racism in the UK and highlights the issues of White supremacy and White superiority in operation today (Eddo-Lodge, 2017). The advantages given to one race over another, are often not noticed by the White majority and are seen as just the way things are.

The term 'White Supremacy' has been used to highlight the extremist and violent White racists such as the Ku Klux Klan, Combat 18 and the National Front. Sue also discusses the role of White supremacy describing it as ' a doctrine of racial superiority that justifies discrimination, segregation, and domination of persons of color based on an ideology and belief system that considers all non-White groups racially inferior'... (Sue, 2003:140). However, Gillborn argues for an alternative meaning to be adopted in

the UK, and that is the all-prevailing dominance of White people in society which is, as Gillborn has stated, 'normalized and taken for granted' (Gillborn, 2005:486):

Critical work on race in the US has moved beyond the 'common-sense' superficial readings of White supremacy as solely the preserve of obviously extreme racialized politics. Some scholars have penetrated even further the façade of contemporary politics, to argue that mainstream political parties, and the functioning of agencies like the education system itself, are actively implicated in maintaining and extending the grip that White people have on the major sources of power in 'Western' capitalist societies. [By] 'White supremacy' I do not mean to allude only to the self-conscious racism of White supremacist hate groups. I refer instead to a political, economic, and cultural system in which Whites overwhelmingly control power and material resources, conscious and unconscious ideas of White superiority and entitlement are widespread, and relations of White dominance and non-White subordination are daily re-enacted across a broad array of institutions and social settings.

(Ansley, 1997:592 cited in (Gillborn, 2005:491)

Gillborn's paper speaks to the ways in which power and inequality are at the heart of the notion of White supremacy. The fact that many White actors are unaware of their role is also brought to the fore in his work.

Members of White groups who are poor and/or disenfranchised often do not see how they are privileged and Wenger (2013) addresses this as part of his memoir on his racial journey and being part of an interracial marriage. Wenger comments on the economic struggle that is felt by many White Americans noting that:

To talk about white privilege under these conditions yields an ironic laugh at best and an angry diatribe at worst. And yet, even with these burdens, I can drive any car that I can afford and not worry about being stopped by the police. I can stop to ask directions of a police officer without concern about the officer's possible reaction. I can read about racial incidents in the newspaper almost every day and not wonder whether it will happen to me. I can make a fool of myself or simply be silent at a meeting without worrying that others will think my performance is reflective of all white people. Within the limits of my budget,

I can travel and eat wherever I want without attracting attention. Sociologist Joe Feagin speaks of the innate confidence of being white in a white world.

(Wenger, 2013)

Wenger manages to show in one paragraph how White privilege is enacted on a daily basis and irrespective of the economic space that person occupies, they are still afforded privileges that other citizens do not have.

Gillborn also engages in the critique of White liberals, who as a group are highlighted by bell hooks, as failing to understand how their power and privilege impacts on others.

One of the most powerful and dangerous aspects of Whiteness is that many (possibly the majority) of White people have no awareness of Whiteness as a construction, let alone their own role in sustaining and playing out the inequities at the heart of Whiteness.

(Gillborn, 2005:490)

What this can mean is that issues relating to race and racism are seen as a problem for the people at the receiving end. Kwadwo, 31, addresses the area of belonging and public spaces. During our discussion on identity Kwadwo describes a time when he was challenged on his choice of identity by White English work colleagues:

My first job after uni... I got on really well with these guys, and the funny thing is I never really liked going into pubs, and there would always be like 'come to the pub, come to the pub' I'd fob it off a lot of times and then you go and have the occasional drink. Then one time, it was probably the first afternoon I spent a long time with them having a drink, and one guy said 'xx you're such a good laugh we like spending time with you, we all really rate you but it's such a pain trying to get you to come to the pub' And I said, to be honest, I don't really like pubs, to be honest, it's only since I started work with you guys I've been to the pub I never really went to the pub before... And he asked me what is your problem with pubs and I said, to be honest, I don't feel that comfortable in them. And he was like 'why, why, he kept pushing and pushing it so I said, to be honest, I don't think any Black people feel that comfortable in pubs ... To be honest when I left I wondered whether these guys want to work with me again, but it was all fine. It turned into a big old heave Ho because they were like 'what

kind of nonsense is that?' That's the reason I got annoyed because they were trying to tell me that was the most ridiculous thing they've ever heard - Black people don't feel comfortable in pubs. They were like 'that's the most stupid thing I've ever heard, I've got a mate that I went to uni with who is comfortable in pubs'... I was like' one mate, great, that's good for you' and they were like 'loads of Black people go to pubs'... I've grown up with a hell of a lot of Black people and I don't have any that go to pubs. So you can take your word or you can take mine but I take mine more seriously because let's not forget I am Black!

(Kwadwo, 31)

His colleagues denied his experience and invalidated his discomfort, seeing it as 'nonsense'. This exchange clearly highlights the role of the micro-validation in the discourse of racism.

The system protects unfair individual acts of racial dominance by denying their race-related meanings and offering alternative explanations of reality grounded in a White Euro-American perspective.

(Sue, 2003:139)

The experience of Kwadwo's colleagues was to them the more relevant experience and because they knew of another Black person who did not feel the level of discomfort in the pub that Kwadwo had expressed, they discounted his feelings and experiences.

The term 'microaggressions' was first put forward by a Black psychiatrist called Chester Pierce in 1970 (Wong et al., 2014), his work was later picked up by Sue. Sue defines microaggressions in this way:

Racial microaggressions are brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative slights and insults toward people of color. Perpetrators of microaggressions are often unaware that they engage in such communications when they interact with racial/ethnic minorities.

(Sue et al., 2007:1)

Sue et al., further developed this theory based on the work that had taken place in the 1970s. They put forward the idea of three types of microaggression:

Microassault – overt racism - whereby you may be verbally assaulted³⁰ or deliberately ignored and, for example, White people served before you in a restaurant.

Microinsult – These are 'subtle snubs' – for example someone expressing surprise at someone being given a particular role in an organisation.

Microinvalidations – these are 'characterized by communications that exclude, negate, or nullify the psychological thoughts, feelings, or experiential reality of a person of color' (Sue et al., 2007:274-5).

One of the examples that are given is when a person of colour is asked 'where are you from?' This question implies they can't really be British or American because they are visibly different. Other examples include the Black man trying to hail a taxi on a New York street and having several of them drive-by; being followed around the store or ignored in a restaurant; the third generation Asian American being complimented on her English.

Following the work published by Sue, there have been a plethora of studies into the role of microaggressions in the field of psychology. Wong et al (2014) reviewed the literature in psychology to provide a comprehensive overview. Their review acknowledged that microaggressions are indeed a 'psychological construct that highly reflects the lived realities of many racial minority individuals' (Wong et al., 2014:183) and microaggressions do have an impact on people of colour. However, the main critique of the theory is that there has been very little longitudinal work conducted and many of the studies had taken place within the universities with students as subjects. To understand the long-term nature of microaggressions on the health, both physical and mental, of the people who are subjected to these issues on a daily basis, studies need to be conducted outside of education. In the field of sociology, Rollock (2012) has highlighted the insidious nature of microaggressions and the impact on the recipient and also notes the lack of research conducted in the UK on microaggressions.

There has also been less work on microaggressions done in the sociological field as noted by Fleras in his paper on racism 3.0 – which highlighted microaggressions as the

³⁰ In British law in 2017 this would count as a hate crime.

new evolution of racism. Fleras situates microaggressions 'within the framework of everyday racism ('words matter')' and looks at 'the possibility of reframing racism from a type of condition to a claims making process' this reframing changes how racism is viewed and changes the discourse. (Fleras, 2016:3)

Fleras' paper explores the changes from open and direct racism which he terms as 1.0, indirect route racism, 2.0, racism 3.0 – 'racism 3.0 builds on – yet moves positively beyond – the pioneering work of Philomena Essed and the concept of everyday racism'. (Fleras, 2016:4). Essed's work on 'everyday racism' focuses on the events that happen daily that is part of the *societal* structure. It is the instances that happen day-to-day that violate the rights and take away the dignity of the minority concerned. 'It links the ideological dimensions of racism with daily attitudes and interprets the reproduction of racism in terms of the experience of it in everyday life.' (Essed, 1991:2)

To explore this concept further 'everyday racism' is about how everyday words and acts are normalised into the daily routines of individuals 'through incorporation into daily interactions (from name calling to racist jokes to avoidance of close contact) in ways that reinforce the powers of privilege (Barnes 2000) cited in (Fleras, 2016:4)

Racism 1.0 and 2.0 are about how others treat persons of colour. Racism 3.0 is according to Fleras is '...about re-centring the lived-experiences of racialized minorities by re-positioning the discursive politics of *who decides what counts as racism, what racisms count.*'(Fleras, 2016:3). For Fleras, Racism 3.0 enables the privileging of a racialized voice, so they get to choose what does count as racism.

Much of the feedback received from participants fits into the realm of microaggressions – the subtle, and sometimes not so subtle, racism that they have experienced growing up in London is discussed in the following sections.

Microaggression, everyday racism and the second-generation

Some of the racism experienced as part of the every day is highlighted by comments made by Yaw. Yaw, 35, grew up in North London and East London during the 70s and 80s. He experienced racism in schools from the teachers – which is discussed earlier

in this chapter – he also focused on microaggressions and the everyday nature of racism. Asked about experiences of racism he said:

There are a lot of examples but to recall experiences right now, I've been called Nigger and there have been harsher things when someone is direct like that. But you know what? In a way I respect that person – you're ignorant but at least you had the integrity to at least say it to my face... at least you have the conviction to come and say it to my face, you're ignorant for saying it ...the majority of racism is indirect. I've had it from shopping, going out shopping... Early 2000s, mid-90s the racism was ridiculous... I'd be going out with the homies and we don't look like hoodlums... but when you go out to places where not many Blacks frequent, that's when you see the racism. You go in the shops and the assistants are acting like you're going to pull out a gun and say 'everyone on the floor now'.

(Yaw, 35)

He expressed that this reaction was from both Black and White shop assistants – 'your own people look at you like you are a common criminal' but feels that Black people are more 'acceptable' now than the 80s and 90s. He points to the growth of mixed relationships and the more frequent visibility of Black people in the media. However, what he finds the hardest to deal with was 'indirect, sly, innocuous racism':

If I'm with a group of Black people and you go out to dinner, you know by the way you are being treated that it's racism... you're only treating us a certain way because we Black and you have a preconceived notion about us, or about my people, about Black people, even though we're all human beings... I've experienced a whole bunch of that, but as far as direct racism, only a few... Racism is a sickness of the mind, and I'll say it again for the tape that is recording right now – racism is a sickness of the mind... people that are racist they are sick, Blacks that are racist toward their own people are sick, and you know we have that as well.

(Yaw, 35)

Throughout the interviews, many participants mention encounters they had with people of Black Caribbean heritage and experiencing negative comments or bullying because

of their African heritage. Further discussion on these issues are explored in *Chapter 9*. Briefly, participants felt that an 'authentic' Black identity was modelled on a (predominantly) working-class Jamaican identity - into which my participants did not fit. The location was a factor as the 'authentic' Black identity issue was experienced more in inner-city areas and areas with large Black Caribbean communities than in areas where Black people were in the minority. In places where there were smaller Black communities, White racism was the dominant factor.

Ama B, 37 spoke about being bullied in her childhood because of her African heritage and being one of very few Africans in a predominantly Black Caribbean neighbourhood. When talking about racist incidents or racism she focused on issues with the Black Caribbean population. She felt that she did not have the same kind of issues with White people but did have, on occasion, encounters with people from Asian backgrounds who had discriminated against her. She described an issue that happened at work where some jobs were being made redundant and she secured her post:

There was restructuring we were going through – I was the only African in the team, the rest of the Blacks were West Indian, none of them got through...
there was this 'them and us' type thing... there was always this thing and I don't get it with the Whites...

(Ama B, 37)

More broadly, issues relating to racism in social spaces and being out in public were recounted by some participants. Being stopped by the police whilst driving was mentioned by a few participants, all were male. Tony recounted a few incidences where this happened and how he accepted this as the status quo.

Tony, 31, had grown up on the outskirts of London in a predominately White area. He recounted a story about being stopped by an unmarked police car near his house while he was with his fiancée. He was told he met the description of someone who had committed a robbery in the area. The police were very aggressive - reaching into the car to take his keys and using an aggressive tone. When they realised that he did live locally they apologised and let them go but it was the first time his fiancée (who was White Polish) had witnessed this behaviour and was shocked. He also talked about when he got his first car, which was a BMW, and being stopped by the police in his

local area – being stopped by the police whilst driving became a regular occurrence for him:

We got stopped and searched quite a lot... Every time we went out. But just, but it's just part of being Black isn't it? I don't let them get to me, I just laugh at them now.

(Tony, 31)

The prevalence and likelihood of being stopped and searched whilst walking or driving as a Black man in the UK enabled Tony to accept this behaviour from the police as being 'normal'. He drove a certain type of car and lived in a predominantly White area so he stood out. He was first stopped shortly after getting his first car and this continued throughout his adulthood. Tony highlights being in a space in which he stood out because there were few Black people in his area.

Access to places can still be restricted by either making people feel uncomfortable, treating them differently (note Yaw's example of shops and restaurants, p155) or by denial of entry. There have been several cases which appeared in the media of young Black men and women denied entry into nightclubs based on race (Osbourne, 2015, Eldridge, 2015). Given that public spaces at one time overtly discriminated against Black people it is not surprising that a Black presence in some of those spaces is still not embraced by all.

Racism and Ethnic Identity

There is a current policy movement towards creating a 'British' identity and 'British' values must be promoted in school. This assumes a consensus, an umbrella under which all citizens should be happy to sit and engage. Being the 'Other' and being discriminated against has indeed impacted on the participants' identities. This is particularly manifested in relation to the idea of English identity. Kwadwo, 31 ticks the Black British box when faced with the survey question but would never use English as a term to describe himself, as he prefers to be known as Ghanaian. However, he will use British, prefaced by Black, in other circumstances. Ama.A, 29 feels that she can use the term British but not English because she does not have English heritage, unlike other participants she does not use the term 'English' to signify White people: 'You don't have to be White but I don't have English ancestors' (Ama.A, 29).

The adoption of a British identity did not work for some participants, many chose to describe themselves as hybrids – British Ghanaians or simply as Ghanaians.

I have a British passport, which is handy! I've got a British education, I suppose when it comes to identity it sort of falls into the same arena as culture and what you're about and my culture predominantly isn't British, it's Ghanaian. I suppose that's probably why if you asked me where I'm from I say Ghanaian as opposed to British. If I didn't have any of those things then maybe I would associate myself as an English boy.

(Kofi, 27)

Again, the role of microaggressions can be seen here. My master's thesis focused on the idea of identity and belonging framed around the question 'where are you from?' As noted above, it is a question people of colour are asked often, as clearly, they do not resemble the 'indigenous population' so must be from somewhere else. It is a constant 'Othering'.

The study conducted by Opinium on multicultural identity in the UK found that White people are more likely to identify with the country that they were from than non-White people, whose religious or ethnic identity was more important:

However, for many ethnic minorities, there are other layers which affect their sense of identity. Although 39% identify most with the country they live in, half consider their religion or ethnicity as the most important part of their identity compared to only 10% of White Britons.

(Crouch and Stonehouse, 2016)

These findings are not surprising as those that are Black and minority ethnic are often addressed by ethnic and religious labels. The labels in themselves may not be ideal but are used as identifiers by many. It is not astonishing, therefore, that the choice of label used also reflects feelings of belonging.

Conclusion

The impact that racism had, and continues to have, on the second generation participants of this study is to make them be seen as 'Other'. Most of the participants held a Ghanaian identity or a British identity, negating an English identity despite England being their birthplace. The experiences of racism undergone by their parents influence their feelings of belonging, whether they witnessed racism directly or are told of it indirectly.

My participants faced the difficulties of racism growing up in the UK and continue to face them as the structures that exist at present have not fully tackled the issues linked to White supremacy and the discourse of White privilege.

The changes from an overt racism to the subtler forms of everyday racism and microaggressions are illustrated by the events witnessed by the participants. Whilst no one seems to be shouting the 'N' word at them in the street anymore, they are still aware of being treated differently or experiencing discomfort in certain spaces.

The insidious nature of racism and the structural systems which place Black and minority ethnic people in a space of disadvantage continue in Britain today. One of the tools the first generation tried to use to circumnavigate racism was social mobility. As highlighted, the participants were taught by their parents to work hard and get a good education so they could use that to elevate their status and move away from racist spaces. Moving from a White working-class area affected the likelihood of experiencing overt racism for some families. Being in more middle-class environments changed the nature of the racism but did not eliminate it, as was shown by the conversation with Kofi.A and his defence of Black people from being viewed as muggers in his private school. It is within the era of multicultural policies that my participants were attending primary school. The background to their formative years and development into adults has been this wide range of policy change and a shift in dialogue on race. As adults, they contend with microaggressions and a society that is still treating them as the 'Other' and keeps them disadvantaged.

The following chapter on class contains a discussion on class location and whether class can provide a buffer from a racist society.

Chapter 7 – Class

Introduction

Observers from outside Britain are often perplexed as to why the British, including British academics, appear to be obsessed by class. Some suggest that the British partly perpetuate class divisions by constantly remarking on them.

(Dorling, 2014:458)

Is British society class obsessed? Judging by our media it would appear to be that way. Whether it is television programmes such as *Shameless* or *Made in Chelsea*³¹ or headlines which demonise the working-class and people on benefits, notions of class abound. There was a point in time when politicians and theorists such as Beck (2007) were announcing the demise of class or at least its decline. Most commentators now would argue that it had not died, neither was it on its way out and society remained then, as it is now, one where class is still an important factor.

Class does matter in British society – the launch of the *Great British Class Survey* (a BBC commissioned online survey into class in Britain) in 2013 showed how the language of class and discussions around inequality and social mobility are very much part of British Society.

Class matters because it often feels as if it is the modern day truth of our identity. We cannot escape it. It becomes a little differently defined in different times and places, but we have always had classes...

(Dorling, 2014: 454)

However, as indicated in *Chapter 3*, the ideas about class are no longer based just on occupation or status (concepts linked to the work of Marx and Weber), they are often associated with ideas about lifestyle, taste and culture. Using Bottero's work, Irwin (2015), highlights how social class analysis has changed in recent decades from a focus on economic processes to:

³¹ *Shameless* was a television series focusing on the lives of a family on benefits living on a Manchester estate. *Made in Chelsea* was a reality TV series showcasing the lives of affluent twenty-somethings living in and around Chelsea, London.

‘...a concern with class as part of a set of cultural processes in which inequalities, rather than providing a basis of identity and consciousness, are often implicit, embedded in social relationships and interactions, values and practices and social psychological dispositions.’

(Irwin, 2015:261)

The point to which people are comfortable discussing class also varies. Devine explored the degree of comfort British respondents had in her study on class practices:

Discomfort and unease with an explicit discussion of class in pilot interviews in Britain lead me to drop a direct question about the interviewees' family class position when they were growing up in preference for an indirect question requesting a description of their childhood standard of living. Many of the British interviewees from seemingly middle-class origins were silent about their class position although some used the language of class. All of those of working-class origin made reference to their working-class background.

(Devine, 2004:141)

The notion that people from different class locations may vary in how they feel comfortable talking about class is highlighted in the quote by Devine. Irwin (2015) exploring Savage's work also noted:

The more privileged respondents, and some male working-class respondents, more clearly articulated a class identity, but the majority expressed ambivalence, commonly referring to themselves as ordinary and as normal.

(Irwin, 2015:262)

There are also particular notions, connotations, and assumptions held in the wider society about particular class groups, with some negativity being seen in classed identities (Sayer, 2005a). The stereotypes of most of these class groups are also racialised - some of the assumptions about class are also linked to different races. These ideas are explored in more detail later in the chapter, but 'Black' is seen commonly as being synonymous with being working-class (Moore, 2008, Lutrell, 2009, Lacy, 2007). Using this logic, the middle and elite classes cannot also contain people who are racialised as Black. If class is defined based on occupation and education, this

is not the case. Whilst the numbers of Black middle-class professionals may be small in the UK, they do indeed exist (see Rollock et al., 2015).

How is class categorised, enacted and engaged with by the second generation? Living and being raised in Britain will have impacted on their views on class and their position in society. Most of my participants' level of education and occupation put them in a space which can be defined as middle-class³². How does this affect their ethnic identity – if there is an affect at all?

I am interested in how the participants view their class location and whether class has an impact on their choice of ethnic identity. In this chapter, the class identity of the participants in my study is explored through a discussion about how they name themselves and how their identity has been shaped by their class position in the country they live in and the country that their parents have left.

This chapter addresses how these participants find themselves in separate spaces and create identities in these spaces which are very different from those inhabited by first-generation migrants, but also in comparison with the dominant White population in the UK. Issues that the participants have with their raced and classed identity of being Black and being middle-class are also addressed within this chapter.

I begin by focusing on class definitions and the Black community in the UK, then explore the respondent's views on middle-class identity. I discuss upward mobility before exploring how class is negotiated in two locations – the UK and Ghana. I argue that being fully able to claim a middle-class identity is complicated by race and the dual nature of the participants' backgrounds means there is added complexity to their classed identities. The participants in my study negotiate their class identity through a variety of spheres - they have to deliberate class from a British perspective, negotiate notions of class with regards to race and also with the heritage of a migrant's identity. The migrant identity belongs to their parent, and their parents' class understandings and social status, both in Ghana and the UK, impact *their* class views and status. Studies on Black people and class have had a tendency to focus on working-class identities (see Rollock et al., (2015) and Lacy (2007) for exceptions). As noted above, there is a growing Black middle-class in the UK and they are seldom recognised.

³² The process of categorising their class status is detailed in the methodology.

Class definitions and the Black community

It is difficult to clearly see how many second generation Ghanaians are in particular occupations. Highlighted in *Chapter 4* is the methodology behind defining the individuals and how the available data was unpacked. However, what is clear from the 2011 Census and labels used, is that there is a very large proportion of Black Africans listed in the professions and senior positions. The data does not split between those who classify themselves as Black British and those classified as Black Africans. In the Nomis official labour force data from the 2011 Census, Black Caribbean, Black African and Black British are all in one category. But taking the statistics that are available, namely the 2011 Census and the Labour Force Survey, it is clear to see that there is a very large proportion of Black Africans employed in similar positions, pushing them into the bracket of the professional middle-class.

As mentioned above, the occupation and education levels held by the majority of my participants would put them in middle-class categories. Only three did not attain degree-level qualifications and the majority were occupied in professional/managerial roles – which are NS-SEC categories 1 and 2. However, the majority did not consider themselves to be middle-class and felt they could not identify as such because of their race. Middle-class identity was linked to Whiteness and to be Black and middle-class was very different to being White and middle-class (Lacy, 2007). As Moore (2008) notes in her paper on class formations, ‘racism shapes both the structure and meaning of class in the black community’. Racial discrimination impacts on life chances – there are barriers in education and in the workplace (Cheng and Heath, 1993, Moore, 2008). Research in the African-American community found that wealth was more likely to be earned rather than inherited and so there was less protection from downward mobility and less of a guarantee that the middle-class status would continue across the generations (Cole and Omari, 2003) – I expand on this discussion later in this chapter. There was also the issue faced by the Black middle-class as being seen as outsiders:

Skin colour acts as a form of embodied capital that disrupts and lessens the worth of cultural capital held by Black middle-classes. They are perpetual outsiders because of their race, irrespective of class status, and this contributes to the hesitation about comfortably self-identifying as middle-class. Again, it is important to stress that the decisions and perceptions that lie behind these

racial stereotypes and low expectations are seldom explicitly named.

(Rollock, 2014:448)

In the US, how 'middle-class' is defined is very different to the UK as according to Lacy, only income is used as a measure. Karen Lacy's work *Blue-Chip Black* (2007) highlights the issues relating to how the group is defined (by wealth bracket) and the variations used by researchers. Lacy sets her measure as those individuals earning more than \$50,000 (circa £30,000 at the time of her study). The Black middle-class has grown through education and entering professional occupations. It is no longer just the family name that secured entrance. Her study takes place in the suburbs of Washington DC in Virginia, as little research had been conducted in that location.

Although via their professional roles, most of the participants in my study would be considered middle class, they struggled to relate to the title with only five participants actively identifying as middle class and expressing that within the interview.

One participant felt he had no class label. He did not consider himself in terms of class at all - for many this was a concept that they had not thought about previously. Mostly, they understood themselves in terms of occupation. Despite levels of their current earned income, downward mobility had been experienced by many of their parents. In other cases, they were very aware of upward mobility - moving away from council houses to owned properties in new areas - and how that shift impacted on their lives.

One of the main barriers for the participants in my study who did not claim middle-class status was related to their economic position - 'if I do not work I do not have any money', the idea of having wealth which was independent of a salaried role was understood as an important criterion in 'middle-classness'. Lacy also experiences this phenomenon in her study:

Lydia is not really poor, and neither are the other middle-class blacks in this study, though they joke about it. Sherwood Park residents Nathaniel and Lisa, married computer scientists, laughed as they claimed, "We describe ourselves as *working-class!* Yeah, *working-class*. If you gotta get up and go to work every day, you're *working-class!*" Describing her family facetiously as "one paycheck away from poverty," Charlotte like Nathaniel and Lisa, connects her class position to the fact that she has to work to support her family. "I don't care what

you are, if you have to work every day, you are po' [poor]! I don't care how much money you make!"

(Lacy, 2007:34)

Rollock et al (2015), in their research on the second generation Black Caribbean middle class, found that their working-class histories and proximity to working-class identities, was a key reason for some of their respondents having reservations about using the middle-class label:

As Margaret who works in the private sector succinctly put it, most middle-class Black people are only 'one or two pay cheques away from being working-class', a fragility that has been researched and commented on by Oliver and Shapiro (2006) with regard to Black middle-classes in the States. Again, for our respondents, this lack of security serves as a perpetual reminder of a working-class past.

(Rollock et al., 2015:33)

There was also something negative about being identified as middle-class. As Savage notes '...in Britain, to be middle-class can be, and often is, taken to mean to command claims to cultural snobbery and privilege,' (Savage, 2015:39). The participants that proclaimed themselves to be middle-class were few and far between. For others in my study, discussions of class made them feel uncomfortable. A discussion on the role of class in the context of certain pastimes e.g. going to art galleries elicited this response from Sally, 38 - '...for the benefit of the tape, I'm squirming now (laughs).'

Sally had been describing experiences whilst dating. Her partners had seen her interest in going to galleries or to the theatre as pastimes which were reserved for White people. I asked her whether she thought that class might play a role in their views. She was uncomfortable thinking about these encounters from a class perspective. Going to the theatre and to art galleries are seen as White middle-class pursuits. Following the publication of the *Great British Class Survey* - the number of London theatre tickets bought rose sharply as the survey had noted that the 'established middle-classes' (one of the categories in the new social class schema developed from the survey) are keen on the arts - tickets sales went up by 191% (Hanley, 2015). In Savage et al's., study, negative views aside, others wanted to be

associated with being middle-class – it is a position associated with ‘privilege’. As shown in Savage’s work, people want to be seen as being in the ‘middle’ - ‘ ...in most nations, the majority of people are content to define themselves as middle-class - neither terribly affluent nor enormously deprived’ (Savage, 2015:39).

Black identity and middle-class identity

One of the biggest issues in relation to the schemas or classification systems is the role that race and gender play. What has happened within the discourse on class is that race became classed. Black people are routinely labelled as working-class in the literature, which is explained in further detail later in this chapter. Given the history of the Ghanaian community in the UK, the stories of my participants and their parents’ levels of educational attainment, this is not always the case. But the process of trying to classify a group concludes with the group being reduced to homogeneity and does not allow for a nuanced view. However, commentators argue that within the middle-classes there are class fractions - being a member of a minority group also creates a fraction. Fractions can also be seen amongst the Ghanaian middle-class, as there are differences between generation and natal origin, for example, whether UK-born or Ghana-born. Anthias argues that a reductionist model cannot be used to explain social inequality and social difference and the author highlights the problems in relation to explaining ethnicity and class:

Ethnicity and class, when twinned together, have led to problems of reductionism, where ethnicity becomes a disguise of class or its symbolic manifestation...Moreover, the attempts to find correlations assume each one is homogenously constituted, has a unitary role and is mutually exclusive; for example, all class members belong to a particular ethnic group.

(Anthias, 2004:31)

The complexity of class status and identity is highlighted by Anthias who argues that dividing people into class groupings cannot have a heuristic value because of the way that gender and ethnicity cut across class groupings. The use of intersectional approaches to research the middle-class, and indeed the Black middle-class would be useful to understand the role that gender and ethnicity play. Lutrell, writing about her study on pregnant teenagers in the US, discusses how class and ethnicity are linked in the US:

That US class discourse is racially tinged is also well documented.

“Whiteness” is to middle-class-ness as “Blackness” is to lower-class-ness.

Lois Weis contends that, “More than any other group, the identity and material position of white, working-class America is carved in relation to Blacks, both discursively and materially (2004: 7)”.

(Lutrell, 2009:61)

Again this idea of how race is linked to certain class labels is expressed in work by Cole and Omari (2003) who note that those with Jewish ethnicity are seen as middle class but African American ethnicity is ‘coded as lower class’ and ‘these cultural connections permeate the identity of group members in important ways’ (Cole and Omari, 2003:797)

Throughout the literature, the coding of Blackness with being working-class is well documented. There is much less work addressing the Black middle-class.

Thus, identifying as middle-class and Black can become problematic as also noted by Rollock et al (2015) in their study of the Black Caribbean origin middle-class. As noted earlier, only five of the participants in my study identified as middle-class, two of these participants claimed that as their identity early in the interviews. Many of the others disliked using class terms, had not thought about it or considered themselves to be part of the working-class.

Vincent et al also noted that their participants felt that racism in the mainstream meant that White society would always look at them in terms of race rather than class (Vincent et al., 2012b:272). This speaks to Waters’ (1990a) idea of the dominant identity or master status, which means that if you’re Black, you will always be Black. The Black individual can never adopt any other identity – they cannot be Black and middle-class, they do not have an alternative identity as race is always seen before anything else. This is an idea that Lacy challenges with her work by showing the complexities of Black middle-class identity and highlighting that middle-class Blacks ‘conceive of a more nuanced social identity for themselves’ (Lacy, 2007:xv) – in her study, race is not the master status.

Being middle-class

Rollock et al, (2015) identified different categories in their research in relation to class identity.

- Working-class identifiers;
- Working-class with qualification;
- Interrogators;
- Middle-class ambivalent and
- Middle-class identifiers.

Using these categories, I will examine my cohort's class location and relationship with the label of class.

Rollock et al (2015) described middle-class identifiers as some that:

'accept the label of 'middle-class' by making factual reference to income, the size of their home, occupation or pastimes. Those that identified as middle-class ambivalent only considered themselves to be middle-class 'with some degree of reservation or hesitation'.

(Rollock et al., 2015:28).

Amongst the cohort that was interviewed for this study were those that considered themselves to be middle-class, only two would count as middle-class identifiers and three would be middle-class ambivalent. The ambivalence was mostly located to issues relating to race. Looking at the category of working-class with qualification, this group in the Rollock et al (2015) study talk about their working-class roots, all using the label of working-class but adding the further qualification, for example, having 'middle-class values'. These values and indeed, judgements, mark out class boundaries, particular activities are 'assumed to have inherent value and hence legitimacy' (Rollock et al., 2015: 33). They have one participant who describes not watching certain types of television programmes, not going to certain places on holiday and engaging in reading – her choices are acts of 'class distinction':

Such distinctions are evident in wider society yet, despite their arbitrariness, they retain (or obtain) value and worth through socially and culturally embedded acts of (middle-) class distinction that seek to define the boundaries of what is and is not intellectual, respectful and tasteful.

Working-class identifiers and Working-class with qualification

There was only one participant in my study that stated that she was working-class, she did so because of where she lived and the fact that she did not have a large disposable income. In discussions with Sally, whilst she does not see herself as middle-class she acknowledges that there is a Ghanaian middle-class and describes those members as children that were born to parents with middle-class occupations and those children continuing in that path by having similar careers or to rise above their parents.

Although she had been to university and is a white-collar professional, she saw herself as working-class as those were her family origins and she associated being middle-class with higher income levels and parental background. Due to her own job and her level of education, she would be considered middle-class. None of my participants came under the category of 'working-class with qualification' which Rollock et al define as '...those who, while initially ascribing to a label of 'working class', proceed to qualify or expand this to better reflect their personal circumstance' (Rollock et al., 2015:28).

They were either middle-class or were interrogators.

Interrogators

Most of my participants would fit into the 'interrogators' category – they examined their relationship to class in the interviews and used the opportunity to explore its meaning for them. Several had never thought about it, and during the conversation unpacked the concept of being middle-class in relation to their lives (level of education, occupation, income etc.,) and decided that in some respect they 'fit' but it wasn't an identity that they rushed to proclaim.

Middle-class ambivalent and middle-class identifiers

As noted five of my participants described themselves as middle-class – this relates to both ambivalent and middle-class identifiers. Six participants were established middle-class with the others having made the transition from working-class to the middle-class, - the majority in this group did not struggle with claiming or engaging with this identity. Their parents came from middle-class families or families that were able to provide them with the means to travel and obtain an education. They entered the UK as students or qualified professionals and continued to maintain that professional status. For most of these interviewees, their parents did not experience downwards mobility and maintained middle-class ideals and values (although they may not have had the

levels of income) throughout their childhoods. These 'values' and ideas were linked to deportment – how they behaved in public, the importance of education and as Bourdieu noted 'middle-brow culture is resolutely against vulgarity' (Bourdieu, 2010:324) which was also the case for these parents.

One of the participants who was happy to use the definition of middle-class was Ashantewaa, 27 – who was a freelance journalist and business owner, her family had made the transition from working-class to middle-class. She said: 'Now I would call myself middle-class - I guess that's not what people would call me, having started out as a child' (Ashantewaa, 27).

To gain further clarity on her comments I wanted to unpack the idea of who 'people' were. She responded that White middle-class people looking at her as a child would not call her middle-class: 'Now I would definitely say it's different, and my friendships and my circles and the things that I do I think reflect that...' (Ashantewaa, 27). When asked to elaborate, she focuses on her friends who are an ethnically mixed group and nearly all privately educated and middle-class, her profession as a journalist, which she describes as an elitist occupation, and her lifestyle.

Ashantewaa highlights the transition from a working-class background to a settled middle-class one which she claims based on her education and her profession. Her middle-class identity is not just about what she does professionally, it is about her social networks and her pastimes.

Ama.A, who defines herself as middle-class, noted that being middle-class and Black and being middle-class and White was different. She focussed on the difference she felt when she was in school. She had felt that her family 'were doing alright' but then in comparison to her White peers, she felt poor. She contrasted their holidays and wealth with her own lifestyle – skiing trips compared to her visits to Kent for the holidays, the realisation that you recognised a fellow pupil's surname as familiar because their father owned the local chain of Estate Agents. She felt the disparity of wealth.

Vincent et al (2012b) also found that their participants noted differences between the Black middle-class and White middle-class.

In other situations, the very notion of a Black middle-class was perceived to be

meaningless – a contradiction in terms. Such was the case, for example, for Regina (teacher), who insisted that, while as a group the Black community have made some educational progress, members could not demonstrate the same level of financial and economic mobility or security as their more economically stable and powerful White counterparts.

(Vincent et al., 2012b:259)

How my participants defined their middle-class identity revolved around, to a large degree, values and activities that were perceived to have higher cultural status, for example, going to the theatre. When outlining their childhoods as middle-class, activities and material items were noted more - they highlighted that as children they could go on holiday and had 'nice things'. One of the participants in this category was Ama.A who states:

We had money but you know we weren't rich. I would say we definitely fitted that stereotypical middle-class. It wasn't the easiest thing for my mum to suddenly find £5000 for me to go to school every year.

(Ama.A, 29)

When asked to expand on the concept of the 'stereotypical middle-class' Ama.A had this to say:

I think your parents or parent, you know earns a certain wage, drives a nice car, lives in a certain house, lives in a decent area... And kind of like the people, you do that keeping up with the Joneses as I think that is something that my mother does. She doesn't want you to fight on our driveway, she's always looking around to see what's going on 'don't take your trouble outside, keep it in doors', sending me to private school and all that sort of stuff. I did have nice things, go on one or two holidays a year we could afford it, that sort of thing.

(Ama.A, 29)

When discussing their own adult lives and their income or wealth, understandings of class were understood in terms of possessions - of property, and cars, for example, and the geographical location of their homes was also mentioned. The possessions owned and the location where they lived, were markers of their class status. Particular

areas were seen as more affluent and certain cars were associated with a certain degree of wealth and prestige. In adulthood, ideas about appropriate pastimes were also discussed. For example, in her interview Ama.A noted that she used to go to nightclubs (raving), but now, instead, she goes the theatre. However, when asked if she would describe herself as middle-class her response was slightly different:

Certain elements of it (her lifestyle) are (middle-class). I've certainly taken away that I want to earn some money and don't want to have to struggle for anything, I don't want to worry about how I'm going to pay this bill, I don't want to do that, so, therefore, I am now an accountant.

(Ama.A, 29)

She discussed how she fell into accountancy after a degree in the sciences, she was based in a lab but was not earning a high wage and she chose her new career based on the salary and lack of jobs in her field.

My mum drives a Mercedes and I like those creature comforts but try not to be snobby with it. My mum can be a little snobby with it. It does get a bit ingrained in you slightly, but I try my best not to and I think it's that certain stature in life and also what you do with your social time. I used to go raving a lot and I don't do that anymore really and you do things that other people might think is a little posh – 'she's going to the theatre', going to places like that as opposed to going to a football match... I'm more likely to be in the theatre, than a football match. So I do think that it is a cliché, yeah, you're middle-class.

(Ama.A, 29)

This example helps illuminate Bourdieu's ideas on high and low cultural states and 'vulgarity', mentioned earlier (p153). Within the quote is the idea that if you are in a particular profession you are expected to have a particular lifestyle and hold particular class values - football matches were assumed only a venue for the working-classes. Some of the changes in lifestyle e.g. no longer going to nightclubs, Ama.A understood as a result of increasing age/maturity and the change of tastes that may come from age. She was very clear that her social circle and pastimes were firmly middle class.

Ama.A's description of middle-class behaviour and the concept of snobbery has been

captured in Sayer's (2005b) work on the role of 'respectability' and the middle class:

Respectability involves being inoffensive, 'not sticking-out' (Southerton, 2000b:196), keeping out of trouble, moderating sexuality, being respectful of and acceptable to the (upper) middle-classes, thereby avoiding their moral and aesthetic disapproval. ... Respectability's deference to dominant values also allows it to be coupled with snobbery towards those below, so that confirmation of respectability can be obtained both positively from above, and negatively by contrast with the unrespectable below.

(Sayer, 2005b:117)

The idea of being a 'snob' was also expressed in another interview - Ama, 27 raised on the outskirts of London noted several points of difference between Africans and those from the Caribbean (her husband was from a Caribbean background) and she also juxtaposed herself with other Ghanaians:

I'm just thinking even my extended family just, just, I don't want to... Just little things like how they keep their homes, how tidy they keep it how clean it is - that's not necessarily anything to do with class, that's just how you are - but yeah just little things I'm just thinking well I know that those times I know I can be snobbish. Well even if it could be anyone, even if someone is spitting on the street, especially if I see it's an African person, it just really angers me, I'm just like 'what's wrong with you, you're acting like a bush person, stop it!' ... Or if they just act in a certain way on the street just showing themselves up and then I'm thinking 'well you're acting like that and that just fulfils other people's stereotypes of us, act properly'. But then what is 'act properly'? Is it being, acting the English way? Or is it...

(Ama, 27)

Again, the ideas of how you behave in public, what your home should be like, all speak to certain ideas and expectations linked to class and race. The concept of fulfilling a 'stereotype' is worth noting. Not wanting to be seen as 'bush' (or common), not wanting to manifest behaviours that are linked with stereotypes of 'Blackness', for example, being loud in public, were all things Ama was keen to avoid. The idea that 'acting properly' could mean that they/she 'acted the English (read 'White') way' was intriguing.

The version of correct behaviour and conduct in public was not just raced it was classed – the ideas were linked to a White middle-class identity.

However, the links between pastimes and class are more nuanced. Savage's (2015) work addressing the new class categories based on the *Great British Class Survey* showed the fluidity between the pastimes of those that were deemed to be in the middle and upper classes. It is no longer strange to enjoy both going to the theatre and hitting a nightclub – you can be a 'cultural omnivore'. Peterson (1992) discussing the 'cultural omnivore' proposed that the old ideas of taste and hierarchy were no longer relevant and a new status hierarchy could be created by engaging in multiple forms of activity, not just those deemed as highbrow:

In effect, elite taste is no longer defined simply as the expressed appreciation of the high art forms and a corresponding moral disdain of, or patronizing tolerance for, all other aesthetic expressions. In so far as this view is correct, the aesthetics of elite status are being redefined as the appreciation of all distinctive leisure activities and creative forms along with the appreciation of the classic fine arts. Because status is gained by knowing about, and participating in (that is to say, by consuming) many if not all forms, the term 'omnivore' seems appropriate for those at the top of the emerging status hierarchy.

(Peterson, 1992:252)

The idea that certain activities have more validity than others has been critiqued, but a hierarchy remains. Bradley critiques the choices of cultural forms, put forward in the *Great British Class Survey*, some things that she argues are distinctively part of working-class cultural life, for example, betting shops, pubs and package holidays were not included in the questionnaire. So, therefore 'working-classness appears as a lack, a cultural deficit.' (Bradley, 2014:432).

Bradley argues against the view that working-class pastimes have no validity as they have no social legitimacy. However, Bradley believes that this view 'neglects the way that these working-class activities, embedded in supportive communities can be converted into economic capital (income and wealth)' (Bradley, 2014:432)

As highlighted by Ama.A, some pastimes were clearly seen as not for those that consider themselves to be middle-class and she reinforces her acknowledged bias and snobbery in her views, by her dismissal of football matches (an activity which is also gendered). Certain activities are forms of classed behaviour, for example, going to the theatre or watching soaps or watching football, and linked to spaces, which were not just classed but also raced. 'The fact that certain spaces have been (are) mainly occupied by the White middle-classes also speaks, not merely to differences in pastimes, but also to the quiet acts of exclusion' (Vincent et al., 2012b)

Not feeling comfortable in these spaces was an issue that some of the participants and their friends and acquaintances had experienced. During a conversation about dating, Sally, 38 noted how her Black male dates reacted when she asked to go to exhibitions – 'Then they might not be enthusiastic or turn their noses saying 'that's what English people do, that's what White people do', things like that' (Sally, 38).

Sally's dates excluded themselves from spaces that they deemed to be for the 'English' (which means 'White') as they saw the spaces as not meant for them. The workplace and educational institutions (particularly private and grammar schools, as well as University) were also spaces which my participants felt were classed and raced and had felt isolated or not truly belonging. Rollock proposes that these are spaces whose borders are policed by the White elite in order for power and privilege to remain amongst that group:

Understanding and deconstructing the manifestation of whiteness amongst the elite and the ways in which they police the borders of their privilege and power is crucial to challenging inequality and advancing genuine social mobility.

(Rollock, 2014:449)

It is then easy to see the difficulty for some of the participants to claim a middle-class identity. How can you claim an identity which appears heavily identified with a race which is not your own? Also, cultural markers that are used to define cultural capital may not be things with which all the participants engage in. Religion was not a focus of my study however, beliefs may prohibit certain activities for example going to the pub. There are also classed pastimes and spaces where individuals may not feel they belong so do not engage with those spaces, for example, skiing or attending the opera.

Class identity is complex and is more so when using multiple lenses. Lutrell explains the complexities of class identity in the following way:

Still, there are multiple and changing social conditions and cultural forms that give shape to class identities, affinities, and solidarities; class-ness is always being made and remade within different contexts (families, schools, workplaces, communities) and through racial and gendered boundaries that are created and enforced by these social institutions (Weis, 2004; Willis, 1977).

(Lutrell, 2009:62)

The constant shaping and re-shaping which occurs add yet another dimension for my participants in the form of a class concept linked to another country.

Ama, 27 identified as middle class but felt that the Ghanaian community saw themselves differently – ‘...other members of the Ghanaian community may class themselves as working-class, I do see differences [between them and me]. I don't want to sound, I am sounding like a snob’ (Ama 27).

Even whilst claiming a middle-class identity there is discomfort in being seen as thinking that you are better than others, that you are a snob. Also, for Ama, being outside the ‘norm’ in a particular ethnic community was again not something she felt comfortable with but she did feel apart from the community. This feeling of separateness was felt because she was not sure where she belonged – she didn't ‘fit in’ in Ghana or with the Ghanaian groups in London.

The participants must negotiate and construct their class identities from all perspectives and find a space where they feel they belong.

‘Where do I belong’ is a recurrent thought, however, for most of us asking this question is usually prompted by a feeling that there are a range of spaces, places, locales and identities that we feel we do not and cannot belong to. Such quests involve a range of different kinds of questions relating to how we are positioned, how we are perceived, our identifications, our self-understandings and our visions of the future.

(Anthias, 2004:39)

Anthias argues that using narratives of location and positionality may be a better way of reframing issues of identity – older notions of identity see it as static and essentialist whilst newer ideas foreground ‘fractured and multiple identities’:

...a narrative of location, as it is used here, is an account that tells a story about how we place ourselves in terms of social categories, such as those of gender, ethnicity and class at a specific point in time and space.

(Anthias, 2004:42)

Whilst this does help people to answer the question of the spaces they inhabit it does not tackle the thorny issues related to class, identity and the ways in which the wider world perceives you. Narratives of location are useful for your sense of self and understanding your beliefs and where you feel you fit but do not speak to being positioned by others.

Although, Blackness is routinely constituted in relation to a working-class identity, it is clear from the literature that not all Black people fit that mould. Whereas some may start life as working-class that is not necessarily the outcome for them in adulthood. However, I would like to argue that moving from one class bracket into another is not without its problems. A good example of the issues relating to social class and upward mobility is given by Cole and Omari (2003) when discussing the history of the Black middle-class in America and providing context to the relationship between the Black elite, the Black middle-class and the Black working-class. The authors ‘use the concept of intersectionality to explore the psychological meaning of social class and upward mobility in the lives African Americans’ (Cole and Omari, 2003). Education is a key theme within the work as it is seen as the main way that social mobility can occur for African-Americans. The article is written from a psychological perspective and the use of intersectionality (a concept which is discussed in more detail in *Chapter 3*) enables the issues relating to race and class to be highlighted within the text. The authors discuss the notion of ‘uplift’ whereby African Americans could attain middle-class status through education, values, and social behaviour:

Cousins showed, also, how these classed identities were unrelated to students’ attitudes toward achievement (see also O’Connor, 1999). Thus, he argued that class must be understood as “complexly relational and cultural” (p. 310).

This insight has three important implications for this discussion.

First, individuals actively shape class as they engage in different class practices across time and contexts. Second, schools work to instil particular meanings of class and classed-identities in students. Third, Cousins shows how classed identities and performances are gendered, thus drawing attention again to the centrality of the concept of intersectionality to the psychological study of class.

(Cole and Omari, 2003:6)

The role of the education system in shaping class identity is again highlighted here, amplifying its importance in the construction of the class identity.

Ama,27 had moved from inner city London to outer London. From a school with a predominantly Black Caribbean presence to one which was mostly White. Her family had limited contact with the Ghanaian community and she also commented on attending events and making friends only to have to leave them behind as she lived too far away to maintain the friendships:

I grew up in the outskirts of London in a four-bedroom house with a big garden, so at times I do feel very privileged. I think to myself why did my parents move so far out because me and my sisters just felt very isolated from the Ghanaian community but now as I get older I understand that they were doing that because they wanted, they could afford to have a bigger house and there was space.

(Ama, 27)

The move enabled them to have a larger house and access to better schools but the absence of the Ghanaian community was felt .

Education also affects class outcomes in other ways, as noted in Savage's exploration of Bourdieu's concept of 'inheritance of cultural capital'.

Well-educated parents pass on to their children – knowingly or not - the capacity for them to succeed at school and university, and thereby get the sort of qualifications which help them to move into the best jobs. This is not a direct inheritance; one cannot give one's degree certificate to one's daughter or son. But it is a probabilistic one, where there is a strong tendency for this kind of

inheritance to be at work. This depends on certain cultural tastes and preferences being seen as superior – more ‘legitimate’ – than others.

(Savage, 2015:49)

Tastes and preferences have been explored earlier in this chapter in relation to middle-class values, with certain activities or pastimes being seen as more valid than others. The passing of cultural capital onto the next generation is a process that is reflected in the experiences of the interviewees. Except for one participant, they had all been encouraged to study and pursue higher education. It had been instilled into them that education was the key to success. These values and messages were passed on irrespective of the parent’s level of educational attainment or occupation.

Black middle-class vs White middle-class

As cited above, Cole and Omari (2003) note the precarious nature of the Black American middle-class identity. They are more susceptible to downward mobility and the article also highlights the generational issues, as African Americans have mostly earned their wealth in the form of income, therefore there may not be the same degree of assets to pass on to subsequent generations. Also, there are no guarantees the next generation will be able to maintain that level of wealth.

As Rollock states:

As a group, Black middle-class respondents perceive that they hold little economic and financial power relative to Whites and this impacts on their preparedness to self-label as middle-class. In part, this is also informed by their proximity to, and memories of, a working-class past.

(Rollock, 2014:447)

In an interview with one of the participants, Kwadwo, 31 explored the issues relating to being Black and middle-class and how different it was to be White and middle-class. His father was a doctor and his mother was a nurse, he was sent to a grammar school in a neighbouring area and they lived in another locality that was deemed as not very affluent. His story bears similarities to that of Ama.A. He speaks about his classmates and the homes that they lived in and the different experience of being middle-class, views on money and the role of the family:

... then you have to acknowledge the fact that White people can have the same experience that you are having and not be in the same class. There were kids in my school who lived in big houses and in posh areas and their parents didn't do better jobs than my parents were doing and that was something that became a bit hard to understand. So how come this White kid that lived in the massive house in [names an affluent area in London] and his dad was a teacher and teachers were never famed to be earning lots of money! There was another kid that lived in a big house and his dad was a postman and that shocked me the most. I mean obviously that's not typical but I wondered how that happened... My point was how was the guy whose dad blatantly does not earn the same level as my dad, how is he living in this big house? Is it the fact that my dad is a cheapskate or is this something that I'm missing? Then you've got to add in factors like inheritance, it is only when you become older that you see that your White friends, some of them will tell you that 'my parents inherited this house from their parents'... Inheritance is a big thing that Black people never had here. So therefore, even the house that my dad has worked hard for and spent his money on in [names area in South London] is all his money, whilst the neighbours who live next door and are doing whatever job, it is not all their money.

(Kwadwo, 31)

What this shows is not only the different perspectives in terms of wealth and attitudes towards it, it also highlights the differences between those who are the children of migrants and some of those who are part of the host community. Wealth for my participants was not necessarily passed down through generations. Wealth was earned and it is possible that subsequent generations would benefit from the hard work of the first generation migrants, but the second generation still has a precarious relationship with middle-class identity as everything they have is based on income and there was no accumulated wealth for them to rely on. This is how within a generation it is possible to slip back into a different class status.

Collins' analysis makes plain that we cannot consider African Americans who attain middle-class status to be middle-class in the same way that we construe the term when it is applied to Whites. The particular economic context faced by African Americans as a group, both historically and in the present, shapes the

psychological meaning of class. Their experience can be understood only in terms of an intersectional approach.

(Cole and Omari, 2003)

The article also notes the price that is paid by the African Americans in particular environments. They use a case study of prep schools to show that the students are doubly stigmatised both by class and race - they felt they had to 'acclimate to both White culture, and to upper middle-class culture' (Cole and Omari, 2003). A similar notion was highlighted in the interview with Kwadwo, who was sent to a grammar school in a different area. Once he began attending the school, Kwadwo was distanced from his peers that were in his local community because he was now seen as 'posh'. In *Chapter 6 - Racism*, Kwadwo's story is told in more detail. He had attended a grammar school and experienced racism from both students and teachers, education is a key part of the social mobility story for Ghanaians.

African Americans have viewed education as the most respected and most effective mechanism for accomplishing the goal of upward mobility, the achievement of which challenges race - and class-based oppression.

(Cole and Omari, 2003:790)

The idea education is the source of social mobility resonates throughout Cole and Omari's 2003 paper. This is a common view amongst Ghanaians and this is expressed in the interviews with the participants and developed in *Chapter 8 - Education*.

Cole and Omari also highlight an issue relevant to African-Americans and indeed other minoritised groups, whereby the ability to progress may be interrupted due to the need to help other family members. African-Americans, they argue, are more likely to have a poor relative than Whites. The dual responsibility felt by the first generation Ghanaians to look after the extended family has been documented (Goody and Grouthes, 1977). The impact this has on finances and lifestyle emerged in interviews with participants. In reflecting on the reasons his family did not fully realise their middle-class lifestyle (holidays, living in a more affluent area) Kwadwo had this to say:

Then you think of all those factors and considering how your parents live and they were sending money back home, and they were helping relatives to come here and they were paying for people's education back home and they were

paying for this, and you think about all the burdens they've taken on which were not even theirs, and you think well if they been doing all that is quite understandable why the guy next door goes on three holidays a year, he's got none of those things. Most English people do not even have an extended family that they are involved with, their relatives are just that – relatives, they're not family (laughs). So when you start looking at all of that, that is why I say it is a very different experience to... that's why I was still separate those class factors.

Kwadwo, 31

For the first generation, the extended family circumstances can inhibit or delay the financial rewards that high-status roles can afford. They were often supported to migrate and therefore gave back to their families by helping other members. For one participant, in particular, this support of others was resented. For Tony, it meant that resources that he felt should have gone to him and his siblings were given to wider members of the family. He felt the family was made poorer by giving money to those back home and he and his siblings went without holidays and other material goods that he felt would have made their lives more comfortable.

Ghana, class and negotiating multiple class locations

The participants do not just conceive of class in Britain, they conceived of class through their experience as second generation Ghanaians. As has been highlighted previously, Ghana has a different class system in place to that of the UK. It is not solely based on money, it is also based on status and perceived status. Some of these ideas about class in Ghana have travelled with their parents. Parents may have experienced downward mobility in the UK but they have still retained their status in Ghana. None of the participants mentioned inherited wealth or noted that their parents had accumulated wealth in Ghana, which enabled them to move up the class ladder in the UK. Wealth was earned.

Class identity for the participants is not just about being middle or upper class or of working-class origins. There is a Ghanaian context to their class identity.

... In general, to speak of a middle class implies the existence of two other classes: a lower class and an upper class. In the West African context, the 'lower class' is the mass of African villagers and peasants ... We also include in

this category the emergent wage-laboring class, whose general social status is not appreciably better than that of the African peasants. By the 'upper or ruling class' we have in mind the small, but economically and politically dominant, group of European entrepreneurs, business administrators, senior colonial officials, district officers, and the array of lesser colonial servants - what, in short, Sir Ivor Jennings has termed the 'imported oligarchy'.

(Kilson.M) (Cited in Thompson, 2015a)

To better understand the context in which my participants exist within, class in Ghana needs to be explored. The quote by Kilson speaks of a Ghana of old, but the quote is relevant as that Ghana is the one the second generation were raised alongside. This is not the Ghana of today - after more than 60 years of independence.

Arthur (2014:24) argues in his book on Ghanaian class structures that there are some subtleties and nuances that are particular to Ghanaian social class formation which is linked to the economic and non-economic maximisation of their class memberships and what could be seen as linked to their privileges or status:

Upon migration to the societies (particularly the United States), social class status attributes among African immigrants are constructed (delineated) and demarcated by socially and culturally complex genres of immigrant rationalizations articulations of import or meaning that migrants assigned to living and working abroad. These social cultural genres include immigrant subjective and objective articulations of social class and status membership in the host society, the articulation of transnational class status membership in the country of origination and its economic, class and social implications, immigrant conceptualisation of class and status relationships as defined by immigrants sense of nationalism, pan-nationalism, tribal or clan affiliations, and social networks.

(Arthur, 2014:8)

However as stated in *Chapter 3*, a view of a Ghanaian lifestyle with staff etc., is not a middle-class existence in Ghana but an elite one. These ideas emerged during interviews, and in particular speaking to Ekow. When asked how he defines himself in terms of class, his response was to ask whether I meant in relation to Ghana or the UK, he immediately placed a distinction between the two societies and their classed

aspects. He had spent his early years in the UK then moved to Ghana for his secondary education, before returning to the UK for further and higher education. He completed his Master's at Oxford University, and it was at this point that he really felt he noticed the difference between classes in British society:

I found England largely class-less until I did my Masters in Oxford, I did not actually realise there was really a class system in the UK. I suppose it's one of the attractions of the UK, in that to be honest, you can work 60 hours a week or you cannot work and yet you go to the people's house and they have the same stuff. I think to some extent I don't know what class means in the UK, in terms of, in essence, the only time I noticed it was when I was in Oxford when I ran into a different kind of flavour of society. I didn't realise that people like this actually existed. I didn't realise people like this were actually walking around.

(Ekow, 39)

When queried on what type of 'people' he was talking about he said:

... 'old money people'. People that actually spoke like they do in the movies! (laughs) I don't know about you, but I'd never come across people that spoke like that and sounded like Hugh Grant!... Earning money wasn't really an issue for them.

(Ekow, 39)

As the conversation continued he talked about the circles he moved within currently and how the people were all very similar to himself, they were all highly educated and in 'good' professions and occupations. Even those who had not managed to go to university still had found themselves able to still have a comfortable life. Ekow's definition of class in England focused on a distinction between the elite classes and the rest. However, where Ghanaian society was concerned he had a very different understanding and held particularly strong views about how class was enacted there – it was about access to wealth:

Ghana, I think is a different kettle of fish. Society there is very simple, you have the haves, the have-nots and somewhere in between. And just by virtue of the routes, I went into Ghana I fall into the 'haves' category... You know full well that

as you are building your five-bedroom house that there is probably someone selling oranges across the road who probably has five people sleeping in two rooms... When you grow up there like I did, you don't really register it as an issue. It's really strange, there are people that come from here (UK) that register it and make you aware of it. You just see as that's just the way it is, and from the way that you are living, the way that you give is to probably employ people. Ghana being the society it is, the cheapest thing is human labour. So, in terms of employment having people in the house and taking in some of the less fortunate relatives and putting them through school and things like that, that's essentially the way society looks after itself.

(Ekow, 39)

Ekow notes here the larger wealth differentials in Ghana in comparison to the UK. The idea of being able to access a particular type of lifestyle emerged in some interviews when discussing ideas of class in Ghana and return migration and other aspects linked to building a life in Ghana. However, as Ekow highlighted that some of his contacts who have been raised in the UK, found some aspects of Ghanaian lifestyle slightly harder for them to adjust to:

... When you speak to people here and you mention that you have somebody working in your house, whether it be driving or some gardening or a little bit of cleaning, people over here seem shocked by it, that you've got staff... it's almost like you're treating people as second-class citizens. But being raised in Ghana you see it differently, it is helping people with no job, no income, and no prospects. You see it as though you are giving them something.

(Ekow, 39)

Earlier in the interview, he talked about the 'enviable Ghanaian lifestyle' and I wanted to explore whether this was related to lifestyle (having staff etc.,) but what he elaborated upon was actually the role of extended family and having help and support, particularly when you had a family of your own. One of the reasons he did not see having household staff, for example, as a different kind of lifestyle was because this was the norm for his circle of friends in the UK and in Ghana. All the people he spent time with were middle-class (in UK terms) or part of the Ghanaian elite.

However, for those that solely spent their time living and growing up in the UK with only occasional return trips to Ghana, there were some elements of discomfort with an elite Ghanaian lifestyle. Ashantewaa, 27, for example, enjoyed such a lifestyle in Ghana but the visible displays of wealth in contrast to visible poverty was the cause of the discomfort. She explored one aspect of the life lived by her family in Ghana, who are part of the elite:

Having said all I've said when I do go to Ghana I do feel quite uncomfortable. So, for example, I've got one set of cousins... This particular set of cousins on my mum's side, and you go there, growing up they had like a driver to pick them up from school and when they got home from school there was a cook to cook them dinner, they had that kind of lifestyle. I was there [in Ghana] not so long ago, just over a year ago and went to a bar where its clearly the rich kids hang out there my cousins could pick us up in a 4x4, a huge new 4x4 which is one of the cars, my uncle's other car is an Audi which is a very good car as well, so, it's lifestyle wise it's too far the opposite way. Then meanwhile you're driving in your air-conditioned car with your driver to go to a very nice place and then you drive past and kids were barefoot, you drive past some shackalack of a house that's just been slapped together. I struggle with that, I struggled with that a lot.

(Ashantewaa, 27)

For those who have mainly been brought up in the UK, class in Ghana is viewed through a binary lens of rich versus poor. Ekow, who spent his secondary school years in Ghana sees a slightly wider system in operation, as highlighted earlier. The struggle that Ashantewaa, found in seeing the extremes of wealth and poverty was also felt by others who had visited Ghana. However, Ashantewaa, also relates this feeling of discomfort to being in the UK and seeing a homeless person:

But I guess in some ways it's just a bigger extension of what we have here as I walk past a homeless person and I will pass very bad housing but I guess it's just the same in a different way. I guess my parents definitely come from the better side of things... struggle with it because it feels a bit too much, a bit too extreme...Whereas here I guess the middle-class is the main class so I guess you just feel like one of a number of people... I guess there when you hang

around the people and you're all the same so not the odd one out but I am very aware of it.

(Ashantewaa, 27)

When asked whether she ever visits her ancestral village when she is in Ghana she said that if she ever went it was for a day trip and she was embarrassed to say this, the rural areas often lack steady supplies of electricity and running water unlike the larger towns or cosmopolitan areas of the country. It was not a place she felt comfortable to be in as it was poorer, with basic or no facilities.

It is made clear by both Ekow and Ashantewaa that they spent time with people in both England and Ghana who are like them. Their social circles are filled with similar people. Therefore, they felt their views and lifestyles were the norm. The people like them are upper middle-class in London and the elite in Ghana – Ashantewaa had identified herself as middle-class, whilst Ekow's partial upbringing in Ghana he saw himself as part of the 'have' category.

There were status distinctions made within the Ghanaian community in relation to those that were born in the UK, those that were born abroad and who are now based here and are members of an elite, and those who are working-class because of their jobs or because of their lack of secure immigration status. There is a cohort of Ghanaians in the UK who are part of an elite system of boarding schools that exist in Ghana. Many of the people that went to those schools are in law, banking and finance and other professions in London. They form a different part of the Ghanaian community here to the second generation, having been born and raised in Ghana, and can be found in some of the groups for Ghanaian professionals most notably Star100. The second generation also gravitates towards these spaces.

There is a distinction made between these various groups as well as between themselves and the White majority. In response to these discussions many of my participants created a separate space where they held themselves apart. Many perceived themselves to be neither fully British nor fully Ghanaian and so inhabited the hyphenated identity of British-Ghanaian. Rather like the 'third space' that Reynolds (2008) describes in her work on the second generation and Bhabha's (1996) 'cultural in-between', the majority of the second generation Ghanaians who participated in my study found themselves to be located in this separate space. This space was not just

one which existed in their minds, it had been made concrete by the creation of groups and societies where they could interact. In Ghana, the manifestation of this third space can be seen in bars and private members club which targets the mostly second-generation returnees and moneyed elite in Ghana. Spaces such as the workplace, schools, and university where the participants were often in the minority, were also classed, raced and further fragmented by their African identity. However, even in these spaces which are supposed to be for Ghanaians, there can be segregation and differences felt. Ama, 27 chooses, as noted in the case study, not to engage with membership of Ghanaian societies after feeling unaccepted

Ama felt that she did not belong, there was a discomfort in not belonging because she had not attended the right school. There is also a discomfort because she didn't speak the language. So, therefore, she was not considered 'Ghanaian enough'. The interplay between class (in this case middle-class vs Ghanaian elite) and ethnic identity pushed her away from a space that she was hoping would generate a sense of belonging.

For my participants', class was linked to values, behaviours, activities, wealth, parental occupation and housing. It was viewed through multiple lenses. The participants saw class in terms of a British context, a Ghanaian context, a Black context and also defined it in terms of money and education. Some people were very uncomfortable with the idea of using class terms but also distinguished themselves from first generation Ghanaian migrants who occupy both the (upper) middle-class professional sphere (city workers) and manual roles (cleaners and security workers). When my respondents mention Ghanaians in Ghana, they usually focus on the elite who have large houses, servants and live very comfortably. Respondents spoke of comparing themselves with those of the first generation, whether long-term residents or more recent arrivals. In one conversation, Kwame, 38, expressed the opinion that the more the second generation moved into the middle-class the less they interacted with the non-UK born Ghanaians, seeing their events and lifestyles as not 'up to their standards'. Respondents saw themselves differently to non-UK born Ghanaian residents, usually in terms of economics and careers.

The 'Ghanaian Ghanaians', as they are referred to, residing in the UK are often seen by the participants as holding semi or unskilled roles, for example, security guard, cleaner and whilst they may be educated are unable to access the systems and improve their work roles. The first generation migrants that work in the City in

professional roles are thought of by the participants in terms of their schools as many went to elite boarding schools in Ghana and their relationships are based on the old school tie network. Their wealth, connections, and occupations put them in an elite bracket.

Conclusion

The notion of class is very much alive and well in British society in the 21st century. There exists within the second generation Ghanaian participants interviewed for this study, a clear understanding of 'middle-class', as defined by occupation and education. However, self-identification as middle class varied. The ideas the participants expressed connected to class were contextualised by the second generation's relationship with the first generation, other migrants that were peers, and migrants who were seen as having lower status roles and the White majority in the UK.

My participants consist of professionals and people occupying senior managerial roles which are technically classified within the middle-classes. There was a mixture of interviewees that were from established middle-class backgrounds as well as those who moved from working-class to middle class.

For some participants, it was easier to apply the label of middle class to themselves, and this group was not just composed of those who were the established middle class. There was also discomfort felt in conversations related to class. This discomfort was due to many different reasons from disliking the explicit use of class-related terms to the idea that being middle class was seen as being snobbish, uncaring or unfeeling. The term was also not employed as it could be seen as distancing themselves from peers or even their parents, who they felt worked hard to give them what they needed. This feeling of discomfort is not new and has been shown in other studies (Irwin, 2015, Devine, 2004).

Using Rollock et al's., (2015) class categorisations, the different levels of engagement with class amongst the participants and the role it had in their lives became clear.

To better understand how the second generation explores class identities, an awareness of multiple contexts is required. Using class terms, and trying to define a class identity is complex, layered and nuanced for the second generation participants. Some of my participants moved from embracing particular identities to being uncomfortable with them, and/or to exploring what these labels and terms mean to

them as second generation Ghanaians. However, what is illustrated throughout all the interviews and conversations and the dissecting of the ideas of class and concepts of class, whether it is the UK or Ghanaian context, is the participant's clarity about their ethnic identity, and how that ethnic identity intersects with and shapes their and other's understandings of class.

For the majority, the key dimension is their ethnic identity, as this does not change whether or not they proclaim middle-class identity. In the group that felt they were middle class (whether ambivalent or not), they are very strongly assured in calling themselves Ghanaian, which is also a national identity. Having a middle-class outlook, for the participants which adopt this identity, does not seem to detract from their ethnic identity, although this is a phenomenon which has occurred in some cultures and communities (see Cornell and Hartmann, 1998, Lee, 2004). In those instances, the ethnic identity becomes 'thin', for example, the identity is only shown on special occasion e.g. festivals, but in the majority of their life they no longer speak any languages, engage in rites of passage or customs and may only eat certain food linked to their culture at festival times. However, for these (British) Ghanaians in my study who are middle-class, Ghanaian identity is 'thick' (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998). They do not wish to lose their ethnic identity and wherever possible assert that identity. There is, though, a particular type of Ghanaian identity that they wish to embrace and it is one that is not working class.

Throughout this chapter, the role of education has been highlighted. In the next chapter, I provide an in-depth focus on the experiences of the second generation in education and the importance of education to the social mobility plans of the first generation.

Chapter 8 – Education, Education, Education (or books, books, books)

Introduction

When former Prime Minister Tony Blair was elected in 1997 his election manifesto motto was ‘education, education, education’. For my participants, this could be the mantra from their childhoods. The fundamental importance of education is a key part of the narratives of the Ghanaian second generation but it is also a consistent theme amongst other second generation groups. Briefly to summarise the discussion in *Chapter 3* regarding Bourdieu, cultural capital and the role played by academic qualifications. Bourdieu states that academic qualifications enable children to create economic opportunity, but that some children are advantaged over others in the schooling process. Despite this, achieving a good standard of education is seen as a strategy for social mobility and is used by the Ghanaian migrants and my second-generation participants to maintain or change their social status.

In the case of my participants, their parents came to the UK to continue training and develop their careers, however, the outcome was not always as hoped. Many of the participants’ parents experienced downward social mobility in coming to the UK, however as the majority came as students they were endeavouring to gain qualifications which would enable them to enter professions. Those that could come to the UK soon after independence were part of an elite. These were the ones that were chosen to receive scholarships by the Ghanaian administration due to their high educational attainment or were from families with the means to enable their children to come to the UK to study. Not all of these parents entered the professions that they had come to train in.

As will be discussed, other events meant that the journey towards professional qualifications was not always completed or the status of the jobs taken did not correspond to the level of education that the individual held. The jobs were taken to ensure income was available for the family in the UK and also for their family that remained in Ghana. The belief that a British education would enable their children to participate on a level playing field with their White peers, was held by many parents. The narrative that through a good education and hard work, success is possible is one

that has been echoed across many communities. There was a belief that the system was there to support their endeavours. Andrews (2013) and Rollock et al (2015) both highlight this myth in their work on the second and subsequent generations. Recent research has shown exactly why this is a myth and indeed how difficult it is to succeed if you are Black in Britain today.

British families are told that if their children go to school and work hard, they will be rewarded with good jobs and opportunities. But for many groups this promise is being broken. In recent months, the low educational attainment of White British boys has gained significant attention. However, when it comes to the transition from education to employment, this group is less likely to be unemployed and to face social immobility than their female counterparts, black students and young Asian Muslims.

(Shaw et al., 2016:2)

This chapter focuses on the participants' relationships to education, their beliefs relating to the role of education for themselves and others and the influence their parents and extended family have/had on their choices. Education has and continues to be an important part of the narratives of the first-generation who migrated in the 1960s and 1970s. From my research, it is clear that my participants adopted the same narrative about the importance of education, and when children, were given little choice about whether it was a narrative they wished to adopt.

Within this chapter, I show how education as a social mobility strategy is employed by the participants' parents and undertaken by the second generation participants. The parents' own relationships to education, for themselves and their children, is also highlighted here as is the educational history of the first generation, which provides context to this strategy and the importance of it within the Ghanaian community.

I focus on exploring the research into education, social mobility and the second generation. I argue that education was a key tool used by the first generation to attempt to secure their own and their children's social mobility. I also argue that it is the combination of this historical context, the deployment of various capitals and the use of education as a social mobility strategy which contributes to the high degree of success of my participants. Education and class are linked by many of the participants and these views will be explored in this chapter.

I also wish to explore in more detail than is possible through quantitative studies of employment, qualifications and social mobility, the relationship that my cohort of second-generation participants has with education and the role it has to play in shaping ethnic identity, class understandings and feelings of belonging.

I begin by examining what is already known about the second generation and educational attainment. I then highlight the experiences of the first generation and how the desire to acquire education is transmitted from the first to the second generation. The different strategies which are used by the first generation to ensure that a good education is received by their children are discussed in detail. I also explore the impact on my participants in relation to the different strategies used by their parents. Finally, I address the third generation and the ongoing relationship with education.

Background

In the 1970s and 1980s when my participants were growing up in Britain, the first generation believed that education was the best strategy to ensure their children's social mobility. However, as Crul et al (2012b) notes, the role of education is not just about exam results and entry into the workplace, it is also about access to other forms of capital and social stratification - 'National educational systems are, apart from educating, thought to serve two purposes in modern nation-states. One is cultural and political homogenisation; the other is social stratification' (Crul et al., 2012b:104).

The role of education is crucial in the development of individuals – not just in the preparation for the labour market but also in terms of social and emotional development. As mentioned by Crul et al (2012b) it also has a cultural dimension which is class inflected. Cultural and societal norms are learnt, and it is in this space that notions of belonging are explored and identities constructed. The role that class plays in education is not only linked to the possible class level that could be achieved, but also to an *understanding* of class, this was something which Kwame emphasised during his interview:

The second generation, and I know this because I've experienced this myself, is as you come through the education system, the education system gives you a set of tools and also gives you a certain set of aspirations. This is the culture, this is how the society runs, this is what you should be if you're going to be great and if you're not that, you're something else, that happens all over the world. So, based on that experience you then formulate, well, what does great

mean to me? What does affluent mean to me? What does successful mean to me? What does class mean to me? If class is part of your vocabulary, which is very much so in the western world,... - then it becomes something you aspire and become confined by...

(Kwame, 38)

A British education not only provides tools and supports aspiration, it can also provide access and privilege which is why it is a strategy that is used for social mobility by the first-generation Ghanaians who are the parents of the participants in my study. However, this strategy is not without many barriers – institutional racism exists within the education and employment systems. There are hurdles that still need to be overcome in order to succeed and odds are heavily weighted against those who are Black.

To counteract the hurdles, the parents employ a variety of strategies. They tell their children that they need to work harder than White peers. They are willing to move home or send their children to a school outside their local area if that means that the children will receive a good education. The range of strategies employed by parents is discussed in detail in this chapter. Not all the strategies are successful and the impact on their children is recounted in the narratives below.

Education as a tool for social mobility

To briefly summarise my discussion in *Chapter 2 – Literature review*, research across the US and European literature has addressed education and the social mobility of the second generation. US research has focused on the assimilation of the second generation into the host society, with a heavy emphasis on access to labour markets. As part of this focus on the assimilation, the US research discusses different minority groups in terms of how they best 'fit' existing structures. Therefore, the concept of the 'model minority' is discussed. This refers to a minority group that has few social problems, achieves academically and seems to fit in with the norms of the majority group. This label is mostly used with reference to communities from East Asia, for example, the Korean community. These labels affect how individuals are treated within education settings and indeed the ways in which they are given access to the labour market (see Rumbaut and Portes, 2001, Portes and Rumbaut, 2001, Lee, 2004).

In Western Europe, research on social mobility is often focused on qualifications gained and how this translates into jobs obtained in the labour market. Heath et al., in their 2008 review successfully summarised the plethora of different literature that addressed education, unemployment and educational attainment across Western Europe (Heath et al., 2008). Whilst the paper did not cover West Africans it did mention other visible minorities and the issues they faced in levels of education and accessing the labour market. By focusing on the labour market, researchers can see how education impacts access and roles obtained.

As mentioned in *Chapter 7 - Class*, downward mobility has an impact on many migrants, which means they are more likely to be doing lower paid work, therefore, having lower incomes. Social deprivation and low educational attainment are often linked – but not always in education studies. In the UK groups like the Chinese consistently outperform other ethnic groups and do so irrespective of their class background (Archer and Francis, 2007).

The levels of the attainment for Black children in education in the UK cannot be discussed without highlighting racism within education. It has long been documented that Black children experience discrimination within the education system. As Vincent et al., (2013) summarise, a series of reports and changes to education policy have highlighted the issues that Black children faced, from being labelled educationally subnormal to not being able to take higher level examinations. The social class of children has also been shown to have an impact on their outcomes, with working-class children having lower levels of attainment. The impact of race is also present here – as middle-class Black children still achieve low levels of attainment in comparison to their peers. Mamon (2004) mapped attainment and found that social class had a big impact on outcomes for BAME individuals:

A large social class gap was apparent for children of both genders and across all ethnic groups. Generally, children from non-manual backgrounds had significantly higher levels of attainment, as a group, than their peers of the same ethnic origin but from manual households. Black children from a non-manual background are the lowest attaining of the middle-class groups and barely match the attainment of Indian children from manual backgrounds.

(Mamon, 2004:85)

A more hopeful narrative

Education and social mobility are difficult to untangle and the narrative in the literature, for the majority of ethnic minorities, is one of under-achievement (Archer and Francis, 2007, Gillborn, 2008). Also, within education research, there is a tendency to reach for Bourdieu's work to provide an explanation for why certain groups are successful in spite of the odds. As Modood succinctly argues, theories of cultural capital are not easily transferable to ethnic minority studies because he states Bourdieu does not discuss ethnicity, 'assumes a cultural homogeneity' and begins his theory by looking at those with financial capital and how that capital can be converted into educational capital. For many of the ethnic groups they do not have the financial capital. Instead Modood suggests using the concept of 'ethnicity as a resource' (Modood, 2004:88). Coming from a deprived background does not preclude children from achieving.

Alarming as the statistics are for some national groups, most immigrant children overcome the daunting obstacles that devastate the lives of many of their cohorts. Even more astonishing is the case of youngsters who grew up in poverty but have surpassed expectations to achieve high levels of educational and professional standing.

(Fernandez-Kelly, 2008)

Mitton and Aspinall's (2011) research shows specifically amongst the Black African group there are many differences and when looking at the Ghanaians, in particular, there is high educational attainment and low levels of free school meals (which are used as a measure of deprivation), meaning they are not experiencing deprivation which requires state support. Mitton and Aspinall (2011) also found that second-generation Black Africans were actually doing very well in regard to education. Their research focused on integration in terms of social mobility for Black Africans:

The data confirmed that UK-born Black Africans had high levels of educational attainment. There was no evidence of this group having language difficulties in their education or in finding or holding down a job, which is an indication of integration. Some were thriving, were in managerial or professional jobs and had been able to secure a mortgage.

(Mitton and Aspinall, 2011)

It has been acknowledged that the second generation does not have some of the disadvantages that their parents may have had to contend with e.g. language, possible downward mobility. However, Cheng and Heath (1993) have noted that they can experience an 'ethnic penalty' on entering the workplace - disadvantage linked to their ethnicity – '...blacks with a given level of education tend to have lower occupational attainments than do whites with the same qualifications' (Cheng and Heath, 1993). Mitton and Aspinall (2011) also found that for some of the second generation their qualifications were not translating into senior roles in the workplace. This brief overview highlights the educational context within which the second generation grew up. As shown, there are barriers for the second generation in education and that translates into securing well-paid positions in the labour market. Despite these barriers, there is a great deal of educational and employment success within my group of second generation participants and their narratives tell of the degree to which they had to break down some of the lack of expectation on them as individuals from institutions. What is clearly shown is the interest taken by their parents and a variety of methods that the parents use to support their children. The first-generation Ghanaians activate the different capitals that they possess to enable their children to succeed. I discuss how the first-generation access - or not - social, cultural and economic capitals to provide the second generation access to what they feel is a good education, which in turn prepares them to enter the labour market.

The 'students that stayed'

Many of the early Ghanaian migrants to the UK came to take up places on courses, with the intention of returning to Ghana to establish their lives (Daley, 1996, Goody and Grouthes, 1977). Courses such as engineering, medicine and nursing were favoured and would enable the migrants to secure well-paid positions on their return (Goody and Grouthes, 1977). The legislative links between the two countries, had until the 1962 Commonwealth Immigration Act, awarded the citizens of Ghana, citizenship of Britain, an entitlement which was also available to their descendants (Castles et al., 1987). Post-1962, student visas enabled people to stay in the UK (Goody and Grouthes, 1977). Whilst many migrants had intended to return to Ghana, a proportion ended up staying. As noted a mix of political and economic change in Ghana and the establishment of families in the UK were some of the reasons for this settlement. Daley analysed the 1991 census and provided an in-depth review of Black Africans in the UK and refers to this group as 'the students that stayed'.

Education has been a key feature of Ghanaian migration for several centuries. In the 16th and 17th centuries, rulers in what was then known as the Gold Coast, sent their children to Britain to study as a way of fostering relations and gaining an understanding of the 'white man's book' (Adi, 2007). However large-scale migration to Britain for education did not occur until the 20th century. Post World War II, Britain's Colonial Office was under pressure from 'aspiring Africans' to enable them to receive professional training. This led to a wider 'migration for education' which took place in the period before independence (1950s) and immediately after (1960s) (Daley, 1996:45). Architects of Ghanaian independence, such as Kwame Nkrumah, had studied in the UK. These Africans came to the UK to pursue technical and higher education. The key pattern of this migration was that it served a specific purpose and the goal was to return. Around this period Ghana was experiencing an economic boom, in 1957 it had the highest Gross National Product (GNP) in Africa (Oppong, 2004) and as Goody and Grouthes (1977) found there were plenty of employment opportunities.

Goody and Grouthes (1977) studied Nigerian and Ghanaian couples to uncover the reasons why so many West Africans used foster care as a child-rearing strategy. Goody and Grouthes findings showed the desire from both partners to complete their studies to ensure social mobility on their return to their home country. Another survey carried out by Goody and Grouthes in the 1970s found that 96 percent of the men gave obtaining professional or technical qualifications as their main reason for coming to England (Goody and Grouthes, 1977:154). At this time, West Africans were stereotyped as students:

West Africans do indeed seem to be students, and if they are forced to pause their studies from time to time in order to support themselves and their families, they are doggedly persistent in returning to their education.

(Goody and Grouthes, 1977:154)

Goody and Grouthes argue that the importance of education to social mobility in the home country was linked to colonialism. In West Africa, White colonies were never established³³ but there was a colonial administration. With the change from colony to an independent state and a growth in positions in the new post-colonial administration,

³³ Cohen (1997:67) notes that 'at the independence celebrations in Ghana a toast was proposed to the mosquito which had discouraged White settlement'.

the need to have adequate qualifications to fill these posts grew, thus starting the wave of migration for education.

Goody and Grouthes' study found that only two percent of their research cohort was intending to stay in the UK. But intentions do not always match reality as stays became extended with the delay in studies and birth of children. Both men and women in their study were focused on obtaining skills/knowledge but desire/obligation to have children put the couples in a difficult situation. Goody and Grouthes created the term 'delay-companionship cycle' to describe the situation the couples found themselves in, the husband arrives first and then sends for his wife for companionship and a second wage earner. They both have ambitions, but the arrival of children makes the balance between work and study and finding accommodation more difficult. These difficulties lead to delays in the completion of studies and the likelihood of the arrival of further children. (Goody and Grouthes, 1977)

Goody and Grouthes' study highlights the importance of education to West Africans and the desire for social mobility, which they believe is achieved through education. Educational achievement and social mobility are desired for the second generation in my study by their parents. This is shown by the continued determination that their children succeed and in some cases the willingness to provide what they thought was 'better' parenting via fostering. Only one of my research participants experienced foster care, this case is discussed in further detail later in the chapter.

Peil's (1995) research on Ghanaian migrants living abroad again links the desire for education and social mobility to their migration patterns. Her research found that Ghanaians were flexible with occupations and they took advantage of work opportunities, which emerged in their locations. This flexibility meant that their original jobs were not indicative of their final occupation (Peil, 1995:354). What was seen as more important was the raising of income which could be sent home in the form of remittances. Vasta and Kandilige (2007) observe that there is over-representation of Ghanaians in lower paid/status positions and even though they may well be qualified for other positions, their circumstances find them accepting these jobs (Vasta and Kandilige, 2007:12). Part of the reason for this finding, they argue, is the lack of proper papers due to some respondents' overstaying the terms of their visa. However, in Peil's view, whilst the jobs may have low status, they provide money to send back and facilitate return. Peil does not mention racism in her study, however, racism is part and parcel of the experiences of these migrants particularly in the labour market, as found

by Vasta and Kandilige (2007) and Herbert et al (2008). The participants in the Herbert et al (2008) study felt they were denied opportunities and experienced overt and subtle racism. They endured because they had training and education goals and devised coping mechanisms. They leant on community organisations, visits to Ghana and remembered positive aspects of Ghana and Ghanaian culture to support them whilst in London (Herbert et al., 2008:114).

This migration pattern and narratives of downward mobility were replicated by many of the parents of the participants. The participants' parents in my study, had migrated between 1958 and 1979. Overwhelmingly men arrived first and the primary reason given for migration was further education. Only four of the parents had levels of education lower than A-levels or equivalent, the rest had degrees or post-graduate qualifications. In the main, there were more parents with post-graduate qualifications than their children. The high level of qualifications of the first generation is also highlighted in other studies. Dustmann and Theodoropoulos (2010) found that ethnic minority immigrants here in Britain in the early 1980s were well-educated and this was translated to the next generation:

The overall advantage in years of full-time education of first generation ethnic minority immigrants relative to their British born white peers carries through to their British born children. ...All British born ethnic minority groups have more years of full-time education than their British born white peers.

(Dustmann and Theodoropoulos, 2010:217)

However, most of the parental occupations did not match their level of education, which highlights the downward mobility of the parents. A gender disparity is also shown within the parents. In the vast majority of the cases, the mother arrived later in the UK and her career aspirations were delayed or never realised. Occupations, therefore, do not always reflect accurately other aspects of class status. Modood argues that the one possible reason for South Asian and Chinese students' high achievement is that the social class and education capital of their parents had more value in the field of education than their occupations would suggest was the case. Their occupations were affected by downward mobility and discrimination in the workplace:

Certainly, if we look at the qualification levels of the migrants at the time of migration, this argument that migrants' occupational class in Britain is not reflective of their true class and hence of their attitudes to education seems to

have some plausibility (Modood et al., 1997, pp. 68–69). It is particularly plausible in the case of the African Asians and perhaps also the Indians, but less so with other groups.

(Modood, 2004: 93)

I would not just say that it is plausible - I think this argument can be certainly extended to the Ghanaian community, as research has shown, that many experience downward mobility on migration. They experience many of the same issues as the Indian and Chinese communities, although being racialised as Black brings additional discrimination and assumptions of a lower-class status. Research by Herbert et al (2006) clearly shows the downward mobility of Ghanaian migrants, highlighting a case of an MBA graduate who was working as a carer. Dustmann and Theodoropoulos (2010) also find the first and second generation experiencing a lack of employment opportunities - '... British born ethnic minority individuals, despite having more schooling, have lower employment probabilities than their British born white peers' (Dustmann and Theodoropoulos, 2010:221). Whether the migration happened 50 years ago or two years ago, well-qualified Ghanaians are experiencing an 'ethnic penalty' in the workplace (Cheng and Heath, 1993) but the desire for achieving in education for themselves and their children remains.

Parental aspirations and offspring compliance

There is considerable evidence that parents of the second generation have higher aspirations for their children's education and migration can be regarded as being, for many individuals, part of a social mobility project for the family (Zeroulou 1988, Van Zanten 1997). This has been termed the family mobilization thesis.

(Heath et al., 2008: 223)

Given the migration patterns and reasons for migrating, I believe that the family mobilisation thesis is relevant to the Ghanaian community. Heath et al go on to say that for this argument to be proved, 'parental aspirations are actually transmitted to the children' (Heath et al., 2008:224) - this is indeed the case with my research. The previous studies show the first generation's long and deep-rooted connection to education. The importance of the role that education plays has indeed been transmitted to the second generation. Many of the participants described a narrative that they felt was common to the experience of second generation Ghanaians. Education was

deemed fundamental and they were expected to succeed. Kofi neatly highlights this in the following quote:

From day one it was drilled into my head that education was important, like most Africans. (laughs) So what I appreciate from my parents was that the way they did it wasn't in a way that I would rebel. I don't know what tactic they used, but it was one where I appreciated education and I myself realised that education, if I wanted to do well in life, I had to be well educated.

(Kofi, 31)

There was only one participant who did not feel that they were pushed in the direction of education by their family. However, she had excelled at school and later completed a degree as a mature student. The universally held measure of educational success was obtaining a degree. Amongst the participants, there were three individuals that did not have a first degree and one of the three was in the first year of a degree course. Four participants had post-graduate or equivalent qualifications, with some intending to continue their education later.

Obligation to parents

Obligation to parents was a theme that emerged in numerous interviews. The participants were expected to achieve and to engage with further and higher education. There was also a particular path to success, which meant following a traditional academic route. Part of this idea of this obligation to their parents has been conceptualised as the 'immigrant bargain', Suarez-Orozco's concept that describes the role of the sacrifices the first generation make for the second generation to succeed. The concept was based on research that was conducted in the Mexican community. The second generation's side of the bargain is to obtain a good education, become socially mobile and maintain links with their hometown (see Smith 2002). As a way of understanding this view, the following quote from Sally encapsulates some of the feelings of obligation. Sally's father came to study engineering in the late 1950s/early 1960s and her mother joined several years later to finish her nursing studies. She felt that she had to give her parents credit for being courageous and visionary for coming to a foreign land and making a life for themselves. It also meant that it was her duty to be successful.

To a larger extent erm they passed, they passed their ambitions on to you whether you like it or not, so you have to fulfil those ambitions. They came here

to make a better life for themselves, to make things better, therefore you as their children, you are obliged to do better because we've opened a door you have to now go through it and do your utmost to succeed. They drill these values into you and at the end of the day why wouldn't you want to succeed?

(Sally, 38)

Education was also a key part of Ama's narrative, her parents came to the UK with the intention of studying in the 1970s. Whilst she did obtain a degree, she resented the pressure put on her by her parents. Her mother worked in a secondary school therefore she had a good knowledge of the education system and dates for exams etc., so Ama felt that her mother always checked up on her.

Both of them were very pro-education and they also saw it as privilege and your entitlement to education, they could never understand why - they felt that they had it hard and we've got it easy - that's how they saw it - 'you English people have it easy'. So, they couldn't understand why people would want to mess about at school, considering the resources that we have available. I just remember my dad telling me a story when he was saying that when he used to get homework from school and if his lantern had burnt out and he hadn't finished his homework he knew the following day he would get the cane from the teacher and he used to say to me - I can't remember what I was doing, I don't know whether I wasn't taking my homework seriously or something - he was saying you're very lucky because you know in that circumstance that's what would have happened. But it's also been a standard that you finish your GCSEs, you do A Levels, you don't do a GNVQ or BTEC, you do your A levels, after your A Levels you do your degree. 'This gap year, what's a gap year? I don't understand this' - that's how they thought. And after degree then you do your postgrad or masters, that's their view, so it was just set in their minds and me and my sister just accepted that, so if we were ever to challenge that - it was a big challenge - so it was just something that was expected and we just went through the motions.

(Ama, 27)

Ama's parents framed education as a way of moving forward in society and saw a traditional academic route as the only way that social and economic success could be achieved. They also felt that their children were very privileged and so should not

waste the opportunities afforded to them. This notion of 'privilege' was also echoed in other narratives.

Ama discussed her educational journey as, 'going through the motions' and 'toeing the line'. The prevailing narrative amongst the participants is one of having to comply with their parent's wishes for them to succeed in higher education. In Kofi's case, he appreciated the messages and being pushed but for Ama, it fostered feelings of resentment. She felt little choice in following the path her parents laid out for her and her responses and body language (e.g. tensing up) led me to believe that she had been unhappy and still felt that way on reflecting on her childhood. There were no opportunities to depart from the status quo and it was easier not to challenge her parents.

The participants were aware of the sacrifice their parents had made, this led to trying to be sure they worked hard even when they were unhappy and had to deal with negative experiences. Kwadwo, experienced racism in school and had issues with particular teachers (details are described in *Chapter 6 - Racism*). He kept his unhappiness to himself and only told his father when he was an adult and a parent himself about some of the incidents that had happened when he was at school. He recounted an incident with a teacher who always marked him down and made it clear she would never give him a good mark (cited in *Chapter 6 – Racism*):

And funny enough I only told my Dad this story about, probably only about, five years ago and he was angry, he was so upset. He was so upset that I never told him this. At the time, when you're that age you just think, you can't really tell your parents anything negative, you know. They'll see it as you're getting in trouble. Obviously, it's stupid now, you can say that's silly because obviously if my parents knew this they would have, they couldn't really say I'm making it up. But at the time, I don't know, all those things I kept from my parents. All these thoughts I had about my school I never even told my parents the whole time I was there. I can't blame them because I never even told them. So, when I actually did tell my dad he was really upset, he was really upset that I'd never told him, which I felt bad about. These are lessons you learn and now that I am a parent I will just make sure whatever school I send my child to, I will get more out of that child as to how they're feeling about it.

(Kwadwo, 31)

Not all participants experienced educational success whilst at school or college, for Akua, 37, dropping out of college led to her being asked to leave home (her narrative is explored in further detail later in this chapter). According to Sally, parents felt regret if their child was not able to live up to their ideals. She felt that in her experience a child's failure makes the parents regret coming to the UK and lament about how this 'country has spoiled them and if they were in Ghana this wouldn't have happened' (Sally, 38). The parental strategy for dealing with children that were not meeting the grade was to send them to Ghana to have their values of hard work and discipline re-instilled. She noted that this sometimes worked and for others, it was a disaster. The parents for whom educational success was not forthcoming were very unhappy with their children. However, she acknowledges that there is some choice for the children and that she chose to be successful on her own terms. She described the battles that can sometimes occur between the parents and the child when the child opts for a non-traditional career - not a doctor/lawyer - but noted that the parents of those children would concede if they saw that their child was making a success of what they had chosen but added the caveat 'in some cases'.

The concept of a 'traditional' career path was mentioned in several narratives however it was not dominant in reality. Amongst my participants, there were no doctors or lawyers – but that did not stop them being successful in their chosen fields. Their careers were diverse and not all could not be considered 'traditional' as interests, experiences, circumstance and opportunities had differently shaped their career choices. For example, Kwadwo, 31, had to completely change his career plans on leaving university, as there were no jobs in his chosen field when he graduated. He now runs his own social enterprise.

At this point, I want to highlight two participants who did not have degree qualifications so they are outside of the education narrative created by the second generation Ghanaians in this study. Instead, both participants discuss happiness and wellbeing rather than echoing their peers in relation to having to go to university and feeling that they 'have to' do this for their families. Kojo, 37, had obtained A-Levels and then opted not to go to university and instead joined the British Army on leaving school. It was not the path his parents had hoped he would take. Whilst he does not feel the need to have a degree it is something that he sees in hindsight he should have obtained:

... To be quite frank, when I was in school, I probably should have gone, well I went college and got my A Levels and I probably should have gone on to

university and got a degree there but I took the view that there are many different opportunities without a degree, as there are with [one]. In hindsight, yes and no. Depends sometimes on luck, sometimes on chance but I've never been one that with a degree you have to do things, or it's better for you. Fortunately, I've got various relatives that have done quite well in business without a degree so...

(Kojo, 37)

Having other family members, who did not have a degree, as role models enabled Kojo to look critically at the assumed value of a degree and he relates this notion in the following statement:

...the British model for the value of a degree is not the international model. I mean in the States even in the late 80s and 90s it was quite apparent that if you had a degree you had to compete with other people who possibly had better degrees, and if you had a degree it wouldn't necessarily mean that you had as many networks or opportunities open to you as people who had basically greater experience. So the value was relative.

(Kojo, 37)

For Kojo, a degree was not a guaranteed ticket to a good job or success. He places value on experience and personal networks as tools needed on entering the workplace and securing a good job. His personal ethos is focused on a pursuit of happiness and not following a path set by others. These ideas were expressed and made explicit during our interview.

Yaw, 35, obtained GCSEs and started college but was unsure of what to study and did not complete his course. He highlighted constantly changing teachers and disruption to his education within his educational narrative. He did not feel that he had put his head down and focused enough in school and whilst he values education, his narrative centred on being a good person and being happy. He also did not feel he wanted to follow a traditional path expected by his parents in terms of career goals or an educational pathway:

I wasn't your typical 'oh I'm going to be a lawyer, doctor' I just loved the good vibes, I just wanted to do something where I could be creative but I never had anything in my mind that I wanted to do, to be honest, just music, I never had

anything else in my mind. I'm sitting there with a careers adviser who's trying to put all sorts of nonsense in my head and I just like doing what I'm doing. But anyway, I went to sixth-form College and messed around to tell the truth. Because for me, it's the focus, for anyone it's the focus. Once you focus on something you can get the job done...So I went sixth form, pissed around there, was half doing the work, it was interest - I wasn't interested I was just following routine. You finish school the natural routine, society, moms and pops, everyone says you have to go college then the next step is uni, you know, then whatever. I was following the routine as far, not what I really wanted to do so I was doing a subject I wasn't really interested in. So, if I'm not focused on something, obviously I'm not going to do well in it.

(Yaw, 35)

The experiences of my participants who did not go to university are in stark contrast to the narratives found by Lee in her 2004 study. For her Korean American participants not having attended further education invited shame – for the individual and for the family. These feelings were echoed in conversations with my participant Sally on success and failure – but were felt by the Ghanaian parents and not their children. Lee's participants were aware of the concept of the 'model minority' and those who did not make the 'grade' felt outside of their community. For Lee, this reaction was class-based and she found that the working-classes were moving away from a specifically Korean identity to one that was more loosely 'South Asian' in order to distance themselves from the minority model construction.

...the power of the model minority stereotype and the middle-class Korean community's unrealistically high academic and occupational expectations made working-class Korean Americans feel inadequate, ashamed, and ostracized from the co-ethnic community.

(Lee, 2004: 314)

However, whilst my sample is small, the individuals who did not have degrees are not moving away from other Ghanaians and as mentioned, class identity is not so easily measured. Lee used the father's profession to decide class origin and the participant's occupation to show class destination. In my discussion here, I focus on two participants who did not have degrees. Kojo is from working-class origins, but his occupation as a

senior police officer and income places him in the middle-class.³⁴ He also is endeavouring to make *more* connections with the Ghanaian community by joining networks and associations. Yaw is proud of his heritage and embraced that part of his identity. He had a middle-class upbringing, however, in his own right his achieved level of education does not put him in that bracket. He does state his occupation as 'entrepreneur'. The clear class distinctions between those with degrees and those without that were apparent in Lee's study are not found here and neither are the issues regarding fitting into a particular narrative based on your ethnic identity. Whilst the 'studious Ghanaian' narrative is prevalent within the community, perhaps it is not a narrative that is perpetuated in wider society (unlike the idea in the US of 'model minority'), so my participants were able to define success for themselves and not see a particular educational outcome as being central to being a 'successful' Ghanaian. My participants valued education and their parents' views but did not feel the need to subscribe to them or to feel that they could not hold a legitimate Ghanaian identity because they had not achieved a degree.

Strategies for social mobility

In order to create environments for educational success, the parents of the respondents used a variety of methods which are discussed further below. These include fostering to ensure their own completion of studies, moving home to ensure good schooling for their children, sending their children to schools out of area and also using tutors.

The delay-companionship cycle discussed earlier in this chapter, and desire for both genders to reach educational goals lead to the increased use of fostering amongst the first generation. Goody and Grouthes found that other migrant groups did not use fostering in the same way as West Africans and only West Indians used child-minding to the same degree. In comparison to White English families, this would not be a choice made, in the 1960s and 1970s it was more likely the wife would stay at home. This traditional gendered role was also expected by local authorities and West African couples found it difficult to obtain childcare support (Goody and Grouthes, 1977:170-173). Whilst the study does not separate the level of fostering used by Nigerians or Ghanaians they base their hypothesis on the use of fostering as child-rearing strategy

³⁴ He actually considers himself to be a member of the 'underclass' which is based on his views of the political process '...in terms of having a voice in the political process or the economic process. I don't have one'.

on fieldwork conducted in Ghana. They found it was not unusual for children to be raised away from home to 'learn adult skills and social moral values' (Goody and Grouthes, 1977:178). Children were also sent to live with people to obtain skills or gain support in their education.

...these forms of fostering are based on the underlying premise that parents are not necessarily the best people to rear their own children, and may not well be able to provide them with the opportunities and advantages available in a foster home.

(Goody and Grouthes, 1977:178)

Fostering children with English (White) parents, Goody and Grouthes, conclude, is an extension of this idea. English parents then provide access to English language and culture, which they believe aid social mobility later in life. However, as Daley notes, this strategy was a 'phenomenon of the 1960s and 1970s', which was in decline in the 1980s. The decline was caused by community workers highlighting the 'racial and psychological' problems some children might have in care.

Amongst my participants only one experienced being in foster care, Akua, 37, was fostered to enable her parents to complete their education. Her elder siblings had been left in Ghana but she had been born in the UK in the midst of her parents' training. 'I was fostered for the first six years of my life, with an English lady in Kent but my mum used to come every Saturday to visit me', (Akua, 37). After she was reunited with her parents her elder siblings joined the family and soon after her parents had another baby. Akua's narrative is one of feeling like an outsider and of not belonging and she has a fractured relationship with her family. However, the role of education is still a strong part of her belief system. Her school years were punctuated with being in trouble in school, being labelled as a bully and hating her time there. Problems in school led to clashes with her father and after she dropped out of college, the row which followed led her to leave home at age 17. Through volunteering and taking an access course, she was embarking on a degree which she started in her late 30s. 'There are loads of courses that I've tried and I started and didn't even get to December, but I'm really enjoying this one' (Akua, 37).

It was not unusual for children to be left in Ghana whilst the parents were pursuing their education and being brought to the UK later to reunite the family. There were very few people born before 1967 that I could speak to because that generation did not, by and

large, grow up in the UK. Children were also sent for short stints to Ghana, to either prepare for return or to enable parents to manage jobs, divorce/relationship breakdown or study.

Another strategy employed by the first generation was a change of location. Moves were made from the inner city to outer London suburbs. The change of location usually meant a move from a largely Black community to a largely White community, which led to narratives of standing out and isolation from other Ghanaians. However, the primary reason given for the moves was for better schooling. Alternatively, several of my participants were sent to schools that were not close to where they lived. This is particularly the case if they lived in a working-class area, they were often sent to schools in neighbouring boroughs to ensure they received what parents perceived as the best quality of education.

Kwadwo, 31, was sent to a grammar school in a neighbouring borough and had a very negative experience of school. He experienced racism and was unhappy in the new environment but he felt obligated to his parents to go and do well and hid the negative feelings/experiences and other things from them. In particular, we discussed sports and not bonding with peers. He also disregarded ski trips as he was not interested and when he looked at the price tag of these trips he decided his parents could not pay the amount, so letters were never given to his parents:

It was like a double life because then as I would have all my real friends back where I'm growing up or living near me. So, the funny thing was whereas I went with that mentality of grades is all that counts and my parents were like [again adopts a Ghanaian accent] 'books, books, books', and there was no problem. But you got grades in that school and you were never treated equally. So I'd get good grades but was never a teacher's pet in that school. I can't really say that I ever even formed any strong bonds with a teacher and that's because there was so much of the other things going on. I'd always played football but in this school for whatever reason didn't even have a football team. I was always on the football team in all my other schools, I played football on the weekends and all that stuff. This school had rugby, cricket, hockey, so I was like ok. I didn't like rugby, I've never liked it so I was like ok... I was not involved in any extra-curricular activities in that school, so apart from getting a good education, I don't believe I benefitted from going to that school. I almost feel like if I'd have gone to a school around my way I still would have got them same grades, I would

have been the teacher's pet I may have become the head boy of the school! Or something like that, I would have been involved. While it's like I went there and the education was good but other than that, the experience, didn't really help me.

(Kwadwo, 31)

The participants' parents wanted them to go to good schools and also in some instances if they lived in areas that were dominated by racism, they wanted them to go where they would be safe. Kofi noted that due to living in what he describes as a 'high crime' neighbourhood, his parents sent him to a secondary school outside of the area. Ashantewaa, 27 moved areas when her parents bought a house – her family experienced high degrees of racism in the new area. She had been moved from her primary school but after a short while, she went back as she experienced racism from fellow pupils at the new school.

Abena is one of five children who was raised by a single mother for the majority of her life. She also had two cousins who grew up with her family. Her mother told them all that education was important and drummed into them the need to learn. At age 13 her family moved from an inner-city borough that was predominantly Black to an outer London borough, which was a predominantly White area.

The intention for us for moving was obviously for better schooling, and with my mum, she obviously wanted to take us to private school but it was too much obviously for 5, 7 kids to go. That was the reason like we sort of moved. It was quite an affluent area and was predominately White at the time so it was sort, of you, I wouldn't say we didn't fit in but we stood out obviously.

(Abena, 34)

Abena contrasts the schooling she had in the inner city to her experience in outer London. She noticed there was a distinct difference in the level of education as she went from being at the top of the class in her old school to being on the bottom in her new one. Even though in changing schools Abena went to the bottom of her class she felt that she was receiving a better standard of education at the new school and that there was more she could achieve – more was expected of her. She was one of two Black girls in her school year but did not experience any issues relating to her race. At

the inner-city school, she experienced issues with other Black girls because she was studious – this was not something that was an issue at her new school.

I had three girls, probably like, you know because I was on that, put my head down and worked, I was being targeted as like you know a swot. Do you know what I mean? And they wanted to trouble me for being that, but that's all I knew what to go to school for. That's all I knew about what going to school was, you go to school to learn. And that's what I was told from home. You go to school to learn.

(Abena, 34)

Her understanding of the role of education had been instilled in the home. Her mother told them all that education was important and drummed into them the need to learn. Other family members were also influential in her educational decision making including her uncle, who is a lecturer and who also helped guide her towards university.

The desire to find the right school for their children is shown by the choices and potential sacrifices that the parents are willing to make. Finding the right school mix was also an issue in Rollock et al's., (2015) study on the educational strategies of the Black middle-classes. Amongst those second generation British Caribbean/ Black British participants, they were also looking for schools for their children (third generation) which contained a good mix socially and racially. Their own parents had had little contact with the school outside of parents evenings but also 'conveyed to their children a strong sense of the importance of education and the expectation that they do well at school' (Rollock et al., 2015:160). As already noted, this narrative for 'doing well in school' is a theme across the different minority groups.

However, I must note here that it was not always easy to do well in school. The failure of the school system to support Black students has been well documented (Fryer, 1984, Andrews, 2013). The use of supplementary schools to provide an alternative space to support success began in the 1970s. It was a movement led and established by the Black Caribbean population in the UK. Andrews (2013) speaks about the role of the supplementary school in his work. Amongst my participants, not one went to a supplementary school or mentioned it as an option for them at the time. Tutors were

used as a strategy or other one-on-one relationships with family members, but no formal weekend or after school provision was used.³⁵

In the case of my participants, parents used their social and financial resources to ensure the educational success of their children. They were willing to move, sacrifice financially for their children to attend private schools, or for their children to travel long distances to ensure they were in schools that would give them the best opportunities for social mobility.

This level of sacrifice has been discussed in other studies, indeed Lacy noted differences amongst her American cohort in relation to the role of parents in the social mobility of the children. Her study focuses on four different communities where Black middle-class people reside in a particular East Coast locality. One category of parents in her study, who were deemed to be elite middle-class, were keen to pass on their relatively privileged social status to their children even if it meant spending vast amounts of money on private education. The other group, which she defines as the core Black middle-class, were not willing to make this sacrifice as they did not wish to jeopardise their standard of living in order to ensure their children went to college, in some instances the parents discussed how the children themselves would be financially contributing to their education (Lacy, 2007). From the perspective of my participants, their parents did not consider whether changes which could have a positive effect on their children would have a negative effect on their own standard of living.

The realisation of their social mobility project, using education as a lever, can be seen in the example of Ashantewaa, 27, who discusses the change as her family moved from working-class environments into a more middle-class lifestyle and the impact it had on her younger brother:

My brother who is seven years younger than me, he was born into the house my parents bought so he's never had any kind of council estate experience and he went to private school and now he goes to [a Russell Group university] so his experience is very different to mine. I'd say for me it's very much been about upward mobility in the UK... Whereas he started in that family. That's why I'm

³⁵ In the process of conducting this study and my Master's study I did not find evidence of London-based Ghanaian supplementary schools that existed during the formative years of my participants.

very aware of it because growing up it was definitely not a part of you, because my parents - we never got any free dinners or free things we only had to pay so I was in the minority then I went to sixth form where I was part of the majority, where everybody paid. Very much I feel like between 15 and 16 it was a very different lifestyle, it happened very quickly.

(Ashantewaa, 27)

Another educational strategy was to utilise the resources available within the extended family. The role of other family members in supporting success in education is strong, especially in situations where there was a one-parent household or where parents did not have a high level of education or know the UK system. In this case, the aspirations/expectation were there but the educational capital was lacking so alternative sources were found to plug the knowledge gap. Where a parent was not the main source of educational information, other relatives and sometimes family friends fulfilled that role. Abena and Kofi both mention uncles who were strong role models in their educational choices and decision-making. In both cases, the uncles had achieved high levels of education and helped their nephews and nieces by having open discussions about their futures and sharing knowledge of higher education.

Adjoa, 28 moved back and forth between Ghana and the UK from the age of two until she was around nine years old and settled in schools in and around North West London. Her mother had come to the UK to join her father and spent the next several years educating herself and qualifying as a social worker and then as a nurse – these qualifications were obtained when Adjoa was in secondary school. Her mother had not managed to reach a higher level of education before coming to the UK but was inspired by other family relatives who did go on to higher and further education. She saw what the power of education could do and not only did it for herself, but emphasised those same values to her daughter and other children:

...So, from day one she was like 'you have to read your books, you have to study'. So, when we came back here, erm one of the first things she did was, like, get us extra tuition for certain subjects, she tried to get us into drama, piano lessons that I quit. I quit drama club as well [laughs]. She gave us opportunities to do things that I guess middle-class White people would do - that would broaden your horizons.

(Adjoa, 28)

It is hard to talk about education and not talk about class. As Adjoa's quote shows, certain activities are linked to class positions and also to race. The drama lessons and piano lessons are seen as 'White' activities. When this is explored further with Adjoa she said other members of the Black community would deem these activities as 'White' activities, but that this was the view of a working-class Black community.

The comments also highlighted the wider role of education - expanding horizons – education as not solely a route to a job but also as a process that widens your views and interests and to provide you with access to experiences (see also Vincent, 2013).

The ultimate parental goal, it would appear from the participants, is for the children to obtain a degree which enables them to obtain a 'good job' defined as a professional career, for example, doctor, and establish themselves in UK society. The experiences of my participants link with the findings of Reay et al., (2005) study which addresses degrees of choice, investigating how different groups choose where they study and how they feel about studying in different spaces. The participants in my study are a mix of what Reay et al., describe as 'the contingent chooser' and 'the embedded chooser' (Reay et al., 2005). According to Reay et al, the contingent chooser is a student who is normally from a working-class background and whose parents were educated outside of the UK and may not know enough about the system to assist their children in their choices but provide lots of encouragement to their children (Reay et al., 2005). The 'embedded chooser' is described as someone who 'has parents who attended university and often other relatives and friends who experienced university, although not necessarily in the UK.' For this group, University is part of their expected narrative – 'Not to go on to higher education is virtually unthinkable and certainly unacceptable to parents' (Reay et al., 2005:119). The majority of my participants are 'embedded choosers' but in some instances, their parental circumstances, namely downward mobility and/or having their own education in Ghana, saw the 'contingent chooser' narrative appearing. Most of my participants went to university and were one of the last groups of individuals to receive a free university education. They benefited from the widening of access and creation of new universities.

Kofi stated that attending university was 'the norm' for him and he had 'no other plans'. All his siblings had attended university. Another participant, Kofi.A describes his path into education as taking a 'traditional Ghanaian route' he went straight through GCSEs to A-levels, finished his degree and promptly completed a Masters. Out of all the interviews conducted, only one participant did not highlight the traditional path through

the education system as being expected. Alternatives to this path did not seem to be discussed.

There were mixed experiences at universities depending on where they attended. The participants not only attended University across London but also the UK. For some, the networks/friendships they made at University helped them in later life, even if, in some cases, the degrees they completed did not lead to their chosen careers. As noted earlier one of the participants changed career path due to changes in the economy after they graduated. This was also the case with some of the other participants who then went on to retrain and take, for example, professional qualifications in accountancy, to guarantee themselves a job/career after university.

Going to university was part of their education narrative – it was just what you did – most of the participants spoke about their experiences in that way. However, whilst the courses were not always what they would have preferred to have done, some of the participants highlighted the relationships that they found and formed particularly with other Africans and/or Ghanaians. Kwame grew up on the outskirts of London where there was a very small Black community and one other Ghanaian family in his local area, his friendship groups are from all over the world but he highlighted this particular experience of engaging with his heritage whilst at university:

Going to university is where we get tribal, and I say tribal because I don't think it's a true, true, identity experience but it's a mock identity experience. So you associate with, not exclusively, you associate almost under a banner with other Ghanaians and other Jamaicans and other Nigerians, but you understand that you have a heritage that is Ghanaian and that's part of what makes you special.

(Kwame, 38)

After years of unhappiness at his grammar school, Kwadwo found good friends when he went University:

University was great I met loads of like-minded guys, like-minded African guys and we just bonded. All my close friends from uni are still my close friends now and the funny thing is all similar experiences even though we're all from different parts of London...It's funny you meet people who've had similar experiences or have similar views and you just bond.

(Kwadwo, 31)

The importance of having 'like-minded' people around you is a concept that is explored in further detail in *Chapter 9* in a more detailed discussion on friendships.

Third generation and education

At this point, I wish to briefly address the third generation. Vincent et al (2013), explores in their study on the Black middle-classes, what the parents in their study do to support their children's educational attainment and how they use their resources as middle-class parents to support their children. Parents' use of class resources:

... include long-term planning, an active choice of school, careful monitoring of the child's progress and teacher actions, enrolling children in extracurricular activities, seeking to establish a dialogue of equals with teachers, and using their dress, accent and knowledge about the education system to convince White power-holders of both their respectability and their ambition for their children... However, these strategies require considerable parental labour and success is not guaranteed, despite the skill and resources that parents invested in the process.

(Vincent et al., 2013: 940)

This form of 'labour' has been used by the parents of my participants and as part of the interviews, some of my participants discussed their wishes/plans for the next generation. Only four of my participants were already parents at the time of the interviews. The lessons about the importance of education and the need to succeed are also being transmitted to the third generation – in reality, and in plans. Strategies employed by their parents are being replicated for the next generation. However, this also led to reflection on the part of some participants.

For example, in Ama's case whilst she challenged the educational plan her parents had laid out for her and their decision to live so far away from other Africans/Ghanaians, as she contemplates motherhood she outlined wanting to move out of the inner city where she is currently based and stated the role education would play in her children's lives. This echoed her own upbringing. Following her marriage, she had moved into the inner-city and wanted the outer-London childhood she had to be replicated for any future children.

Marriage was also the reason Abena moved from a home in the outer London suburbs to inner-city London. Ideally, she would like to move to Ghana to raise her children but

in the interim, she wants to move to outer London in order to enable her children to get into better schools – in the same way her mother moved her over 20 years ago.

Strategies in relation to careers for the participants' children were not necessarily the same as the first generation parents. Ama.B, for example, discussed how she had recommended her son get qualified in a trade and had encouraged him to become a plumber. Her rationale was plumbers were always needed and earned good salaries. She took a degree as a mature student and her husband was a bus driver. As a child, she was not forced down the traditional education path and whilst she does believe in the power of education and much of the Ghanaian narrative she can see that there are other ways to achieve success and addresses this with her own children. Her own parents had been successful but had not followed the traditional path - her father was a photographer and videographer and was well known within his local community whilst her mother traded between the UK and Ghana.

The second generation wants their children to succeed but their experiences of education also impact on how they feel about the wellbeing of the children. Kwadwo, wants his sons to do well in school but also wants to ensure that they can come to him and not be afraid to tell him about things that are happening at school and if they are unhappy. As highlighted earlier, he had felt at the time that he could not disappoint his parent's so held things back from them – he does not want his children to feel that doing well in school is all that matters.

Conclusion

Education has a strong role in the Ghanaian community and its importance is passed through the generations. The Ghanaians in this study follow a narrative prioritising education and mainly follow a very traditional path which ends in a university education.

The parents' desire for education as a way of being socially mobile is apparent in their dialogue with the second generation and my reflections on the history of migration. Irrespective of the downward mobility experienced by parents or the ethnic penalty experienced by both the first and second generation, that desire is not diminished. Parents will use multiple strategies to ensure the success of their children and are willing to make numerous sacrifices so that their children can achieve. The children do their part by taking on the messages and pursuing, in the main, higher education.

As migrants, the first generation often 'lost' their class status, but by ensuring their children engage in education and pushing them towards having good jobs they have created a middle-class second generation. The ascribed class of first generation parents (which is mostly working-class) does not stop them having high expectations/aspirations for their children and those children look to meet these by following this traditional path and succeeding even in circumstances which are difficult.

Where the parents are not able to provide the level of guidance, support or influence, other family members step in and fill that void. Hard work and sacrifice are themes which are echoed across the generations. This comes in many forms whether it is financial or emotional. Both the first and second generation must overcome a variety of issues to succeed within education. Whether it means somebody else looking after your child or moving away from your local community and friends, it takes place so that the second generation, and now the third generation, can succeed.

In the next chapter, *Being Black, Being British, Being Ghanaian*, the notion of racial and national identities is discussed in more depth.

Chapter 9 – Being Black, being British, being Ghanaian

Introduction

Who can be here, who can stay here, who can lay claim to being of here, who can define here, and perhaps most importantly who can feel comfortable here, are the lines around which systems of exclusion and inclusion are maintained.

(Hamaz and Vasta, 2009:7)

The idea of who belongs, how they belong and where they fit in a society was a key theme which ran through the empirical data gathered in this study. I have explored belonging across the literature, and ideas linked to transnationalism, nation states, race and ethnicity all play a part in how belonging and feelings of home are experienced. The role of the nation-state, its view on integration and assimilation in relation to ethnic minorities also has a bearing on how people feel about belonging (Hamaz and Vasta, 2009). Some of the deeper meanings of what it means to be Black, Ghanaian and/or British are explored in this chapter.

The creation of a space, which enables the second generation participants to belong, is explored in this chapter. The notion of the 'third space' (Reynolds, 2008), as discussed in the literature review, is manifested here. The necessity of creating this space is made apparent through the exploration of Black identity and identity as the children of migrants living in a space when they are seen as the 'Other' (issues that are discussed in depth in *Chapter 3*). The argument here is that being Black, second generation Ghanaian and being raised in the UK creates a hybrid identity where finding a space to belong is negotiated through the development of a 'third space' – a space where participants can be themselves. I argue that many do not feel at 'home' and one of the ways in which they create a sense of being at 'home', is to surround themselves with other Black people creating a space that does not require a mask or for them to perform an identity that is not truly owned.

Research on Black identity in the UK has focused on a Caribbean perspective, primarily as it was the larger Black population in the UK. The African identity in the UK and the West is explored in this chapter, by highlighting the literature on of the

integration of the second generation. I examine whether and how my study participants feel included in the UK.

The next section addresses what being British means to my participants and discusses some of recent dialogues relating to British identity, particularly in the context of events such as the Olympics (London 2012) and international terror incidents which have caused commentators to explore how British identity is defined and also the current government discourse on immigration – pre and post the Brexit decision. I propose that negative discussions on immigrants can affect the second generation, leading to a disassociation with their natal country.

I specifically look at what being Ghanaian means from my participants' perspectives and address both the Ghanaian government's view of its migrant population and the relationships that exist within those spaces – Ghana and the UK. The claiming and assertion of a Ghanaian identity is not always a simple choice and here again, there are complexities – but there is a choice of when and where identity can be asserted.

African identity in Black Britain

The 1970s and 80s saw the fight for inclusion and equality by Black activists and there were shifts across institutions, for example, academia and the arts. Being 'Black British' was a political identity and a quest for recognition (Owusu, 1999). I have discussed in further detail in *Chapter 3* the background to Black identity in the UK and here the discussion centres on the role specifically of African identity in Black Britain. For many of the participants when they were growing up, being Black was defined as a Caribbean identity. The Caribbean identity was a dominant Black identity in the UK – indeed the census label of 'Black British' was created to accommodate the children of Caribbean migrants (Thompson, 2015b, Thompson, 2015c).³⁶ The dominance of a Caribbean identity has changed with the growth of the African and other Black communities in the UK.

For my participants, their African identity was something that was predominantly presented as negative, sometimes by themselves but also by others. Whether their

³⁶ I note here that at first the label 'Black British' was meant to encompass members of the Asian community but later it was members of the Caribbean community that were insistent that it be created see - THOMPSON, D. 2015c. What lies beneath: equality and the making of racial classifications. *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 31, 114-136.

African identity was viewed negatively by peers or themselves depended on several factors: their proximity to other Ghanaian and African groups and/or, living in areas that were predominantly Caribbean or White. These ideas are explored in further detail later in this chapter.

There was a lack of knowledge about Africa from wider British society. Media images during the 1980s focused on famine and war and the view of Africa as an impoverished war-torn continent was the pervading one. The dominant discourse of Africa as 'Other', the dark and savage continent is still quite prominent in the media and across the sphere of the West:

The idea of Africa as 'Other' is a product of the West (Bhabha, 1994; Mudimbe, 1994). According to Jarosz (1992), the positioning of an entire continent and its people as the 'Other' exposes the hostile and racist valuations of Africa and Africans in Western colonial and imperialist discourses...Therefore, the relational space between the West and non-West (i.e. the 'Other') is often projected through a web of dualities or binaries such as light/dark, civilized/savage, advanced/backward, found/lost, life/death, known/mysterious and tame/wild in order to produce an image of the West as superior and the 'Other' as inferior (Bhabha, 1994; Dutta, 2011; Jarosz, 1992; Said, 1979). Even though these stereotypical representations and binary derivatives rest on emotion, imagination, and creativity rather than on observations and proven facts, they continue to inform stereotypic discourses about Africa in Western film, media, literature, and travel accounts (Jarosz, 1992; McEwan, 2009; Nisbet, 1969).

(Odemerho and Spells, 2012:1)

The majority of my participants grew up in London during the 1980s. Events such as *Live Aid*, the fundraising event which brought prominent music artists of the time together to highlight the 1984 famine in Ethiopia, helped to perpetuate the views of Africa being a homogenous place which needs aid, a view expressed by one of my participants. Ashantewaa, 27, sees herself as a young British born Ghanaian who is proud of her Ghanaian heritage but enjoys being British and the privileges that a British identity brings. She grew up in South-East London and spent her early years living in a predominately White working-class area. She summed up her experience of growing

up during the period of the first *Live Aid* event and the impact it had on her developing identity:

One of my very clear memories as a child was starting school and no one telling me, but I decided that I was from Jamaica because at the time I was growing up it was all kind of, I forgotten what it was called, you know it was that Bob Geldof malarkey, that stuff [Interviewer – *Live Aid*?] So all you used to see on TV was the *Live Aid* stuff, it was Somalian children with pot bellies and you didn't want to be associated with that.

(Ashantewaa, 27)

The stereotyping of Africa has also come to prominence in 2014 with another *Live Aid* event, this time to support funding to halt the Ebola epidemic, with at least one artist refusing to participate due to the content of the fundraising song which included the lines: 'Where a kiss of love can kill you and there's death in every tear, and 'There is no peace and joy in West Africa this Christmas' (ODG, 2014). In March 2015 a group of 200 academics and writers condemned American news channel CBS in an open letter for its coverage on Africa stating that they felt 'grave concern about the frequent and recurring misrepresentation of the African continent' on the segments which had been shown on the show *60 Minutes* (French, 2015).

Throughout the interviews, participants recounted receiving negative comments at school from different groups regarding their ethnic identity. At this point in their lives, they were forming their sense of self, for many this was a difficult time. Adjoa, 28, describes herself as an 'international person' - born in the UK - at several points during her primary schooling she lived in Ghana for short periods of time before finally settling back in the UK from the age of nine.

When we were in high school it wasn't cool to be African, everybody wanted to be West Indian so everybody put on like a West Indian accent and, I don't know, like a lot of the West Indians used to make comments about Africans and dark skin and stuff like that. But because I came from Ghana and I had a strong connection with Ghana, I love Ghana, I just decided that I don't want to be West Indian, so anything to do with West Indian-ism, so any of the slang, I refuse to use. Because my mum was like 'you can't speak Cockney' [switched to a Ghanaian accent],

'you can't do, you have to talk properly' it made the way I speak quite correct, grammatical and maybe posh, but a lot of that is because I do not want to use the slang that may be seen as trying to be Jamaican or whatever.

(Adjoa, 28)

Adjoa is an example of a participant that opted for a strong or 'thick' identity. Her ability to reinforce this particular aspect of her identity was strongly linked to her relationship to Ghana and having spent time there as a child.

Some participants like Adjoa foregrounded their ethnicity and reiterated their ethnic identities to ensure that people knew who they were and where they were from. Others denied their ethnic background and instead opted to pretend that they were from the Caribbean. Many participants spoke about an African/Caribbean divide, those that did not tend to live in areas where there were very small Black communities.

Ashantewaa, who was introduced previously, documented her experience in this way:

I lived in Eltham, which is the place where Stephen Lawrence was murdered, there was a point where me and my friend prayed that we would turn White. I was seven when this first happened, I don't think it was until I was 11 until I was fully proud to be Ghanaian in this country. Because if you didn't get it from the Whites, you got it from the Jamaicans because they thought they were everything at the time.

(Ashantewaa, 27)

Her negative comments about Jamaicans, dismiss and stereotype a nation and are derogatory. Descriptions of bullying from Caribbean classmates was documented in several interviews. In this case, the participants were not seen as 'authentically Black' because they did not conform to a particular way of being. By this I mean enacting what was then a predominately Jamaican cultural identity - particular versions of Blackness come to be seen as 'authentic' and others as 'inauthentic'.

'Authentic' Jamaican identity was perceived as classed, as it was a predominately working-class Jamaican second/third-generation rendering that dominated. Particular modes of speech, dress and actions were deemed 'Black'. This speaks to Gilroy's (2002) idea that Blackness has become a commodity and can be packaged and used

and shown in particular ways. Using patois, listening to particular kinds of music and stating that you ate certain kinds of foods enabled you to be seen as 'Black'. However, as the Ghanaian participants were not from the Caribbean they were sometimes ridiculed or treated as outsiders.

For Ama, 27, throughout most of her primary school life, she was the only Black child in her school. At secondary school, she met people from other cultures but they were mostly from Asia and she noticed that there was a separation between different cultures. College was a different experience entirely as the college has a large Black population from South London and there her 'Blackness' was challenged because she did speak in a certain way and dressed differently.

I really noticed the difference, I don't dress like all the other Black girls in the college, I didn't mind speaking to anyone whether it was a punk or White person, I was just free to speak to anyone, whereas they were very much into the 'cliqueness' of everything. I just remember going into the canteen and you had the Black crew over here, the White crew there, the disabled kids right in the middle and the Asian crew over there. But I was fine just to speak to anyone, so I had a close-knit group of friends but I would say they were from across the board.

(Ama, 27)

The zeitgeist has changed since the 1980s, and whilst there are still negative images, perceptions about African identity seem to have shifted. Sally, 38, discussed some of these changes in our interview. She mentioned the rise of positive African role models, for example, former US President Barack Obama, which she believes are helping to change wider negative perceptions of Africa and its people. 'Now being African pertains to you having a modicum of, I don't know, intelligence, sophistication. We've progressed through the pre-colonial images. We've arrived now.' (Sally, 38) This discussion opened up one about the perceptions of Africa and Africans in which she noted the changes from negative to positive portrayals in the media.

Through the exchange of cultural knowledge through mediums such as food, film, literature, sport and music the understanding of the continent in the West has slightly shifted on its axis. The popularity of football in 'English' culture, means that Ghana's participation in the FIFA World Cup in the years 2006, 2010, 2014 garnered positive

publicity. In London, if you turn on your radio to Capital FM or Kiss FM you might hear High-Life Ghanaian rhythms as new artists like Fuse ODG, have made Ghanaian music mainstream. It is now 'cool' to be African and assert an African identity. However, being 'Black' can still be a problematic identity.

British Identity – politics and belonging

There is a distinction between belonging and the politics of belonging which Yuval-Davis (2006) succinctly argues. There are several different ways to 'belong', whether that is based on gender or race, the key component for belonging is about an emotional attachment – feeling at home and feeling safe. The politics of belonging construct boundaries stating who belongs within those boundaries:

The boundaries that the politics of belonging is concerned with are the boundaries of the political community of belonging, the boundaries that separate the world population into 'us' and 'them'.

(Yuval-Davis, 2006:204)

The climate in Britain today, 2017, is one where politics of belonging are quite complex. Britain today exists in the wake of the 9/11 and 7/7 terrorist bombings (which took place in the US and London), 'Brexit' and a completely changed international political landscape. We now have British values taught in schools, citizenship tests, hostility towards migrants from Europe and beyond and anti-Muslim sentiment as part of the discourse on belonging. This dialogue relating to who is British affects all those who are perceived as the 'Other'.

A new British Identity?

Gabriel et al. (2012) in their work on the British Asian population, saw the second-generation as creating new identities and new ways of being British. In their paper, they suggest that the key failing of multiculturalism is that it created fixed, separate identities and made those who are part of the second-generation feel that they did not belong. They examine government policy and rhetoric in the light of the Bradford riots in 2001 and the bombings in London in 2005.

Rather than trying to hold on to the cultural identities of the earlier generation, or assimilating completely into the dominant culture, the second generation has galvanised the resources of both, creating radically new composite cultural

configurations. The flexibility inherent in such identity negotiations and adjustments carries a greater range of options for self-definition and points to the ability of the second generation to move and interact between different cultural values and assumptions (Parekh 2000, p. 29). In so doing, this generation disrupts simple and linear—as well as hegemonic—definitions of what it means to be “British”

(Gabriel et al., 2012:274).

This disruption and creation of a new way of engaging with British identity could be found within my participants. Whilst all of my participants had British passports, the degree to which they saw themselves as British varied. Regarding asserting a British identity, I found it to be contextual – it depended on the place and the reason why it was being asserted – identity is fluid. Kofi.A, 29, when he was younger, spent a lot of time reading about Black history and did not perceive himself as British. However, in his mid to late teens, he started travelling to Europe and found himself defending Britain. It was at this point he began to feel Ghanaian British and considers himself to be a hybrid.

To juxtapose some of the themes that emerged when discussing British identity, I highlight Kofi who featured as a case study. His affinity to Britain and a British identity was felt solely through the passport and education he held.

His views are in complete contrast to those held by Kojo, quoted later in the chapter. Rather like Ashantewaa, mentioned previously, a British identity can be seen as affording certain benefits, rights and privileges which the second generation use to their advantage. But as both Kofi and Ashantewaa highlight, their cultural practices and engagements focus on Ghanaian rather than English or indeed British culture. These ideas are expanded upon by Kwame, who understands being British in terms of ‘cultural benefits’ which he links to democracy, citizenship, freedom of movement and access to Europe. He considers the culture of Britain to be a celebration of diversity and that there is no uniform culture across the country:

British culture is a very interesting one because Britain as a society is a wave of migration, Britain is probably the most ethnically – [sighs] for want of a better word, most ethnically mixed society on the planet. There are very few people who can claim truly to be indigenously British. Whether Roman or Saxon or

Viking or German or Dutch, Polish, there's a lot of stuff going on in Britain. So our culture in, here, our culture in Britain tends to be a hybrid of just about anything and we celebrate, the culture's pretty much a celebration of diversity, there is very little that, you could look around the UK and say 'yes we all celebrate this in the same way'. Whereas, for instance, with somewhere like Ghana, throughout you could say that you don't shake someone's hand with your left hand, because culturally - you don't have those same kind of things in the UK.

(Kwame, 38)

It is clear that for these participants, British identity holds some clear benefits. As a whole, as they are not migrants they are not subject to the issues relating to citizenship and some of the changes in the law which the British government have enacted. However, the discourse around immigration, belonging, identity does impact on this visible group. As Gans has stated, a negative dialogue about immigrants can lead to the second generation internalising the negativity and even using derogatory terms (Gans, 2007b). The public discourse on migration and who belongs can also make those that are visibly different feel less at home. Race-related incidents will also impact on feelings of safety. As will be explored later in *Chapter 10 - Transnationalism*, not feeling that the space you are in is home can lead to thoughts of 'return' to their 'homeland'.

Second generation integration

On the surface, integration in British society for the Ghanaian second generation appears to have been achieved through education, work and friendships. Indeed Mitton and Aspinall's (2011) research found that the second generation is more integrated in terms of socio-economic position than the first generation. However, their criteria included aspects such as English language proficiency and educational attainment, and as the second generation grew up in the UK it is unlikely they would have any issues with these areas. In discussion with the participants, they do not always feel integrated with a White community socially. For example, Yaw, 35, had this to say about his friendships:

My groups come into two groups or you could say, two groups/one group. The two groups first of all comes the Black and then slightly off Black or non-Black (laughs loudly)... The Black is the African and Caribbean people, that's in the Black patch, I only know African and Caribbean people. We're all African in the

end, we know that. On the non-Black side, it's mainly, it's, it's what I can just say is Turkish. I don't care, that's it I don't know, I don't have White friends. I may know White people I can be cool with and I can be social with them, but I don't have White friends. The friends I have are either Black or Turkish.

(Yaw, 35)

Yaw's friendship groups have been mainly created from his school and local area and are representative of the demographic that reside in his local community.

Kwadwo, whose experiences of racism and bullying at a grammar school were detailed in the chapters on education and racism, found friendships with other Black Africans on entering university. He met people with similar experiences or were like-minded and formed strong bonds as he still retained those friend's years after leaving university. Adjoa, also found friendships amongst other people with similar backgrounds as she states:

...I went to school in predominantly White areas but the funny thing is I don't have any White friends. So even in those schools I always ended up with the Black people who happen to be Ghanaian or Nigerian or something. They were always African.

(Adjoa, 28)

The majority of the participants had an ethnically mixed social circle, however, there were some who had – sometimes by design - an almost exclusively Ghanaian friendship group. This was also linked to age and relationships – as some participants matured they leant towards more African friendships as was the case with Abena and Maya, 27, Maya described herself as British with African lineage. Both married Ghanaian partners and found their friendship groups becoming more dominated by Ghanaians after their marriages. School, university and work were the main places these friendships had developed. Whilst the groups of friends may have been ethnically mixed, many of the participants did not have many (if any) White English friends. Having similar experiences and shared interests are key to any friendships, and most feel a need to be with 'like-minded' people, known as homophily and 'represented by the adage 'birds of a feather flock together' (Muttarak, 2013:73)

Muttarak's (2013) research into ethnicity and friendship found that members from different ethnic groups tended to form relationships with people who were the same as

them (co-ethnic or pan-ethnic) but that the second generation was more likely to have friends across ethnic boundaries – ‘Ethnic groups who share similar traits such as origin region, race or religion are more likely to nominate one another as close friends’ (Muttarak, 2013:87). The study also considered religious differences as well as socio-economic ones and found that those factors also influenced friendship groups. Having friendships that cut across ethnic boundaries ‘may be important in promoting economic integration, educational achievement and intergroup cohesion’ (Muttarak, 2013:94). Muttarak sees the ties that are formed as a way of enabling networks to be opened and accessed which can enhance the life chances of people from minority ethnic groups. The study also addresses class and race:

Furthermore, ethnic homogeneity in friendship networks can be partly explained by homophily along other dimensions. The finding that having a higher income increases the propensity of having inter-ethnic close friends suggests that low income may constrain individuals into social networks with a high co-ethnic concentration. The odds of having close friends from different ethnic groups also increase with the level of education. Highly educated individuals might have changed their attitudes and prejudice towards out-group members and they might prefer to associate with people of similar levels of education.

(Muttarak, 2013:95)

Whilst widening your social networks may increase your social capital, I disagree with Muttarak’s assertions on class and friendship groups – especially the implied idea that those that are highly educated are less likely to display prejudice (incidents related in *Chapter 6* on racism in grammar schools contest this notion). However, for the majority of my participants there was a desire to seek out other Ghanaians, and to form friendships with people from other Black African and Black Caribbean backgrounds. They did have relationships and indeed friendships across the board but in the main, their preference and tendencies were for friendship groups that resembled themselves in terms of race and class. It is amongst these groups of people that they felt at home. As Rollock et al (2015) found when speaking to their study participants on the subject of friendships:

Black people are viewed through a narrow, restrictive lens which refuses to make multiple versions of Blackness possible. Being with other Black people

therefore represents a certain safety from such limitations (Rollock 2012b), thus serving to reinforce an invisible cohesion among them.

(Rollock et al., 2015:26)

Being Ghanaian

Whilst not all the participants asserted a version of Ghanaian identity or sought out Ghanaian social networks, the participants were all proud of their Ghanaian heritage. Given the issues highlighted previously with having a Black identity, the leaning towards a Ghanaian identity is not surprising. But when is a Ghanaian not a Ghanaian? This question focuses on who belongs, who decides who belongs and the ways in which the participants found to belong to the Ghanaian community both in the UK and abroad. Whilst this question depends on the idea of the fixed identity, it has been shown in the case studies that the participants *do* create a fixed view of what constitutes a 'Ghanaian' – this fixed identity is also manifested in other places.

I start by considering some recent examples of Ghanaian identity being in question. In August 2011 London had riots which sparked subsequent events in other major UK cities. Many arrests were made and sentencing was severe to act as a deterrent. Amongst these rioters were three British-born Ghanaians, and on the Ghanaian social media sites, their origin was hotly contested. These young men were seen as 'having Ghanaian sounding names' but were not Ghanaian.

These young men are British Citizens and not Ghanaian Citizens. Even if these young men were dual citizens of both Ghana and UK, it is erroneous in the story to refer to them as Ghanaians. *Having Ghanaian sounding names is not evidence one is a Ghanaian.* Indeed even having a Ghanaian passport is not conclusive proof one is a Ghanaian.

(Agbodza, 2011, my emphasis)

This distinction is not applicable evenly to all, for example looking at sport, second-generation Ghanaians are perceived differently. On the same website which hosted the article denouncing those young men as British rioters, they have a section addressing Ghanaian Football players abroad. Within this group are second-generation Ghanaians born in the UK and elsewhere who are being considered Ghanaian, particularly if they have played for the national team. Players such as Kevin Prince Boateng are second generation (being born in Germany) are amongst the list of Ghanaian players abroad.

Danny Welbeck, who is of Ghanaian origin, was booed by the Ghanaian supporters, in the England versus Ghana friendly match in 2011 because he had chosen to play for England instead of Ghana (McNulty, 2011).

Those that are deemed to provide a positive view of Ghana at home and abroad, are therefore accepted as Ghanaian. Deviating from the idea of what is the 'good Ghanaian' and not showcasing qualities that fit this role renders the subject to disapproval and non-acknowledgement. This is further illustrated when looking at migrants that have been deported or engaged in illegal movement:

Indeed, Ghanaian government officials explained that undocumented migrants and deportations constitute an embarrassment to the government, as 'the mass deportations of Ghanaians give the impression of Ghanaians as being worse than we are' and the government is uncomfortable and worried about 'the false and negative reputation of Ghana'.

(Kleist, 2013:300)

The Ghanaian government has engaged with ways of connecting with the African and Ghanaian diaspora for many years.³⁷ From an official point of view, the diaspora is seen as a potential hub for investment, skills and as tourists, they bring much-needed funding to the country. The government has courted the wider African diaspora, particularly African-Americans, and has tried to engage these groups specifically with the idea of providing investment in the country. One project sees the Ghanaian government working alongside the International Organisation for Migration to create a website solely for diaspora which gives information on moving to the country, investing in the country, or building businesses within the country.

On one level, we see the acknowledgement of the generations born abroad as Ghanaians, but on the other hand, as the article quoted earlier states, having a Ghanaian name does not make you a Ghanaian. Even amongst the participants interviewed, there was the creation of a vocabulary to differentiate between those born/raised in the UK and those who had migrated to the UK.

Kwame, 38, used the term 'Ghanaian Ghanaians' to denote those born in Ghana.

³⁷ I use the terms of 'African' and 'Ghanaian' diasporas deliberately. As discussed earlier, the African diaspora pertains to those who left through slavery and the descendants of Africans. For the purpose of this work Ghanaian diaspora are those who have migrated and those who are born to migrants.

This speaks to who is 'authentically' Ghanaian. Tracey, 36, also discussed being made to feel 'less Ghanaian' during her secondary school years by certain peers mainly because she did not speak Twi.

This was also the case with another participant, Kofi, whose use of the term 'Ghanaian' was multi-layered as he used the term in different parts of the conversation to denote different generations and those born in the UK or in Ghana.

This ascription of a national identity is created on a number of levels. Firstly, as mentioned there is the Ghanaian government, putting in place legislation, ministries and projects to draw in the diaspora as they are a source of revenue and investment (both in terms of skills and finances). This also includes creating dual nationality, the ability to work more easily in Ghana and removing barriers to investment. Then there are the people in Ghana and their relationship to the diaspora, whether this is through family, the translation of culture for other mediums such as film, music and sport and finally the Ghanaian diaspora in the UK. Again, the diaspora in the UK is a mix of those who migrated, those who were born in the UK and encompasses a range of generations.

An experience that some participants recounted on visiting Ghana highlights the dual perspective of belonging. Even within their own families, they were made to feel that they were outsiders. The term 'obruni' means White or foreign, and this term was used in reference to participants by family as well strangers on their visits to Ghana. Some took it in their stride but others felt uneasy with being described in these terms.

Ama recounted her experience of going to Ghana and also of attending Ghanaian associations in the UK and the impact it had on her perception of identity:

Because the experience that I've had prior to, well even when I was 18 as well, when I've been in Ghana the local people always make this distinction that you're not a Ghanaian you're English. They keep doing that and I'm like, well when I'm in England, when I'm in London at home if someone was to come up to me and say 'oh where are you from?' and I'd just say 'I'm from England, I'm English' - I don't understand why people would come out with that answer as I just see it as, 'yeah I was born here but as you can see from my features, don't originate', but people would say 'no you're from Ghana' so you're kind of like in the middle where the people who are from Ghana say you're not really.

(Ama, 27)

Ama's case highlights the duality and the struggle to find a space that enables the second-generation to have agency over their identity. They may *choose* a particular definition but then they are told by others that they cannot *use* the definition. Their identity is being labelled for them depending on location, positionality and who is doing the placing. Abena, 34, sought a Ghanaian identity and had made a change after leaving university. She changed her name, married a first generation Ghanaian, became involved in Ghanaian clubs and societies, made her home a space filled with Ghanaian art and ensured her children were given Ghanaian names. She chose to wear traditional clothes and assert as often as possible her Ghanaian identity.

Especially since now that I've married to my husband [from Ghana] as well, my 'Ghanaian' has really come into me... I've got the interest in the language, obviously, I don't speak it that well, I understand it... My wardrobe, probably more - apart from my work stuff, I probably have more attire [Ghanaian clothes made from printed cloth], as you can see my home I have all the carvings to identify where I come from and things like that. With my kids as well I haven't given them Christian names, I've given them all Ghanaian names, that's how I call them. That's how I want to keep it as I want my kids to understand where we come from... It's only now that new people that I meet, I don't even say my proper name - 'just call me by this name', which is fine which I prefer, not that I'm going to change anything, I just want to be more identified with that way. And if anybody says to me am I British or Ghanaian I'll say Ghanaian without any hesitation at all.

(Abena, 34)

Abena first went to Ghana aged 19 and it was at this point that the need and desire to articulate her cultural heritage became more important to her. She began to assert a Ghanaian identity and as she notes following her marriage, she began to change more. She had wanted to marry a Ghanaian, her husband was heavily involved in home associations, and as his wife she took on roles within these groups. We discussed whether or not she felt she could assert that Ghanaian identity in the workplace and in fact had not yet made this transition in her work environment. She did not feel ready to make that change.

Kojo, 37, is proud of his Ghanaian heritage, he spent two years in Ghana whilst under the age of four but the majority of his life has been spent the UK. He pursued a military career and chose not to go to university. He does not feel that he can call himself Ghanaian for the following reasons:

No, blatantly! I've never paid taxes in Ghana why would I say I'm Ghanaian for? Because culturally I'm English 100%, not British, English [taps table for emphasis]. There is a strong definition, as I say when I spent a lot of time with Scottish guys and Welsh guys you was always English to them [laughs] they didn't see us as British, nah English mate. Black? No English - simple as that.

(Kojo, 37)

The participants chose to assert particular identities, sometimes in particular spaces and created ways of ensuring they were buffered against hurt, ridicule or the disavowing of their chosen identity.

Kofi, 31, as highlighted in his case study, uses his knowledge of Ga to 'prove' that he is Ghanaian and gain acceptance. His description of the relationship between himself and native-born Ghanaians again speaks to the question of who is authentically Ghanaian. By showing that you have 'not lost your culture' by being able to demonstrate an understanding of language and the nuances of the society, shows that your part of that society.

As mentioned earlier there were also participants who held 'thin' Ghanaian identities. Tracey, 36 describes herself as Black British with Ghanaian heritage, she grew up in South London and did not visit Ghana until she was an adult. Her pride in her heritage was evident during our discussion however she had chosen not to pass on traditions to her children as she believed that some of the traditions could not work alongside her Christian faith. She stated that she sometimes felt sorry for her children on the occasions she took them to a Ghanaian event as she felt that they had no idea what was happening. Tracey had deliberately also sought out a non-Ghanaian partner. When describing Ghanaian men, she stated – 'I would not touch them with a barge pole' – this aversion stemmed from observing the behaviour of her father and other male relatives in romantic relationships. Her mother had also had a long-term partner from the Caribbean following her divorce. Tracey would attend family functions with her mother but did not enact Ghanaian cultural activities in her own home. Another participant Tony, described himself as Black British of Ghanaian origin.

He again felt proud to be Ghanaian but did not seek out Ghanaian networks. He had some negative views of Ghana based on his first visit as a teenager as he had not enjoyed his time there. Tony also expressed resentment towards relatives his mother supported back home, the financial support given he felt had been to the detriment of him and his siblings. In this case both participants foregrounded a Black British identity and expressed some degrees of negativity towards aspects of Ghanaian culture.

The third space

For the most part, many of the participants exist within a 'third space' as proposed in the work of Reynolds (2008) which was explored in more detail in *Chapter 2*.

Writers such as Hall (1996, 1998) and Bhabha (1992, 1996) have discussed theories of a divided self and living in-between cultures, but Reynolds' (2008:11) work developed a more detailed idea of a 'third space'. Studies using a transnational lens when addressing the second generation highlight this third space. Wessendorf notes its importance in her work on second-generation Italians in Switzerland, quoting Charsley she says:

Particularly important in the work on second-generation transnationalism is the fact that, in addition to the focus on the host society and the migrants, this work acknowledges the addition of a third space for the articulation of identity, the parents' country of origin (Charsley 2004).

(Wessendorf, 2007:1084)

Gabriel et al., (2012) look at the idea of a third space as a way of redefining Britishness and see it as the way that the second generation claims this identity.

In short, while the cultural trope for the previous generation was either assimilation or segregation, as Ranasingha suggests, the second generation has mobilised a "third" space of identification and belonging, a crucial step in the process of re-defining Britishness. This formative space is the site for the creation of what Tariq Modood calls complex forms of Britishness (Modood 2007) which articulate new and other ways of being British. What is significant about such forms of Britishness is that they allow minority ethnic communities to make a claim on it rather than conform to a particular cultural norm (Saeed 1999). Through such identifications we see how the second generation aligns itself with a perspective that views culture or ethnicity as a mobile and

incomplete process. This asks that we recognise and consider, against current popular stereotyping and the dominant assumptions of the political elite, the very real cultural dynamism that is to be found within minority ethnic (and white) communities.

(Gabriel et al., 2012:277)

Hoque (2015) in his study on *British Islamic identity: Third Generation Bangladeshis from East London* also addressed the idea of finding a way of being British alongside other identities. In his in-depth study which focused on the narratives of six, third-generation Bangladeshis, he looked at the themes of belonging both in the UK and in Bangladesh but also incorporated religion as a way of belonging. Hoque created the term 'British Islam' which he describes as 'a post-modern identity – dynamic, fluid, diverse, open to change and often contested by its members' (Hoque, 2015:99) – it is the third space for the third generation Bangladeshis. This third space has opened up because as Hoque states 'many yearn to be British yet they are excluded from being so. They also want to be Bangladeshis but their actions or lifestyle have contributed to the development of a generational and ideological gap between them and their older family members' (Hoque, 2015:8). A third space is one they can claim and in which they can assert their specific identities which highlight their forms of language, dress and religious expression.

I would argue that many of the second generation participants in my study create a space where their version of Ghanaian identity can be realised – it is not a new form of British identity that is sought. They have described how they feel apart from first-generation peers and parents because of their 'Britishness' (and in some cases 'middle-classness') and the White majority by their 'Blackness' and from other minorities because of their 'Ghanaian-ness'. This version of Black British Ghanaian identity is manifested not only as an 'imagined community' but also in the creation of networks, groups (I include friendship groups in this description) and societies both off-line and online that can support the Ghanaian second-generation in how they portray and perceive themselves.

Their perspective taken on identity is based on not just the experience of the individual but also how others perceive them and the way in which they are treated and addressed by others. There was a reoccurring theme of not fitting in, not belonging and not feeling part of the wider society they live within or the society their parents had

come from. The self-definition of ethnic identity by the participants sometimes emerged in different ways. As demonstrated by some of the quotes earlier, this was dependent on location and the situation. Some e.g. Ama.A and Kwadwo, embraced a hybridity and others chose to focus on an exclusive English/Black British or Ghanaian identity. Whereas some participants are multilingual or believe in immersing themselves in cultural activities, for others it is more about occasionally eating jollof rice.

Conclusion

This chapter reflected on the issues relating to Black identity, being Black in Britain and British and Ghanaian identities. For my participants, the experience of degrees of belonging was enacted across many spheres. They negotiated their sense of belonging in Britain, in Ghana and within Black communities in London.

The notion of the 'Other' played a role for many. This was on a racial, cultural and class level – issues which are explored in more depth in previous chapters. There were many discussions about feeling like an outsider and not fitting in anywhere. Rather than using Bhabha's (1996) notion of the cultural in-between, Reynolds (2008:11) idea of a 'third space' seems more appropriate. In order to create an identity, the second generation created a space where *their* version of identity exists. However *within* this third space is a linear of thick and thin identities as proposed by Cornell and Hartmann (1998).

For example, Kofi a 'thick' identity, and Tracey exhibits a 'thin' one.

In different contexts, different groups tried to ascribe and prescribe the identity of the participants – these included peers, family and the wider community. The choice of whether they manifested a particular identity was linked to the experiences they had, the networks they were engaged in and how they related to them, the relationships that they had had and also outside influences such as wider family, language and incidents that had taken place with other communities.

Imagined and created identities evolved within the context of being the outsider and the 'Other'. The creation of the 'cultural chameleon' was something which emerged as a form of identity. Whilst the majority choose to assert a 'third space Ghanaian identity' they could choose to portray a number of the identities they have access to depending on the situation, for example using the privilege of a British passport or using a Ghanaian name or wearing attire to foreground their ethnicity. The middle-class participants possessed resources which enabled a cosmopolitan approach to life and

what occurs is a switching between spaces at will in order to fit in and find the space called home (Brah, 1996). I argued that the third space which was created was one in which like-minded and ethnically similar groups developed a space which enabled the participants to relax and use *their* own version of a Black British Ghanaian identity – one which acknowledges all the facets of their identity. Belonging is about feeling at home and 'home' was created by the participants by drawing on a multitude of resources which are used in different spaces and contexts and by creating social spaces and situations which enabled them to feel at home.

In the next chapter I discuss the role of transnationalism and return. I explore in more depth how the second generation create relationships with Ghana, engage with the culture and discuss the desire to return.

Chapter 10 – Transnationalism

Introduction

The second generation story exists within the field of migration and diaspora, but they themselves are not migrants. The participants of my study were born in the UK. They are the children of migrants, but their story is inextricably linked to their parents. The influence of that migration story and the relationship between the natal country of their parents and their own natal country is discussed within this chapter.

The migration patterns of the participants' parents in my study were all the same - they had travelled to the UK to further their education. As discussed in *Chapter 8 - Education*, for the most part, the plan had been to obtain higher or professional qualifications and then return to Ghana and continue their careers. The participants' parents migrated between 1953 and 1979. They came around the time of the fight for independence, leading up to and including the political upheaval that followed. The Ghana which they left behind was a very different Ghana than the current one. Although some of the participants did spend a significant amount of time in Ghana³⁸, for the majority, their experience derived from the occasional visit over the course of their lifetimes.

As part of building a sense of self, the stories they were told, the relationships they built with relatives, both here and in Ghana and indeed their own experiences whilst travelling to Ghana influenced their identity. To understand the context, whilst my participants were growing up there was no Internet, limited phone access and indeed limited postal access to relatives in Ghana. It is very different to how they interact as adults with family in Ghana and across the rest of the world – now there is Skype, email, mobile phones and numerous flights.

The migration of the participants' parents also highlights class – the parents left Ghana with a particular class status which may or may not have been retained due to the circumstances that they found themselves facing as migrants. As discussed in *Chapter 7 – Class*, the parental influence on the second generation in relation to their

³⁸ Four of the participants spent more than three consecutive years in Ghana.

perception of class is very strong. The transnational lens also shows how class and class values are exchanged and transmitted to the second-generation.

In this final data chapter, I discuss transnationalism and the role that this plays in the development of a third space. This provides another important lens from which to view the development of the participants and understand how they manage/develop/construct the multiple spaces they inhabit. By using a transnational lens, it is possible to gain a better understanding of how the second generation constructs a space for themselves. Return is not the answer for many of the participants which highlight the importance of the transnational narrative.

I will begin by briefly summarising the theory of transnationalism which was discussed in more detail in *Chapter 2 – Literature review*, before addressing how the participants engage in transnationalism – emotional or otherwise and conclude with how it enables them to create a space to belong.

Transnationalism and the second generation

The movement of people has been part of human history across the globe. Some aspects of modernity, for example, technology and transport systems have made it easier for some people to move around and/settle in other places whilst being able to remain in contact with their home country. Alongside voluntary movements, there have also been forced moves, political upheaval and economic challenges, which have all led people away from their homelands.

Transnationalism refers to living in two spaces equally, engaging in politics, keeping a home, being a part of the local community. Transnational studies provide a way of studying movement - whether physical or emotional - thereby providing new ways for researchers to think.

The second generation uses social fields and activity, as proposed by Levitt (2006), to live transitionally (as noted in *Chapter 2*). Experiences of the homeland are transmitted by and through their parents and wider family members:

It was one of those homes where family was always around, so when uncles, aunts come and stay from Ghana, there was always someone in my house, so there wasn't just seven of us there was always about nine of us sort of thing. Which was cool, enjoyed it, loved it, and what it did was taught me the value of

family and having family around and the good thing about it as well was there were quite a few role models around me to aspire to.

(Kofi, 31)

Kofi's description of his home life as a child is not dissimilar to the other participants. There was constant interaction with family 'back home'. Part of the migration experience of the first generation was the desire to 'give back' to the home country. Therefore, what often happened was some form of sponsorship of other family members to come to the UK. This meant that extended family members or indeed close family members would reside with the family in the UK. My participants experienced this phenomenon as their families had established themselves in the UK, other family members would later come and stay.

Those that did not have people live with them in a more established way, often had members of the Ghanaian community regularly in their homes, particularly if they were part of the church or other groups, for example, hometown associations. What this meant for these children is that they had regular contact with the Ghanaian community and with Ghanaians in Ghana, in addition to their parents. Relationships, cultural norms and nuances were developed through these interactions. For my participants, this helped them to create their understanding of what it is to be Ghanaian. For example, Kojo, talked about how Ghana is always 'here' highlighting the presence of Ghana in his life and how it was manifested in his formative years:

...and like you say there was an understanding that Ghana is always gonna be there. But it's there, not physically, I mean unless you're literally going back and forth regularly, Ghana's still there as opposed to here and such. So, you'd have this influx of visitors, mostly church-related, we'd also have, for me at least, relatives, I've got what like 70 odd relatives that live within 10 miles of me...there were always people coming and going. And then in terms of relatives some of them were from Ghana and maybe one or two would stay with you for a couple of weeks or stay longer, sometimes relatives are like that. That often happened so there was a constant, I suppose the theme of 'Ghana is here' as opposed to 'it's outside, elsewhere' or it's been forgotten and we only relate to Ghana under these circumstances.

(Kojo, 37)

The level of individual movement to and from Ghana was varied amongst the participants. What was apparent in all their lives is that there were strong cultural values in the home. Their parents all spoke their own language, entertained relatives or were linked to cultural associations, cooked Ghanaian food and engaged in rites of passage activities. Their children were expected to participate in all of these aspects. They have also all made their own journeys as adults to find out more about their culture.

What these brief examples show is how the relationship with Ghana was developed, maintained and sustained through a variety of physical interactions with family and the wider community. However, the physical interactions alluded to by Kojo were not the only way in which the second generation participants experienced Ghanaian culture and relationships, emotional transnationalism also played a part.

Emotional Transnationalism

In a globalised world distance is no longer a barrier for interaction or knowledge transfer. The notion of 'home' transcends physical or political borders or barriers enabling a generation to be influenced thousands of miles away.

A transnational approach acknowledges a plurality of cultural codes and symbols that go beyond the nation state and also the multiple locations of "home" that may exist not only geographically but ideologically and emotionally as well. The concept of transnationalism avoids the assumption of linearity in immigrants' thinking, decision making, and changes in practices and focuses instead on migration as a complex set of processes that involve multiple, interacting, and perhaps conflicting layers.

(Wolf, 2006:257)

Wolf uses the term 'Emotional Transnationalism' (Wolf, 2006) in her work on the Filipino community. The concept provides a good understanding of the second generation and the lens from which to view how the second generation have formed their identity, how they enact their sense of self and how this brings to the fore their beliefs and values.

I suggest that second-generation Filipino youth experience an *emotional transnationalism* that situates them between different generational and locational points of reference, both the real and the imagined—their parents', sometimes also their grandparents' and other relatives', and their own. By using the term “emotional transnationalism,” I wish to inject a dynamic sense of the interaction between places and ideologies for children of post-1965 immigrants as they construct their identities, since these struggles do not exist in a vacuum.

(Wolf, 2006:258)

The term *Emotional Transnationalism* is used here in my study to highlight and emphasise the relationship that the second generation has with their parent's natal country. In this usage, I define it as - a *non-physical form of movement and engaging with the parent's natal country that enables the individual to create a notion of 'belonging'*. There is a constant movement of interactions and journeys of discovery. They are given some tools from their families and use these to carve their own space and way of belonging. Some of these tools have been discussed in this thesis – a desire for education, working hard and being disciplined, a sense of pride in who they are and where they are from.

Where you are from and where you call home are important concepts for my participants, whilst the participants in this study are part of a wider diaspora their host country is their home country. Wolf uses the capital 'H' for home to depict country of origin and lowercase for home to depict where they live. It is an interesting use of 'homing' as the participants often referred to 'back home' in reference to Ghana and used the term 'home' mostly about London, not England. The majority used 'British' as an identifier.³⁹ As stated in *Chapter 1*, London is home to the largest number of Ghanaians in the UK as well as many other diverse groups. Datta has explored the role of the city as the location of home for migrants, and whilst the participants in this study are not migrants, the description of the city as home is very relevant:

In this notion of diaspora, the city rather than the nation was imagined as home. Blunt argued that migrants' highly embodied and situated memories and experiences of living in these cities of origin connected them across a

³⁹ The focus on what labels second generation Ghanaians used to identify themselves was explored in more detail in another work – TWUMASI-ANKRAH, Y. 2006. 'Where are you from?' An investigation into identity and belonging in children born in the UK to Ghanaian migrants. Masters, City University.

transnational diasporic space of nostalgia, longing, and belonging. It emerged that memories and experiences of everyday lives in the spaces and places of these cities formed part of the wider construction of identity, belonging, and self for transnational Jewish and Brahmo migrants in ways that were intensely connected to actually existing urban spaces and places in the past and present. Thus diasporic belonging was not just imagined, it was also embodied in urban spaces – evoked through the senses of sight, touch, smell, and sound that differentiated but also connected cities like London, Jerusalem, and Calcutta. Blunt argued that these cities were therefore part of a diasporic transnational space – forging connections between migrants' multiple individual subjectivities and collective experiences of home, belonging, and Otherness.

(Datta, 2013:94)

London is the city which is most relevant to my participants – it is this diverse place with its own specificity that has provided an environment which enables the second generation to experience their identity. As noted, many interactions with family and the wider Ghanaian community took place in London.

Experiencing culture

Kofi had developed a very strong relationship with his maternal uncle, who came from Ghana and who lived with his family for a period of time. He had a profound effect on Kofi's upbringing. Kofi attributed a lot of his cultural knowledge and engagement to the relationship that he had with his uncle. He explored certain aspects of culture which he feels has in some ways been kept by the first generation:

I suppose when I say them bringing something to the whole dynamics of the family, I'm talking about like the language, the pouring of libation (he laughs), what else? Them sitting around with a big bowl of banku and some okra and everyone dipping their hands into it and eating, that sort of thing, that being the food. And just watching how they interact and realising that's exactly how they interact back home and they're trying to replicate the same thing here. And I also see, like you know I was saying that back in South London the Ghanaian community is quite small? They tend to have all come around the same sort of time and tend to all know each other, and they do exactly the same thing, in the sense that if a group of people are going round to one person's house, the wife

goes into the kitchen (laughs) prepare something, brings the gin, brings the whisky and they all sit around and they all eat from the same bowl and interact the same way they did back home, sort of thing.

(Kofi, 31)

Kofi notes particular traditions, such as the pouring of libation – offering of drinks to the gods/ancestors (which is done for special occasions or when prayers are said) amongst some Ghanaians. He talks about eating particular dishes and also the gendered nature of the relationships – but it is within this context of sharing food that he understands that the first generation is seeking to maintain their cultural identity in this new space.

Ashantewaa, explained how her family were seen a bit differently by their Ghanaian relatives as she said her family always sat down at the dinner table and when people came to visit they would comment on it, and say that they were acting like the English - 'You this broafo', [said in a Ghanaian accent] (Ashantewaa, 27). Her experience, like many others, was of various family members visiting and her visiting and staying over. The difference in her family experience was she lacked cousins and peers in her own age group. The cousins she had were a good deal older than her and the new set of cousins that were born in the UK did not appear until several years later and were part of her much younger brother's support group. Her interactions were mostly with the adults in her family and she looked to her friends for her peer group support. Vertovec addresses the issue of maintaining cultural aspects of identity and sees the dilution and change that will happen within subsequent generations:

Such studies suggest that even though specific transnational orientations and practices of communication and exchange may not be sustained in strong form by second and subsequent generations, the process of being socialised within a milieu of such transnational orientations and practices will often have a substantial influence on longer-term configurations of outlook, activity and – perhaps especially – identity.

(Vertovec, 2009:76)

Kofi, mentioned earlier, goes on to juxtapose the cultural relationship with that of the second generation, highlighting that they do get together in the same way as their

parents but were more likely to go to restaurants. However, this example also highlights other aspects of difference for example, financial. Spending money on eating out is a common occurrence in the UK but obviously requires a disposable income, which the first generation may not always have had.

Exploring the notion of culture and what was translated to the second generation, featured in the interviews with the participants. In discussion with Kwame, 38, the term 'Ghanaian culture' had been used frequently, there was a need to unpick the term in order to explore what exactly this meant for the participant. He defined culture as being based on a number of traditions and social practices, he mentioned faith, folklore and superstition as well as historic experience and described these as becoming 'a way of being' as a Ghanaian. He acts as a representative in the community, his parents are 'well thought of' in the community so he fulfils the role of 'ambassador' for his parents as they are now based in Ghana. This role sees him as the representative of his family at family events and functions. He is involved with associations and groups through his family but sees the situation as 'tricky' as it is difficult to ascertain where the family starts and ends. He is linked to Star 100, Ghanaian Professionals Association (GPA), Ghana Black Stars Network – mostly second generation or younger Ghanaian migrant organisations but he does not see them as Ghanaian communities:

See now that is an interesting one, because I wouldn't call those as directly Ghanaian communities, because those are kind of hybrid communities that allow Ghanaians, or second generation Ghanaians, who have a western experience to interact with each other somewhere in the middle. But that is not the same as the Agona clan, which is just a group of people, or the St Augustin's old student's guild, which is people who went to St Augustin's in Ghana.

(Kwame, 38)

It is worth noting at this point that Kwame spent his primary school years in Ghana (aged 2 to 11), which may influence his viewpoint on identity. He sees himself as one of the few second generation Ghanaians who attend 'hometown' meetings. He views the second generation as seeing themselves as more British than Ghanaian and as viewing them as not part of the Ghanaian community but he does not see himself in this way: 'No, actually I feel torn, I am actually in the middle and the reason why I've

taken on the Ghanaian responsibilities, I'm doing it mainly to honour my family'.
(Kwame, 38)

The feeling of being in the middle stems from experiencing Ghana in his early years and then his formative years as a Londoner – this dual viewpoint leads him to not be fully part of either the British born second generation or the Ghanaian migrants he meets at hometown association events.

Vertovec has argued that the importance of the hometown associations for the first generation and the maintenance of culture is still relevant to the second and indeed subsequent generations:

Hometown associations and other such diasporic organisations have become institutionalised to a degree that they will likely be sustained, and probably enhanced, at least over the next several years. Individuals within post-migration second and subsequent generations will probably not maintain the everyday orientations and practices of their migrant forebears, but such parental orientations and practices are apt to have an enduring impression on the next generation's identities, interests and social, cultural activities.

(Vertovec, 2009:161)

In discussions with the participants none, except Kwame, were engaged with a hometown association linked to their parents, instead, they were involved in groups aimed at the second generation or later migrants and were building their own networks in these spaces. What was clear is the desire to maintain their culture for many, to create their own links with Ghana.

Transnationalism and return

The phenomenon of second generation return migration fits into the narrative of transnationalism. The idea of returning is very appealing as there is the idea that you are going to your 'true' home. This is heightened especially in a political climate which vilifies migrants, which as Gans (2007b) noted, can impact the second generation as the wider discourse on migrants can be internalised. Wider discussions on the demise of multiculturalism, as noted in earlier chapters, can also contribute to the feeling of not belonging.

The idea of assimilation, fitting in and belonging is a theme that runs through the literature on the second generation. Whilst the current political climate has an anti-Islamic flavour – the dialogue about who belongs and who does not, impacts on those perceived as the ‘Other’ – which includes the participants of this study. It is difficult to disentangle how the feelings of belonging affect the relationship with their natal country. The experiences documented in the literature and highlighted by my participants show that often they feel as if they do not fit. However, studies on second-generation returnees find that they have different experiences of their parent’s natal country and do not always find the home that they were seeking.

Werbner (2013) discussed the relationship that British Pakistanis have with peers in Pakistan, often feeling ‘misperceived and misunderstood’. Werbner highlights the transnational nature of the families but even the frequent visits and indeed marriage does not eliminate the issues relating to what is indeed a culture clash. Citing the work of King and Christou, Werbner notes that problems occur because they are returning to a ‘homeland’ that they understand through parental memories. Werbner also highlights the difficulties faced by the returnees in their natal countries, in particular feelings of alienation in that instead of finding themselves to be at ‘home’ they are treated as outsiders and ‘are regarded in their homeland as foreigners and aliens’. (Werbner, 2013:111).

This feeling of being out of place and not fitting in on their return to their ‘homeland’ was something which was expressed by some of my participants in the previous chapter. Others expressed some desire to make Ghana their home and several had already visited Ghana with the view to make plans to live there for the foreseeable future. One participant, Sally described living in Ghana as an ‘ideal’ but had to consider what she would do to sustain herself, whereas Kwame would live there only if he could maintain his current standard of living. ‘Return’, at present, was not a goal for the majority of the participants but they did want to visit and build links to the country. Tracey, 36 felt she could not live there for longer than a few months as ‘the pace was too slow’. Others saw Ghana as a possibility in retirement or when they were much older. Others thought they were ‘too English’ and would not be happy there because of the pace of life or missing their home comforts.

Dual nationality is available to the second generation Ghanaians which enables them to hold jobs and invest in business and properties in Ghana as Ghanaians, which makes it relatively cheap and easy to relocate. However, the choice and the ability to relocate requires considerable resources. Rather, as with their parents, it is a well-educated and middle-class group that are able to facilitate their migration:

The selectivity of this return (mainly available to the better educated) combined with lifestyle choices and a developmental focus tend to make this case a broadly positive experience, albeit framed within post-colonial hierarchies of race and 'Britishness'.

(King, 2010:182)

An example of this in action is the study on 'Bajan- brits' – British Born children of migrants from Barbados and the issues they encountered on their return discussed earlier (see page 56). The study by Potter and Phillips shows the class dimension starkly. Problems are found not just because they are born abroad but are also because they are perceived to be outsiders and holding an elite position in relation to Barbadian society. This outsider status can afford privilege and also be a hindrance in building local relationships, as they are seen as 'symbolically white':

However, returnees' class position in Barbadian society (and presumably this holds true for other Caribbean countries involved in migration to Britain) is only partly determined by their educational qualifications. The returned second generation occupy a structurally intermediate position as post-colonial hybrids: they are both black and – because of their British birth, upbringing and accents – symbolically white (Potter & Phillips 2006a). In Fanonian terms, they reflect a black skin/white mask identity. Interviewees articulated the contrast they felt between how they were treated in Britain (racialised because of their Afro-Caribbean ethnicity, stereotyped as low-achievers and potential trouble-makers) and how they were perceived, and were able to position themselves, in Barbados – as smartly dressed go-getters who traded on their English accents (Potter & Phillips 2006a).

(King, 2010:176-177)

A British education and having the financial means to move, all help the returnees wherever they are from. The Bajan-Brit experience is similar to the narrative from participants in relation to their visits to Ghana or to those who had spent a little more time in Ghana. Their hybridity leaves them in a space where new notions of identity are explored and alternative definitions sought. Journalist Afua Hirsch (who is of Black Ghanaian and White British ancestry) returned to Ghana and in her article written whilst there in 2012 summed up this notion:

But being African is an increasingly complex identity. As someone who has been told she is too Black to be British, and too British to be African, I am strongly against the notion that identity can be policed by some external standard. And I am not alone. The term "Afropolitan" is beginning to enter the mainstream; one definition describes it as: "An African from the continent of dual nationality, an African born in the diaspora, or an African who identifies with their African and European heritage and mixed culture."

(Hirsch, 2012)

The definition of 'Afropolitan' is indeed apt for the many of participants in this study. It highlights their duality but also that the different identities they inhabit are mostly of their choosing rather than imposed on them externally.

The second generation Ghanaians are transnational in their relationships and it is through Emotional Transnationalism that much of the knowledge about their cultural identity is transferred. Their expectations, norms and values and what it means to be culturally Ghanaian are passed on to them through their regular interactions both home and abroad. The idea of potentially living in Ghana for a length of time has been thought about or in some cases acted upon, although it is not a realistic option for all. However, I would argue that their ideas of 'home' have been initially formed through their parents' memories and experience but the home their parents came from no longer exists. Datta captures this succinctly by using the framing of 'roots'. The parents live in this space of nostalgia and this longing for return and transmit this to their children. Some of the parents of the participants had already made their return to Ghana, others only did so as their final resting place – so the longing to be connected to Ghana remains:

Roots is a powerful linguistic, cultural, and social framing of the complex process of leaving, moving, settling, and possibilities of return... It also evokes a continuous longing and nostalgia for that which has been left behind both spatially and temporally, imagined often as the original, the authentic, the unchanged – the place from where a migrant started his/her journey.

(Datta, 2013:93)

So, whilst the first-generation tries to recreate and enact a cultural identity in their new host country, the second generation has to create or find a new way to be which blends the different cultures together to create their new reality. Again, these ideas of identity are classed as not everybody can move freely, not everybody has the education to ensure they can gain employment or set up businesses elsewhere. They are the product of two cultures but have been raised in a globalised world and indeed the term 'Afropolitan' provides a word which may be attractive to them.

Conclusion

I have shown here that the second generation Ghanaians are transnational in their relationships and it is through 'emotional transnationalism' that much of the knowledge about their cultural identity is transferred. Their expectations, norms and values and what it means to be culturally Ghanaian are passed on to them through their regular interactions both home and abroad. The idea of potentially living in Ghana for a length of time has been thought about or in some cases acted upon, although it is not a realistic option for all.

Instead, the second generation are concerned to create their own spaces, adapt and re-create their own rituals – which may no longer be eating fufu together from the same bowl but instead meeting in restaurants for dinner. Whilst the hometown associations have a key place in the community, it is to new spaces that the second generation finds themselves drawn. As Kwame noted there were 'hybrid communities' which provided a space for the second generation to interact with their peers. Therefore, there was a creation of a physical 'third space' not just a symbolic one; meetings such as those held by Star 100, which give a physical space for those second generation individuals to be with each other and discuss and engage with their culture. One third of my participants were regular members of such organisations.

Return is for many a myth, part of nostalgia or very far in the future. For these participants, their fundamental concern is not about returning to Ghana, it is about understanding how they wish to transmit, engage with and embody a hybrid culture. It is about them, finding the version of Ghanaian identity they wish to take on and create for themselves.

Chapter 11 - Conclusion and closing remarks

Introduction

As a young child, I would look forward to the summer holidays, my aim was to play until it got dark and I got hungry, however, often my parents had other ideas. At times, I would be listening to my friends play outside whilst my seven-year-old self was inside mastering long division. The mantra to my childhood was education, education, education. The soundtrack was one of High-Life and hymns and the smells were of jollof rice, plantain, and peanuts. The always-packed trunk, the parties with popcorn and fizzy drinks and the pouring of libation – in my house a different world existed. My home world was one created by my parents, part of the first generation who came from Ghana in the 1960s to further their education and like many others often experienced the harsh reality of life in the UK; the dreams of the first generation did not always match the actuality of their circumstances – ‘the dream of becoming an aristocrat became a reality of being a black, and nobody, a second-class citizen’ (Emecheta, 1974:83).

Many of the early Ghanaian migrants to the UK were part of the elite and already highly skilled. They were not used to being treated as second class citizens or even being ascribed a Black identity. The sole purpose of them engaging in further education was to secure roles in the new administration which existed in Ghana following independence. Their exercise in geographical mobility was to ensure social mobility for themselves and the next generation.

The second generation participants I have spoken with are also highly skilled, and like some of their parents, are middle-class professionals contributing to the UK society. The narrative of education and its role in ensuring social mobility was one I wanted to examine further alongside parental strategies and class labels. I found echoes of my own story but also could give voice to the richness of experience of my participants and unpack the multi-layered nature of their identities and the role in which ethnicity, race and class had to play within them.

The particular histories of their parents and other Black migrants is key to understanding the current outlook of the research participants. These histories are vividly documented by, for example, the late author Buchi Emecheta who described in

her book *Second Class Citizen* the situation that Nigerian students and their families found themselves in 1960s Britain. Her main protagonist Adah, a middle-class educated woman, comes to join her husband Francis in the UK. Their experience of living in squalid conditions and facing discrimination is in stark focus in the novel. Adah holds onto her middle-class identity and her ethnic identity as a way of separating herself from other Nigerians and rising above the negativity associated with a Black identity.

Even if Francis did qualify, he would never have the courage to bring her to a restaurant to eat, not in London anyway, because he firmly believed that such places were not for blacks. Adah knew that his blackness, his feeling of blackness, was firmly established in his mind. She knew that there was discrimination all over the place, but Francis's mind was a fertile ground in which such attitudes could grow and thrive. Personally, if she had the money, she would walk straight into such places and was sure she would have been served.

(Emecheta, 1974:57)

Whilst the story focuses on the Nigerian community the parallels with the first generation Ghanaian community cannot be missed. What is particularly interesting is the ways in which being in a society that is not your own can shape and define you, and the level to which you can resist is confined. The tools that are used for survival by Adah - ethnic identity and class-based identity - are not dissimilar to some of the tools used by the parents of my participants.

Ethnicity for my participants is a strong part of their identity; and provides the foundation blocks to their identity. Cornell and Hartmann wrote that Weber thought ethnicity would decline in importance for people. Their book showed in the late 20th century the opposite has proven to be the case - ethnicity and race are 'resurgent around the world' (Cornell and Hartmann, 1998:9) and this is still true in the 21st century.

The use of ethnic identity by my participants creates a firmer basis for understanding themselves and finding a space to belong. The combination of ethnicity and class provide a unique identity for this group of Black professionals. They are outside of the migrant narrative as they are citizens and are also part of the narrative of their natal

country. They have a unique insight provided by multiple cultures, class locations and notions of belonging.

In this final chapter, I will draw together my conclusions, show how my work contributes to the literature, and reflect on the study and the next steps for the work.

Key findings

The themes which emerged in this study focused on racism, class, education, Black identity and transnationalism.

Racism

...we cannot understand the experience of the Black middle-classes without attending to the role of race and racism.

(Rollock et al., 2015)

Racism was a key theme within my study and in the chapter on racism, I documented many of the incidents that had been recounted during different interviews. The participants described racist incidents across their lifespan and the impact that these had on them as individuals and their wider family. Many encountered open hostility and at times violence in their local neighbourhoods. A few also witnessed their parents being verbally and/or physically assaulted. At the same time, there were a variety of equality policies and political rhetoric in place which were also shaping their experience within institutions such as the education system.

To manage some of the issues related to open racism, both they and their parents had to adopt different strategies in order to cope with the situations in which they found themselves. By using different forms of capital their parents would either relocate the whole family or move the child outside of the area. Much of the open racism which was experienced occurred in White working-class areas. However, living in a middle-class area did not guarantee the end of racism – instead, it becomes more covert and subtle. Racism, as we know, is not simply the act of a group of individuals but it is deeper and affects every aspect of life in the UK, as advantages are given to one group over another without the privileged group even noticing that advantage exists.

The discussion on White privilege, White supremacy and microaggression showed how the voice of the Black person can be silenced and made to feel like an outsider in a

space in which they were born. I also showed the evolution of racism from direct and overt racism to the more nuanced microaggressions which are harder to negotiate.

Racism impacts participants' identity and the degree to which my participants felt an affinity to their natal country. Being seen as the 'other' affects the formation of identity and leads my participants to create identities based on a British or indeed Ghanaian identity. It is also clear that their class status provides no protection from the effects of racism and whilst their parents move areas to avoid some of the open hostility, that does not change the impact of the wider system. The structures in place, which continue to position those who are visibly different as 'the other', have not changed. Fifty years of race relations policies have not seen the endemic issues of racism conquered, rather than truly acknowledge the impact of structural racism the onus has been placed on individuals.

Class

Overwhelmingly the participants of my study belonged within the middle class, at least by occupation. There was clear discomfort for some in being called middle class. For many, this was linked to the notion that a middle-class identity was not congruent with a Black identity. There were also issues relating to what being middle class meant and there was a degree of distaste linked to owning that identity, as it was understood as dominated by the White middle classes. This was not the case for all my participants as was clearly shown by some of the comments— those that claimed that space quite happily, in the main, had always been part of the established middle class.

The idea of belonging to multiple class locations was also explored within this thesis. Participants' parents brought a particular class status with them when they came to the UK but many experienced downward mobility. Often, they retained their original status back home in Ghana. The backgrounds of some of the participants meant that they were part of an elite in Ghana. Therefore, their class location and views of class were influenced by having specific experiences when they visited Ghana, for example, household staff and drivers.

They perceived that there were noticeable differences in the lived experiences of being middle class and Black in the UK and middle-class and White in the UK – and this was linked to how others saw them, as well as the childhood experiences they had had. In cases where their parents were also engaged in supporting relatives back home in

Ghana, available wealth was not always used to furnish a better life in the UK. Furthermore, wealth was created and not inherited. As their class status, in the main, was acquired from employment there was a level of precariousness related to holding and maintaining middle-class status. There was not a flow of inherited or other money supporting the first generation – the second generation also worked for what they had.

For the second generation participants, their class status could be a cause of isolation as being seen as 'posh' had sometimes put them outside of their geographical communities, and also the wider London-based Ghanaian community and yet they were not always accepted within the White middle class. It was clear that irrespective of their class status, their ethnic identity was not diminished. In fact, it became more heavily asserted in some circumstances. However, the isolation of being middle class, Ghanaian and Black has led to some of my participants creating a 'third space'.

Education

Members of the Indian, Chinese and black African groups in 2011 had higher educational attainment than other minority ethnic groups and white British group.

(Lynmperopoulou and Parameshwaran, 2015:181)

Education remains a key part of the narrative for the second generation. The pursuit of further education was used by the first-generation to fulfil their own ambitions and as parents, they used it as a tool to enable the social mobility of their children. Education was not just about acquiring knowledge, it was a space where an understanding of how the systems worked in the UK developed. Whilst the second generation may not face some of the hurdles which their parents encountered, they still must navigate educational institutions. The discussion highlighted how the parents of my participants used a variety of strategies to ensure the success of their children whilst simultaneously also completing their own studies. This ranged from being actively engaged in their education and investing in knowing about the school systems, to being willing to move geographical locations or send their children outside of their locality to ensure the 'best' education was received. The parents were willing to make sacrifices for their children. There was an expectation, and a degree of obligation, for these children to succeed. This did not always have a positive outcome as was recounted by one participant. The belief in the key role that higher education plays in social mobility was emphasised and these messages have been ingrained in such a way as to lead to

those who are producing the third generation, to recreate the same narrative. Bourdieu's theory of cultural capital in relations to academic qualifications is relevant here.

Being Black, Being British, Being Ghanaian

My participants negotiated their identities throughout their lives in a variety of contexts. They had to engage with a racialised identity, being Black, which did not incorporate their ethnic identity. As they grew they had to create a sense of a Black identity which also engaged with their Ghanaian ethnic identity. The majority gravitated towards friendship groups with other Black people, in some cases, more specifically Ghanaian groupings. At the same time, they were formulating identities based on the natal country – this was against the backdrop of government policies and dialogue which made it difficult for them to create an English identity. Jivraj and Byrne (2015) found this to be the case in their work:

For all non-white ethnic groups, a higher proportion of people describe themselves as British only, than English only... This may reflect the suggestion that Englishness is perceived by minority ethnic groups to be a 'white' identity.

(Jivraj and Byrne, 2015:69)

British identity was associated with privileges and some participants' narratives focused on the importance of these privileges, for example, the ease of travel with a British passport. They also had to negotiate their identity within the Ghanaian context. In all the spaces, at different times, certain aspects of identity are given more emphasis than others. Using a transnational lens showed how the participants developed their own notions of Ghana and created a unique and distinct identity based on interactions both physical and emotional with the space that many had never really experienced as home.

Reflections and review of hypothesis

The study found that the role of education and family is important to the development of the participants. It was clear that for my participants their class identity had no impact on their chosen ethnic identity. For the majority, as they matured, a need to engage more with their Ghanaian identity manifested itself.

I argue that being perceived as the 'other', experiencing racism, prejudice and microaggressions led the majority to dis-identify with being 'English', but, for some,

being seen as an outsider in Ghana meant they felt they did not belong there either. In response, many constructed an identity based on their *understanding* of a Ghanaian identity and their experiences as part of the second generation in the UK.

Their middle-class status did not make ethnic identity less important, indeed the opposite was true. Their middle-class status highlighted the importance of their Ghanaian identity - they engaged more with their Ghanaian identity and it became, for many, the more strongly asserted identity. Being racialised as Black also did not stop them making some choices concerning which aspects of identity they wished to assert and when. My findings contest Waters' ethnic options theory (whereby if you are Black you cannot choose your ethnicity) and Gans' idea of the 'symbolic identity'⁴⁰ because for the majority of my participants their Ghanaian identity was part of their lived everyday experience, it was not just 'brought out' on special occasions. My research cohort also mirrored some of the findings in Portes and Rumbaut's (2001) study as their ages and life stage played a factor in their identity choices and how they were asserted. As was also found with Portes and Rambaut's study participants, ethnic identity was used as a source of strength. Whilst Gans' notion that the expression of an ethnic identity is purely for the 'affluent or better educated' second generation (Gans, 2007b) would need further exploration with those who are not part of the middle class, I would hypothesise that if ethnic identity is used a tool for survival those who are working-class would still use it.

My participants were not solely Black, they were not solely Ghanaian and they were not solely British. The identities are fluid and each participant engaged with them in different ways and asserting some more than others at different times leading to my view of them as 'cultural chameleons'. There was a multi-layered nature and complexity to their identity. I have used an intersectional approach to understand these multiple layers and how they interact.

The study provides an insight into a community that is rarely studied, there are also other long-established communities which are into second and third generations which are underrepresented in the sociological literature. The growth of the middle-class within the ethnic minority groups is statistically visible, but the lack of articles and/or books about them shows how little they are researched. Since I began my PhD there has been more interest in the Ghanaian second generation in other fields.

⁴⁰ See page 43.

For example, there has been a film documentary and a three-part television series. However, within academia, the Ghanaian second-generation voice is still largely absent. This is also the case with discussions of the Black Caribbean middle class.

Looking at the Ghanaian community specifically, it will be interesting to see what happens to the second generation in the future. In the post-Brexit climate and with the new president in Ghana, will the idea of return move to the forefront and will reverse migration be the strategy which is used to support the third or subsequent generation? Will ethnic identity be part of the survival toolkit for the third generation or will they feel they are more embedded in British society than their parents or grandparents were?

It is important to note here that each wave of migration from Ghana was driven by a specific need - my cohort represented the offspring of the 'education wave'. If I had interviewed children of parents who had come to Britain as refugees there may have been a very different outcome as well as different analysis frameworks. As Berg and Eckstein have noted transnational frameworks do not work when there is a lack of choice in movement (Berg and Eckstein, 2009). Wider research on the settled Ghanaian community should cover different periods of migration and the children of those migrants. Later waves were not always part of the elite and there is some separation between the newer arrivals and the long-established families.

This study adds to the body of work on the Black middle class in the UK and contributes to current academic debates on race, racism, class and belonging. The small but growing Black middle-class in the UK is worthy of examination as the interplay between race, ethnicity and class shows how all still matter.

Ethnicity and race are not simply labels. On people; they are also identities that people accept, resist, choose, specify, invent, redefine, reject, actively defend, and so forth. They involve an active open 'we' as well as a 'they'. They involve not only circumstances, but also active responses to circumstances by individuals and groups, guided by their own preconceptions, dispositions, and agendas.

(Cornell and Hartmann, 1998:81)

My work shows how ethnicity can be used as a resource and buffer against being racialised and how also deploying capitals derived from the intersection of ethnicity and a specific class position can provide individuals with a way of being in the space where

they may not often feel truly at home. This ability is generated by a strongly grounded sense of knowing who they are and where they are from alongside being able to deploy different capitals to negotiate and succeed in different spaces (specifically educational settings or the workplace).

Emerging from this study are clear themes which show what strategies are used to succeed. Different capitals are called upon by the first-generation to provide the second generation with a platform from which they can thrive. The participants in my study, irrespective of whether they began as middle class or moved into the middle class, still overcame a large number of barriers in order to be successful. The discussions within this thesis show the journey that everyone has had to make and highlights issues that have not always been discussed more widely. For most of my participants what happens is the creation of a third space of belonging. Similarly to Hoque's (2015) third-generation Bangladeshi participants, in my study the third space emerged because there was no specific space where the majority felt completely at ease. The third space for my participants is one which is raced, classed and has a specific Ghanaian aspect.

The isolation caused by not belonging in several spaces has been the impetus for this alternative space to be created. Not all my participants feel the need to create around them a world where they feel at home, as whilst they have experienced racism and being the other, wherever they live is where they call 'home'. However, for those that do need to create a third space, they do so that they can feel at home despite being in a place where they are racialised as Black – and Blackness is seen as something that is less than, something that is a negative identity. In this extract from Emecheta's novel *Second Class Citizen*, her character Adah contemplates what being 'Black' means:

This is where she different from Francis and the others. They believe that one has to start with the inferior and stay there, because being black meant being inferior. Well, Adah did not yet believe that wholly, but what she did know was that being regarded as inferior had a psychological effect on her. The result was that she started to act in the way expected of her because she was still new in England, after a while she was not going to accept it from anyone. She was going to regard herself as an equal of any white.

(Emecheta, 1974:71)

Emecheta in her novel highlights the battle that happens within the individual when they have a clear and strong identity but the society they are in imposes another, negative identity. This understanding has echoes of Fanon and Du Bois.

My participants draw on their ethnic identity as a source of strength, a sense of pride and a way of rejecting the negative perceptions of White society. The middle-class identity they also inhabit is something that many feel they do not fully own and fully express because of the way they are racialised, meaning that being Black is not wholly congruent with being middle-class. This again is a very specific identity which is manifested in certain behaviours, practices and beliefs. At the same time, their ethnic identity comes to the fore and is asserted in particular circumstances. Yet some are positioned as 'inauthentically' Ghanaian. Yet, I argue that this group are authentically second generation – they have their own notions of Blackness, Britishness and Ghanaian identity.

Epilogue

A Note on Racism in Britain today

I conclude with a side note on some of the changes relating to racism in Britain today; namely, that new issues to do with race exist at the time of writing this thesis (but not when data was collected), and undoubtedly will impact my cohort.

Prior to the result of the referendum on the UK remaining a member of the European Union (EU) on 24 June 2016 (known as 'Brexit'), it could be said that a more nuanced version of racism was being reinforced. The more nuanced version of racism which is referred to here is more covert than in the past.

...and reference to racial micro-aggression may represent 'a new face of racism' that eschews the overt language of bigotry in exchange for those covert codes perceived by the micro-aggressed to communicate dislike or aversion.

(Fleras, 2016:3)

For example, people are still regularly discriminated against when applying for housing, jobs and in many other spheres of social life. The referendum result to leave the EU unleashed a wave of the 'old' racism - people shouting at individuals in the street because they are Black or attacks on White people who are from Eastern Europe or deemed to be 'foreign'. The leave campaign had been heavily based on issues relating to EU migration.

The posters on the wall from the 1960s saying Black people are not welcome have been taken down. However, in the aftermath of the EU referendum, signs were placed on people's cars telling them that they were not welcome, graffiti was sprayed outside of Polish centres telling them to go home – Far-Right groups stood on the side of the road with posters asking for repatriations. The campaign to leave the EU utilised the slogan of 'take back our country' and as this has been interpreted by many anti-immigrant groups as supporting their cause, they have been emboldened and feel legitimised in their open displays of racism. This visible display of hatred was noted in the EHRC 2016 report on race '*Healing a Divided Britain: the need for a comprehensive race equality strategy*'. The report focuses on the UK post-referendum

and the levels of racial inequality across the nation and calls for the government to make a series of changes to tackle inequality and exclusion:

If you are from an ethnic minority community in modern Britain, it can often still feel like you're living in a different world, let alone being part of a one-nation society.

David Isaac, CBE (EHRC, 2016)

Prior to the referendum result, a survey conducted in May 2016 by a research company called Opinium Research found that 47% of the Black and Minority Ethnic (BAME) people surveyed had been directly insulted, 38% treated differently in public places e.g. shops and restaurants and others reported being on the receiving end of racist jokes or insults. More covert racism included discrimination in the workplace and the feeling of being under more scrutiny by the police. The research asked 1000 people of all backgrounds to describe their experiences and sense of identity and included a boosted sample of Black and Minority Ethnic groups (Crouch and Stonehouse, 2016). Following the referendum, reports of hate crimes went up by 42% (Reporter, 2016). Currently, the Equalities Act 2010 provides legal ways to protect the rights of the individual based on protected characteristics e.g. race and ethnicity, religion and sexual orientation. Hate crimes were defined by the Crown Prosecution Service, the police and the National Offender Management Service (formerly the Prison Service) in 2007 'as any criminal offence which is perceived, by the victim or any other person, to be motivated by hostility or prejudice towards someone based on a personal characteristic' (Corcoran, 2016). Five areas are centrally monitored and these are: race or ethnicity; religion or beliefs; sexual orientation; disability; and transgender identity. However, Britain has had 50 years of race relations legislation and whilst there have been changes, it is clear from this recent research and the outpouring of hatred following the referendum, that attitudes have not fundamentally changed.

Multiculturalism, the official policy rhetoric since the 1980s, has been attacked by politicians as having failed. Former Prime Minister David Cameron said in a speech in 2011:

Under the doctrine of state multiculturalism, we have encouraged different cultures to live separate lives, apart from each other and apart from the

mainstream. We've failed to provide a vision of society to which they feel they want to belong. We've even tolerated these segregated communities behaving in ways that run completely counter to our values.

(Cameron, 2011)

British values and social integration are part of the language of race relations in Britain highlighting concerns with security and cohesion. However, there is a new language being used to discuss race in the UK today – and it is being discussed more widely now (2017) than at the time the fieldwork (2011-2012) was conducted. Concepts such as institutional racism, microaggressions, and privilege are now engaged with and debated across the mainstream and social media. Indeed tabloids like the *Daily Mail* and *The Sun* have carried articles on microaggressions (Nauman, 2016) and the statement 'check your privilege' appeared online over 10 years ago but has resurged and has been seen in the mainstream national media. Each body is born with certain privileges and the term asks people to be aware of this idea of privilege. The dialogue on racism and discrimination has grown in recent years particularly due to the response to the killing of several Black people in America leading to the creation of the *Black Lives Matter* (BLM) movement.

#Black Lives Matter - New movements

In 2012 a movement was started after a young African-American man Trayvon Martin had been gunned down by a White man, George Zimmerman, who thought he was acting 'suspiciously' as he walked down the street. Zimmerman was acquitted of Martin's murder. The impact of this murder is still relevant today - the gun that was used to kill Trayvon Martin was put on sale online in 2016 and sold at auction for \$250,000 (Chia, 2016).

#BlackLivesMatter is a call to action and a response to the virulent anti-Black racism that permeates our society. Black Lives Matter is a unique contribution that goes beyond extrajudicial killings of Black people by police and vigilantes.

(#BlackLivesMatter, 2016)

Whilst this movement began in America, the slogan has been adopted by many groups internationally and has been used in the UK. Its importance cannot be underestimated

as there is now a vocal and regular dialogue about race across the media. Although my data collection was held before the start of the Black Lives Matter campaign, I cannot write about race without acknowledging the new anti-racist movements. This movement is not without its critics and detractors, with the killings in Dallas of police officers in July 2016 at a #BlackLivesMatters protest finding the movement under attack (Lavender, 2016, Richardson, 2016). In the UK, activists have blocked airport runways to draw attention to the issues facing Black people in Britain.

What these examples show is how racism permeates society today and impacts on those that are visibly different. The legacy of archaic views and the societal use of race still brings with it negative experiences and inequality for people of colour, as my data shows.

Appendices

Appendix 1 -Topic Guide

- Describe yourself to me?
- Could you tell me about your childhood?
- Education?
- Current work/education?
- Present – where do you live now?
- Lifestyle – friends, social groups
- Ghana – visits, links, views

Appendix 2 - Invitation email

Research participants needed

I'm a PhD student and writing my thesis on second generation Ghanaians born and raised in London and I'm looking for research participants for my study.

Criteria:

Both parents must be from Ghana

You must have been born in London and be aged 25-45

If you are interested in taking part or finding out more please contact me:

email yankrah@hotmail.co.uk

I'm interested in people from all walks of life and would also like to speak to people that have moved to Ghana.

I would be grateful if you could spread the word.

Appendix 3 - Follow up email

Thank you for your interest. To provide some further background, the study is looking at how life experiences shape choices of identity. There have been studies in the US but nothing in the UK and nothing in the Ghanaian community or indeed many African communities. My MA addressed identity construction and again looked at the second generation Ghanaian community.

Ideally the interviewees will be face to face and would take a minimum of one hour.

If you would still like to take part please let me know your availability so we can arrange a discussion.

Appendix 4 - Consent form

This interview forms part of my PhD in Sociology, which I'm studying at the Institute of Education.

Your name will not appear in the document and the information gathered will be used for the purposes of this dissertation and may appear in later journals or be presented at conferences.

PLEASE COMPLETE IN BLOCK CAPITALS AND TICK WHERE APPROPRIATE

First name

Last name _____

London Borough where currently resident _____

Gender Male Female

Age

Highest level of education

- Post Graduate or equivalent
- Degree or equivalent
- A Levels or equivalent
- GCSE
- Other - please state

Occupation

- Higher managerial, administrative and professional
- Intermediate managerial, administrative and professional
- Supervisory, clerical and junior managerial, administrative and professional
- Skilled manual worker
- Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker
- Retired, unemployed, casual worker

Please indicate which parent came first to the UK

Father Mother

Year 1st parent came to the UK _____

Highest level of education - parent

- Post Graduate or equivalent
- Degree or equivalent
- A Levels or equivalent
- GCSEs
- Other

Signature

Researcher use only	Date of interview	Time and venue
	Code	Transcription date

Appendix 5 -Interviewees in thesis

Pseudonym	Gender	Age	Education	Occupation - level
Kwame	Male	37	Post Graduate or equivalent	Intermediate managerial, administrative and professional
Sally	Female	38	Degree or equivalent	Supervisory, clerical and junior managerial, administrative and professional
Kofi	Male	31	Degree or equivalent	Intermediate managerial, administrative and professional
Ama	Female	27	Degree or equivalent	Supervisory, clerical and junior managerial, administrative and professional
Kojo	Male	37	A Levels or equivalent	Supervisory, clerical and junior managerial, administrative and professional
Abena	Female	34	Degree or equivalent	Intermediate managerial, administrative and professional
Tracey	Female	36	Degree or equivalent	Intermediate managerial, administrative and professional
Adjoa	Female	28	Degree or equivalent	Intermediate managerial, administrative and professional
Kofi A	Male	29	Post Graduate or equivalent	Higher managerial, administrative and professional
Tony	Male	31	Degree or equivalent	Intermediate managerial, administrative and professional
Kwadwo	Male	31	Degree or equivalent	Intermediate managerial, administrative and professional
Ama A	Female	29	Post Graduate or equivalent	Intermediate managerial, administrative and professional
Ekow	Male	39	Post Graduate or equivalent	Intermediate managerial, administrative and professional
Ashantewaa	Female	27	Degree or equivalent	Higher managerial, administrative and professional

Akua	Female	37	A Levels or equivalent	Semi-skilled and unskilled manual worker
Yaw	Male	35	GCSEs	Supervisory, clerical and junior managerial, administrative and professional
Maya	Female	27	Degree or equivalent	Intermediate managerial, administrative and professional
Sarah	Female	29	Degree or equivalent	Higher managerial, administrative and professional
Ama B	Female	37	Degree or equivalent	Higher managerial, administrative and professional

Appendix 6 - Transcript extract

YA you mentioned earlier about your uncles bringing the Ghanaian culture, a different side of the Ghanaian culture to you. So what the Ghanaian culture that you knew or how would you define Ghanaian culture? #00:12:22-0#

I suppose when I say them bringing something to the whole dynamics of the family, I'm talking about like the language, the pouring of libation (he laughs), what else? them sitting around with a big bowl of banku and some okra and everyone dipping their hands into it and eating, that sort of thing, that being the food. And just watching how they interact and realising that's exactly how they interact back home and they're trying to replicate the same thing here. And I also see, like you know I was saying that back in South London the Ghanaian community is quite small? They tend to have all came around the same sort of time and tend to all know each other, and they do exactly the same thing, in the sense that if a group of people are going round to one person's house, the wife goes into the kitchen (laughs) prepare something, brings the gin, brings the whisky and they all sit around and they all eat from the same bowl and interact the same way they did back home, sort of thing #00:13:32-7#

YA when you say 'they' are these men? #00:13:33-0#

And women, so the wives do it as well. So just looking at it from that angle and realising that, that isn't going to happen again with our generation because that isn't our culture. Our culture is more 'yeah are you going down to Gold Coast [Ghanaian restaurant in south London] for a meal' or something like that as opposed to going round to your friend's house, running into the kitchen - not necessarily the woman doing it, but now it's more man/woman these days (he laughs) - preparing something, I'm sure it does happen but it's not as evident as it used to be. #00:14:11-1#

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