A comparison of UK and Trinidad and Tobago black male adolescents’ identity and self-concept

By

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Declaration of originality

I Samuel Hinds 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.

Signed: __________________________________________

Date: __________________________________________
Abstract

Pupils from black backgrounds remain the lowest performing group compared to other ethnic groups. Although there have been improvements in achievement over the years, African Caribbean boys still continue to perform below the expected national average (DfE, 2014). There may be many reasons for this, including the identities the boys adopt. This study aims to compare the identity and self-concept of black male adolescents in the United Kingdom (UK) and Trinidad and Tobago (TT), and the nature of their relationships with their fathers to explore African Caribbean boys in the United Kingdom where they are classified as an ethnic minority and in Trinidad and Tobago where they are not a minority, to gain an understanding of the characteristics that surround African Caribbean identity in these contexts and the possible impact on attainment.

Questionnaires including rating scales, drawings of self-perceived role in the wider world and imaginary letters to fathers were adopted in the data collection. Three hundred and eighteen questionnaires were analysed for the UK and Trinidad and Tobago altogether. The age range was 12-25.

The two sample groups had a different emphasis on education with the Trinidad and Tobago sample believing that education was critical for achieving success in contrast to the United Kingdom sample. Religious community was seen as a supportive structure where boys were able to find role models and encouragement to do well. Statements relating to lifestyle, friends and social life showed few differences between the samples. Many African Caribbean boys in the United Kingdom had negative experiences in relation to racial prejudice and the police. The Trinidad and Tobago sample did not see this as an issue since they had no lived experiences of institutional racism by the police. Parents in the United Kingdom were more likely to help boys with their homework while boys in the Trinidad and Tobago sample had a greater admiration for their fathers.
The friends of boys in the United Kingdom were predominantly black while boys in the Trinidad and Tobago sample had a mixture of friends. There were similarities in the samples in relation to fathers’ absence. Boys in Trinidad and Tobago had greater access to black male role models and were more likely to be in contact with their fathers. Although the boys in the sample faced various types of discrimination, the analysis of the data showed that they did not suffer from low self-esteem. Some boys had developed coping strategies that made them resilient and able to overcome any unfair treatment that they may have experienced. Many boys were emotional about their relationship with their fathers. The findings highlighted the importance of a father being present in the house. Where fathers were present, boys were grateful for their support and admired them. When the father was absent many boys expressed a love/hate relationship. Many felt abandoned. Fathers tended to be seen as the boy’s first role model and many of them aspired to be like their father. Some African Caribbean boys in the United Kingdom, despite a range of lived negative experiences, saw themselves as powerful and being able to cope. Others felt powerless and disillusioned with the world, feeling unable to make changes or be heard. The findings are discussed in terms of their educational implications.
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“You, the children, yours is the great responsibility to educate your parents, teach them to live together in harmony... To your tender and loving hands, the future of the Nation is entrusted. In your innocent hearts, the pride of the Nation is enshrined. On your scholastic development, the salvation of the Nation is dependent... you carry the future of Trinidad and Tobago in your school bags.”

Dr Eric E. Williams, August 30, 1962 Independence Youth Rally
Chapter 1: Introduction

‘To me education is the most powerful weapon which you can use to change the world’

Nelson Mandela

‘It is apparent to me that the effective desalination of the black man entails an immediate recognition of social and economic realities. If there is an inferiority complex, it is the outcome of a double process; partly economic, subsequently, the internalising of this inferiority.’ (Fanon, 1967).

1.1 Background to the study

The underachievement of African Caribbean boys in the United Kingdom, in general, has been a problem for many years (Coard, 1971; Rampton, 1981; Sewell, 1997; Majors 2001; Tomlinson, 2008). Although improvements have been made, it persists. This continues to be a concern for a range of stakeholders and researchers (Tomlinson, 1986; 2008). Byfield (2008a, b) showed that black boys both in the United Kingdom and the United States of America for too long had been associated with the concept of ‘underachievement’, although a considerable number of black boys were high achievers. One contributory factor to success is the cultural capital of some boys (Carter, 2003), although religious belief has also been found to be important for academic success (Rhamie and Hallam, 2002).
1.1.1 Attainment, ethnicity and gender

Research on educational outcomes in the United Kingdom has considered achievement in relation to the following ethnic groups, Chinese, Asians (Indians, Pakistanis and Bangladeshi), Mixed parentage, White and Black. The variability of performance at GCSE of young people from different minority groups is considerable. In 2016, 82.8% of Chinese students achieved five A*-C GCSEs compared to 59.2% of African Caribbeans (DfE SFR03/2017).

Although Asian students born in 1970 had not done well in previous years, Chinese, Indian and Bangladeshi students born in 1997/1998 were the best performers in 2015 (Commission on Inequality in Education England and Wales, 2016). When analysing performance by gender, girls outperformed boys in all ethnic groups. The gap between them in 2016 was 8.9 percentage points and in 2015 8.4 percentage points. Over the last three decades white pupils have moved from being over-performers to underperformers. This particularly applies to students from low socio-economic economic backgrounds. Family income is a key factor influencing academic outcomes (Commission on Inequality in Education England and Wales, 2016).

The new secondary school accountability system, which was introduced in 2016, focused on Attainment 8 and Progress 8. Attainment 8 measures the average achievement of pupils in up to 8 qualifications including English and mathematics, whilst Progress 8 aims to capture the progress pupils make from the end of Key Stage 2 to the end of Key Stage 4. Attainment 8 compares pupils’ achievement – their Attainment 8 score – with the average Attainment 8 score of all pupils nationally who had a similar starting point (or prior attainment) (DfE SFR03/2017). The latest available data for England at Key Stage 4 for all pupils according to Attainment 8 indicates that the average Attainment 8 scores for Chinese students are considerably higher than for all other pupils. The same is also true for Progress 8 scores as shown in Table 1.1 below. Average Attainment 8 scores
of both white and black pupils are below the national average, with the scores of the black pupils being the lowest, although they made greater progress than white and mixed parentage students between the end of Key Stage 2 and Key Stage 4. In the United Kingdom, black learners are in the minority, 5.2% of the student population compared to 79% of white students (see Table 1.1 below).

**Table 1.1: Attainment 8 and Progress 8 by major ethnic group (England, state-funded schools, 2016)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>Number of pupils at end of Key stage 4</th>
<th>Average Attainment 8 score</th>
<th>Average Progress 8 score</th>
<th>Progress 8 lower confidence interval</th>
<th>Progress 8 upper confidence interval</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>2,026</td>
<td>62.4</td>
<td>0.68</td>
<td>0.63</td>
<td>0.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>51,218</td>
<td>52.5</td>
<td>0.31</td>
<td>0.30</td>
<td>0.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>22,868</td>
<td>50.5</td>
<td>-0.04</td>
<td>-0.06</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>422,763</td>
<td>49.7</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>-0.09</td>
<td>-0.08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>27,924</td>
<td>48.7</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>All pupils</td>
<td>540,689</td>
<td>49.9</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
<td>-0.03</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Key stage 4 attainment data

Of course, these data simplify complex issues. Archer (2008) argues that such data do not take account of gender or social class and the history surrounding ethnic minority migration, settlement and schooling in the country of settlement. Archer concludes that statistics on achievement do not fully reflect the ‘inequalities and injustices experienced’ (p. 90) by ethnic minorities and how this can create ‘oppressive racist stereotypes’ (Archer and Francis, 2006, p 90) which can be found in classrooms because of teachers’ attitudes. Table 1.2 sets out the attainment outcomes in terms of gender showing that, overall, girls do better in terms of Attainment 8 and Average Progress 8 scores than boys.

**Table 1.2: Attainment 8 and Progress 8 by gender (England, state-funded schools, 2016)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Average Attainment 8 score</th>
<th>Average Progress 8 score</th>
<th>Progress 8 lower confidence interval</th>
<th>Progress 8 upper confidence interval</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>47.7</td>
<td>- 0.17</td>
<td>- 0.17</td>
<td>- 0.16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>52.3</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.11</td>
<td>0.12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Key stage 4 attainment data
Girls continue to perform better than boys in relation to Attainment 8 even when ethnicity and eligibility for free school meals (FSM) are taken into account (see Figure 1.1). Girls perform better than boys in all ethnic groups considered. Although the Chinese boys perform well, they do not do as well as the Chinese girls.

Figure 1.1: Average Attainment 8 score for selected minor ethnic groups, by gender

![Bar chart showing average Attainment 8 scores for different ethnic groups and gender.](chart)

Source: Key stage 4 attainment data

In the Caribbean, The Caribbean Examination Council (CXC), the body responsible for administering Secondary Entrance Assessment (SEA), CSEC, the equivalent of GCSE, and CAPE, the equivalent of A levels, does not collect data by student ethnicity, race or socio-economic class. The CSEC and CAPE results are reported holistically. However, results are provided for male versus female performance and how students perform in...
the various sections by question number and type. An overall analysis of the level of difficulty is also reported (CXC country (Trinidad and Tobago) Report, 2016).

Researchers who have analysed performance data for example, Professor Deosaran, have had to make assumptions about ethnicity using surnames to identify different ethnic groups. While these do not provide the most rigorous basis for comparison, this approach has afforded some understanding of the current situation. Overall, the two largest population groups in Trinidad and Tobago are African Trinbagonian (34.2%) and Indian Trinbagonian (35.4%) (CSO, 2011, population census). The findings from the analysis of examination outcomes have shown that although African Trinbagonians performed well in both the CSEC and CAPE examinations, African Trinbagonians as a group still underachieved in comparison with the other major ethnic group, Indian Trinbagonian (Deosaran, 2016; Worrell and Noguera, 2011). There are also gender differences with more girls continuing education three years after completing form five (GCSE) (51%) than boys (42%) and boys more likely to move into employment (35%) than girls (18%) after completing form five (GCSE) (Deosaran, 2016).

Overall, it seems that educational progress and performance are better for girls than boys. In addition, black boys of African descent, whether in the United Kingdom or the Caribbean perform less well than most other ethnic groups. In the United Kingdom, when eligibility for free school meals is taken into account the only group which performs less well are white boys.

1.1.2 Exclusion from school, gender and ethnicity
In addition to issues with performance, the education system in the UK still excludes a high proportion of Black children both permanently and for fixed periods. The latest figures from DfE SFR 2016 (Table 1.3 below) show that Black Caribbean students are
three times more likely to be permanently excluded than the school population as a whole. Gypsy/Roma and Traveller of Irish Heritage children had the highest levels for both types of exclusion, although these data may not be an accurate representation because of the small population.

The Asian ethnic group has the lowest rates of permanent and fixed period exclusion. Table 1.3 also shows that boys are more than likely to be excluded than girls. Boys were over three times more likely to receive a permanent exclusion and almost three times more likely to receive a fixed period exclusion than girls.

Currently, there is no comparable data for schools in Trinidad and Tobago. Extensive correspondence by myself and my supervisor with the Ministry of Education Trinidad and Tobago requesting data relating to the annual statistical return, which contains information about ethnicity, gender, religion and school audits, was unsuccessful. These data sheets would have been helpful in providing the relevant information I needed, however, I was unable to acquire this information.
Table 1.3: Permanent and fixed exclusions by ethnic group and gender

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number by ethnic group:</th>
<th>Permanent exclusions</th>
<th>Fixed period exclusions</th>
<th>Pupil enrolments with one or more fixed period exclusion</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Boys</td>
<td>Girls</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
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<tr>
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<td>0.01</td>
<td>0.04</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------</td>
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</tr>
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</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>All pupils</td>
<td>0.13</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>0.08</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: School Census
(1) Includes only pupils of compulsory school age and above; so totals shown here will may not match those totals in tables that relate to all pupils.
(2) Ethnic group is as at January 2016. See Chapter 5 of the "Guide to exclusions statistics".
(3) The number of exclusions (or pupil enrolments receiving one or more fixed period exclusion) expressed as a percentage of the school population of compulsory school age and above (including sole or dual main registrations and boarding pupils) in each ethnic group.
(4) Includes pupils whose ethnic information was not sought or was refused or could not be determined.
(5) Pupils who have been classified according to their ethnic group, excluding White British.
1.1.3 What factors may impact on attainment and exclusion

What mediating factors may have created such a disparity in exclusions and in academic performance? In the United Kingdom, Rhamie and Hallam (2002) and Makinnon, Statham and Hales (1995) have shown that parental education, socio-economic status and level of support and aspirations might be contributory factors. This may also apply in Trinidad and Tobago. Although there is currently no data which makes this transparent there does appear to be relationship between socio-economic status and attainment. Lisle (2012), in a study on School Secondary Entrance Examinations (SEA), found that students living in the wealthier neighbourhoods had a greater likelihood of getting their first choice of schools compared with students coming from poorer neighbourhoods. Normally students’ first choices are for the higher achieving schools (Jackson, 2010). Lisle (2012) examined the administrative region of Diego Martin over a 10-year period and found that in the four wealthiest neighbourhoods studied all had a higher percentage of students receiving their first choices compared with the poorer highly populated neighbourhoods (Figure 1.2 below). Jackson (2010; 2013) found that there was a direct relationship between school quality and academic outcomes. Students benefited from attending higher achieving schools.
Figure 1.2 Percentages of students receiving their first choice in nearby communities in the Diego Martin Administrative Region (1995-2005).

Secondary School Entrance Examinations in Trinidad

### Percentages Receiving First Choice and Ministry Assignments In Nearby Communities Differing in BNIs

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Community</th>
<th>MOE Assigned SEA (01-05)</th>
<th>MOE Assigned CEE (95-01)</th>
<th>1st Choice SEA (01-05)</th>
<th>1st choice CEE (95-01)</th>
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</thead>
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<tr>
<td>GOODWOOD GARDENS</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>28.6</td>
<td>49.2</td>
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<td>WEST MOORINGS</td>
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<td>30.2</td>
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<td>14.3</td>
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<td>57.1</td>
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<tr>
<td>VICTORIA GARDENS</td>
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<td>71</td>
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<tr>
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<td>31.6</td>
<td>24.6</td>
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</tr>
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<td>50</td>
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<td>LA PUERTA</td>
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<td>38.1</td>
<td>41.6</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>CARENAGE</td>
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<td>10.5</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>56.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Lisle (2012)
The research reported here, by comparing the identity and self-concept of young black men in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago, aimed to explore whether other factors might be important in relation to attainment and disaffection from school. One such factor was the relationship of young men with their fathers. In deciding to research differences between the identity, self-perceptions and relationships with the fathers of adolescent boys in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago I reflected on my own personal educational experiences having grown up in the Caribbean in a single parent family, my mother and father having divorced when I was three years old. In my own family, as in most Caribbean families, the extended family exists and there was a great emphasis on the community and the church. I had several positive male role models and support was available from family and friends. The school environment in the Caribbean is different from that in the United Kingdom. My teachers shared the same common culture and ethnicity as the students and although females comprised a large percentage of the teaching profession, male teachers were still in evidence and impacted positively on the lives of the students in terms of role models for those with absent fathers. Teachers were generally supportive and usually had good relationships with parents. I grew up in a village where everyone knew each other and where the members of the village shared in raising the children. As a result, discipline was provided both by family and friends and there was a deep community spirit. Of course, my personal experiences cannot be generalised to the whole population, but they motivated me to want to investigate the circumstances of other young men in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago.

Parental involvement in children’s education has a considerable impact on future performance (Sylva, Melhuish and Sammons, 2004; DCSF, 2007). Parental involvement increases the chances for better educational outcomes even when socio-economic status, mother’s education, income and ethnicity are taken into account (Sammons, 2007). Growing up in a one parent family may also be important since it increases the
support network through the multigenerational bond (Bengtson, 2001). This may be particularly important within the African-Caribbean community. Berrington (1994) indicated in her study that fewer Caribbean women marry and divorce and that separation and cohabitation are more common among Caribbean than other ethnic groups. Berthoud (2000) also concluded that there were lower rates of marriage for Caribbean women and that they were more likely to be single parents than white women.

Desforges and Abouchaar (2003) found that boys’ parental behaviour and family relationships had a key influence on attainment for all Key Stage 2 subjects. The quality and content of fathers’ involvement is important, more so than the quantity of time fathers spend with their children (Goldman, 2005). Even though African Caribbean parents may have high aspirations for their children, as the children get older and are faced with economic constraints and lack of opportunities Black Caribbean young people make poor progress, even when a broad number of socio-economic variables are included in the analysis (Gutman and Akerman, 2008). The research reported here will examine the role of parents in the education of African Caribbean boys, and boys’ relationships with their fathers in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago to explore any differences which might impact on their attitudes to education and the impact this may have on their identity formation.

Over the past decades, many different initiatives have been put in place to improve the attainment of black boys in the United Kingdom and reduce exclusion from school. These have provided support to high attainers so that the stigma of ‘acting white’ (Fordham and Ogbu, 1986) and the fear of being marginalized by their peers are reduced. Policies have included multicultural education (black history month), mentoring programmes and after school programmes (Tomlin, Wright and Mocombe, 2014).
In the United Kingdom, political and economic wealth is dominated by white culture (Patel, 2000). With this comes power and privilege. Racism and discrimination exist within societal structures and institutions and within personal relationships (Karlsen, 2007; Nazroo, 2001; 2003). Racially motivated incidents continue to be reported despite considerable legislation outlawing such activities (UK Office of National Statistics, 2010). There is also evidence that some white people are unaware that their actions towards black or other ethnic groups are racist (Fernando, 2006).

It might be expected that discrimination and prejudice would impact on self-concept and identity, although whether these in turn directly affect attainment or behaviour is debatable, although they may be contributory factors (Chavous et al., 2003; Lockett and Harrell 2003; Goode and Watson, 1992; Witherspoon, Speight and Thomas, 1997). Gilbert, Harvey and Belgrave (2009) argue that the Afrocentric worldview includes historical trauma as a result of slavery and the continuous social disadvantage experienced. Megwalu (1990) argues that black people everywhere eventually experience the world from an inferior position. Past and present cultural and historical experiences are merged in the development of the self (Baldwin, 1984). Despite this, the evidence from studies of the self-esteem of African-Caribbeans is mixed.

Early studies in the USA suggested that African Americans suffered from low self-esteem (Clark and Clark, 1947; Kardiner and Ovesey, 1951) due to marginalization and the prejudice they faced. However, later studies, for instance, those undertaken by Crocker and Major (1989), Graham (1994) and Van Laar (2000) indicated that African Americans had higher self-esteem than Whites. However, general self-esteem is not necessarily related to academic self-concept. Fordham and Ogbu (1986) have argued that to succeed academically black students need to adopt oppositional identities, i.e. becoming raceless. Studying the relationship between self-esteem and achievement is important because it explores whether individuals’ self-esteem is tied to their motivation and
academic achievement (Crocker and Wolfe, 2001; Crocker et al., 2003). Cokley (2002) found that although black students had high self-esteem and self-concept they had lower Grade Point Average (GPA) than their white counterparts. Cokley suggested this might have been due to institutional racism or stereotyping of black students. In contrast, in a later study, Cokley et al. (2012) found a strong correlation between academic self-concept and Grade Point Average for African American male students. This was conceptualised as academic dis-identification. The differences in these findings are puzzling. Perhaps for some African American students there is a positive relationship, while for others there is not (Hope et al., 2013).

1.1.4 Gender in education
A consideration of gender, ethnicity and performance is important because the performance of boys is generally lagging behind that of girls (DfE SFR, 2017). This is not a recent phenomenon (Gaine and George, 1999). However, even when other factors are taken into account, for instance, socio-economic status, ethnic origin and language, girls still tend to outperform boys as shown earlier (Sammons, 1995; Eurydice, 2009).

The reasons for gender differences in attainment have generally been attributed to three main causes. Firstly, there may be biological underpinnings which impact on studying and behaviour which ultimately affect attainment (Beall and Sternberg, 1993; Eurydice, 2009). Secondly, there tend to be more female than male teachers, particularly in the earlier years of school (Eurydice, 2009) and boys are treated differently to girls. For instance, girls are encouraged to be passive and to conform, while boys are expected to demonstrate more individuality (Magno and Silova, 2007; Golombok and Fivush, 1994). This may have an overall effect on student behaviour (Tsouroufli, 2002). Thirdly, family and societal influences may contribute to differences (Punter and Burchell, 1996). There also appears to be a greater impact on boys as opposed to girls from African Caribbean backgrounds in relation to social factors (Eurydice, 2009; DfES, 2007). Whatever the
causes, there does seem to be something of a crisis in masculinity in relation to youth violence, social disorder, concern about family break-down and male irresponsibility (Eurydice, 2009).

1.1.5 Education systems in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago
The structure of the education systems in the UK and Trinidad and Tobago is relatively similar. Primary education is compulsory in Trinidad and Tobago and is for a period of six years. Learners take the Secondary Entrance Assessment as an entrance examination into the secondary level. Every child is placed into a secondary school but "… most secondary schools have been structured into a stratified system of prestige and lower status schools …" (Kutnick, Jules and Layne, 1997, p.2). There are two types of secondary school: the traditional academic (grammar) which provides five or seven years of schooling (five years of secondary school followed by two years of A level – sixth form) or a new system consisting of three years of Junior Secondary, two years of Senior Secondary schooling and two years of Sixth form. The Junior and Senior schools are separate.

The government is currently in the process of re-organising these schools. The new type schools offer a more diversified curriculum than the traditional schools. There is a new National Curriculum which is intended to ensure that all schools are on an equal footing. Learners all take a common examination at the end of fifth form, the Caribbean Examination Council Secondary Education Certificate (CSEC) and in the sixth form the Caribbean Advanced Proficiency Examination (CAPE). This replaced the United Kingdom Advanced level examination (GCE).

There are several types of schools in England and Wales. The majority are state schools which are not selective, although there are public schools which are fee paying and selective. The majority of students attend comprehensive schools. Primary education
in the United Kingdom lasts for six years, while Secondary education covers schooling from the age of eleven to the minimum school leaving age of sixteen, although some form of education is now compulsory until age 18. Learners follow a common curriculum leading to the General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) and a range of vocational examinations. At some schools, learners may stay on for a further two years to complete sixth form and take General Certificate Examination (GCE) Advanced level. Colleges also exist that provide advanced level courses together with vocational courses. Where the systems differ is in the level of accountability in terms of student assessment. While it might have been possible to gather data relating to attainment of the boys participating in the study in the UK, this was not possible in Trinidad and Tobago. This precluded linking data on family support, lifestyle, self-belief, and relationships with fathers with academic attainment. Any relationships can therefore only be speculative.

1.2 The current research

The current research developed from research undertaken for my MA in Teaching and Learning in Higher and Professional Education where I explored the “Perceived Causes of Male African-Caribbean Under-achievement in the United Kingdom (Hinds, 2005). This investigated the educational experiences of 18 third generation African Caribbean boys aged 15 to 25 in the United Kingdom. They were interviewed between January and June 2004 with a focus on the factors that might have contributed to their underperformance. The findings revealed three elements which contributed to their performance: home, school and identity. The findings showed that a lack of parental supervision as a result of belonging to a single parent family was a fundamental cause for underperformance. In school, it was the interactions between the teachers and students which, because of cultural differences, led to a misinterpretation of boys’ attitudes and behaviour. The research also identified issues relating to the shaping of
masculinity and the passage from boy to manhood where there was an absent father and a reliance on peers to fill the void.

The current research does not focus on the issue of under-achievement per-se. The focus is on African Caribbean boys’ identity and self-concept and how this might affect them in achieving their full potential. One explanation for the lower achievement of male African Caribbeans and the higher rates of exclusion (DfE SFR, 2016) from school which they experience might relate to their identity and self-concept. This research examines the critical issues related to this adopting a social psychological perspective. It considers how the experience of African Caribbeans impacts on their feelings and perceptions both in the Caribbean and the United Kingdom.

Comparing young black males in both contexts will contribute to enhancing our understanding of the psyche of the young African Caribbean male with particular regard to their identity and self-concept. The effect of enslavement in relation to self-hatred and DuBois’s (1903) concept of double consciousness may have had a marked effect on African Caribbean boys in the UK being black and British, or as Gilroy (1993) puts it being European and black. Clarke (1994), cited in Allen (2001, p.163), spoke of “historical amnesia” in the continuous low performance of African-Caribbean and African Americans over the years. It may be that educational intervention programs to raise academic self-concept are needed in order to raise academic performance. Black history month is one such measure that promotes a positive self-image of blacks in the United Kingdom and across the globe. It has been celebrated across the United Kingdom for over 30 years and spotlights the achievements of blacks across the diaspora helping to instil positive feelings in a society that is very Eurocentric.

The aim of this study is to establish whether there are differences in identity and self-concept as well as relationships with fathers between African Caribbean boys in the
United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago as a means of understanding possible mediating factors in relation to underachievement and the behaviour of black boys both in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago.

### 1.2 Research questions

The research questions addressed in this study are:

1. What different identities do African Caribbean teenage boys have in the UK and Trinidad and Tobago and how is identity expressed in their perceived lifestyle, for example dress, stylised walking, music, church?

2. Are there differences between teenage boys in the UK and Trinidad and Tobago in relation to their perceived relationship with their fathers?

3. Are there any differences in how these two groups perceive themselves in the world and their lives in relation to achievement?

In order to fulfil these aims the research will:

- review the literature in relation to achievement issues from both a current and historical perspective;
- examine and discuss issues relating to identity and self-concept;
- develop questionnaires which will include a range of rating scales, and ask teenage boys to draw a picture of themselves in the world and write an imaginary letter to their fathers;
- evaluate the findings together in relation to the literature and draw conclusions on the relevance of identity and self-concept in the two samples.

The thesis is divided into 8 chapters. This chapter outlined the origins of my interest in the topic and a rationale for the study. The aims and objective were set out. Chapter 2 reviews the current and historical literature in relation to the underachievement discourse, identity and self-concept. Chapter 3 presents the methodology and the
framework of the study. It also outlines how the research was conducted. Chapter 4 describes the findings in relation to the different identities that African Caribbean teenage boys have in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago and how identity is expressed in their perceived lifestyle for example dress, stylised walking, music, church. Chapter 5 sets out the findings relating to differences between teenage boys in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago in relation to the perceived relationship to their fathers. Chapter 6 reports the findings from the drawings of how these two groups perceive themselves in the world and their life in relation to achievement. Chapter 7 provides analyses which complement the findings from the factor analysis. Chapter 8 discusses the research questions in light of the data and the limitations of the study.
Chapter 2: The Identity of African Caribbean boys

“What people think, believe, and feel affects how they behave” (Bandura, 1986, p.25)

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this research is to compare young African Caribbean boys growing up in a diverse society in the United Kingdom (UK) as an ethnic minority with those from Trinidad and Tobago (TT) where the boys are not in the minority, although there is ethnic diversity. It is important to understand African Caribbean boys' identity from two perspectives: (1) from being born and growing up in United Kingdom society where the dynamics of family networks are different, there is a different ethnic mix in the population and more of an individualistic culture and (2) that of Trinidad and Tobago where society is more family oriented and African Caribbeans are part of the majority population and there are greater numbers of African Caribbean role models.

Every individual has at least two identities - an individual identity and a social identity. These can be conceptualised as personal and group identities (Lewin, 1948; Jenkins, 1996). Personal identity refers to individual traits whilst group identity relates to the traits of the group (Crocker and Luhtanen, 1990). Identity is important because of the relationship it has with an individual’s behaviour. Individuals through social interaction and socialisation define or redefine themselves as they make sense of their self and identity, a process characterised by an internal and external developmental process (Mead, 1934; Cooley; 1962; 1964). Jenkins (1996) described this as an internal – external dialectic of identification (p. 20). Identity validation comes from the people we are in contact with who will either approve or disapprove of our behaviour. Social identity is never unilateral (Jenkins, 1996).
The next section will explore the way that an individual's identity is developed with particular reference to the self-concept. Later sections in the chapter will explore the identity and self-concept of male African Caribbeans and issues relating to masculinity, the acculturation of African Caribbeans in the United Kingdom and education. In this research, the ethnic group referred to as African Caribbean are Black British people who have a Black Caribbean ancestry, while African Americans are Black Americans who have a Black American ancestry. However, when black is used in reference to the literature it denotes African Caribbean, African Americans or Africans. In other words, ‘black’ people are assumed to be of African descent although they may be from different diaspora.

2.2 Self-concept

The self-system is the set of cognitive structures that involve perception, the way the individual sees him or herself, and the evaluation and regulation of behaviour (Sebastian, Burnett and Blakemore, 2008). The self-system allows us to evaluate our own behaviour in terms of previous experience and anticipated future events. In this way, an individual will make choices based on the way s/he sees him or herself.

Sullivan (1964), Rogers (1961) and Mead (1934) suggest that self-concept is a product of how people think or see themselves and their relationship with others, i.e. the social self. Relationships with others are important because of the desire to belong and gain social approval. Hattie (1992) suggested that individuals continuously re-evaluate themselves and if their views are not confirmed by others they change accordingly, while Rosenberg (1986, p.7) speaks about ‘the totality of the individual’s thoughts and feelings having reference to himself as an object’. Breakwell (1992) argues that self-conception is a composite of characteristics associated with the individual which are the outcomes of social interaction and social position. Self-evaluation is the subjective value placed
upon these characteristics which influences the individual to either change or remain constant.

Feedback from the environment, positive or negative, feeds into the malleable aspects of the self especially during adolescence (Sebastian et al., 2008). This can either increase or decrease an individual's self-esteem and impact on his/her confidence. The environment comprises of several components which impact on the individual at various points in his/her life. Identity is developed during these processes. The family is crucial in the early years but as the child gets older the wider environment becomes more important.

As achievement has a direct relationship to obtaining employment and therefore family and economic stability (Brown, 1995), it is relevant that we understand how self-concept affects the academic performance of African Caribbeans as a group in the United Kingdom and in Trinidad and Tobago. The evidence suggests that academic self-concept is pivotal in helping marginalised groups to reduce the gap produced by social inequities (Marsh and Craven, 2006; 2011). An OECD report (2003, p.9) suggested that self-concept is ‘closely tied to students’ economic success and long-term health and wellbeing’.

The self is formed dialectically through interactions with people who are important in the individual’s life, their significant others. Porter and Washington (1979) argue that significant others for African Americans are white people in relation to economic and social status issues, but people in their own community for personal issues.

2.2.1 Adolescence and self-concept

Adolescence is seen as the period where young people experience an identity crisis (Gergen, 1971, Erikson, 1959). During adolescence, young people are susceptible to
heightened self-consciousness and are easily influenced by peer pressure (Sebastian, Burnett and Blakemore, 2008). The extent of any one person’s influence depends on how significant others are in the young person’s life. The extent of this influence may relate to the power and authority given to them by society. A range of groups can be influential on an adolescent’s self-esteem including parents, siblings, aunts, uncles, school teachers, peer groups, the church community and other role models.

Twenge and Campbell (2002) showed that socio-economic status had a small but significant effect on self-esteem. A large proportion of African Caribbean boys in the United Kingdom live in the most deprived areas. Although this may impact directly on boys’ self-esteem, Dusek and McIntyre (2003) argue that socio-economic status might have more of an indirect effect compounding the impact because adolescents believe that they are not doing well because of their economic situation. This usually results in learned helplessness which leads to a continual vicious cycle of poverty and the possibility of adolescent boys embarking on a life of crime and drugs since this seems like the obvious way out (Gunther, 2008).

Some research suggests that self-esteem may not be an important factor. For instance, Twenge and Crocker (2002) showed that African American adolescents had higher self-esteem than adolescents from any other ethnic group, although this seemed to be related to a range of social interactions, not educational attainment.

Dekovic and Meeus (1997) (Figure 2.1) assume that a young person’s self-concept is affected by the relationship s/he has with their parents. This in turn influences how they integrate and the kind of peers they engage with. Bowlby’s (1980) attachment theory explains that children learn from their experiences with their parents and form their own model of self and others. Lack of early attachments can impact on self-esteem (Buri, Kirchner and Walsh, 1987) and may also be related to the development of serious
relationships in adult life which continue into marriage. Adolescents with a stable family home usually have high self-esteem (Farrugia et al., 2006) and therefore have greater resilience when faced with discrimination in the classroom.

**Figure 2.1: Hypothesised relationship between parent-adolescent relations, self-concept and peer relations**

![Diagram showing the hypothesised relationship between parent-adolescent relations, self-concept, and peer relations.]

Hypothesized relationship between Parent-Adolescent Relations, Self Concept and Peer Relations

Dekovic & Meeus (Journal of Adolescence 1997, 20, 163-176)

Source: Peer relations in adolescence: effects of parenting and adolescents’ self-concept (Dekovic and Meeus, 1997, 20, 163-176)

During adolescence young people are at secondary school. If they label what they do as industrious and can identify its significance, they will work hard. However, if they class it as ineffective, there will be no motivation to work at it (Gergen, 1971). In the UK, some African Caribbean boys know that teachers fear them in the classroom as a result of stereotyping. This is then used as a tool to keep teachers at bay, so that they do not pressure them to work.

Adolescents spend more time investing in peer relationships than other relationships (Fuligni and Eccles, 1993). This might lead to negative influences and deviant behaviour, particularly when adolescents come from homes with high parental alienation which results in high peer involvement. In addition, peer-oriented adolescents have been found to have higher negative self-concepts (Conger et al., 1992).
Self-efficacy is closely linked to self-concept and is the expectation of how well the individual thinks she or he can perform in relation to any particular task or area of study. This is usually based on previous performance (Bandura, 1997; 2012). Pajares (2003), Pajares and Urdan (2006) and Bandura (2012) argue that an individual’s achievement is linked to self-efficacy. High self-efficacy is linked to good performance, in other words, the individual believing that they can do well (Bandura, 1997).

2.2.2 Reciprocal determinism

The way that individuals behave leads others to react in particular ways which in turn affect self-beliefs and subsequent behaviours. An individual’s behaviour at any point in time can be explained in terms of social learning theory and reciprocal determinism. Reciprocal determinism is a concept that states that a person’s behaviour is determined by personal factors (cognitive, affective and biological) and their individual external environment (Bandura, 1986) (see Figure 2.2).

Figure 2.2: Schematization of Triadic Reciprocal Determination

![Figure 2.2: Schematization of Triadic Reciprocal Determination](image)

Source Bandura, 2012

Environmental determinants are complex. They comprise imposed, selected and
constructed elements. The imposed environment is an environment where the individual has no control. However, Bandura (2012) states that the environment is only a factor if ‘selected and activated’ (p.12). However, African Caribbean boys are frequently not able to ‘select and activate’ the environment. The environment is activated without their interference, for example, racism can occur even if boys try to avoid it but can still impact negatively on their life chances. When black boys are described and perceived as being difficult to teach in class, it is easy to see that they may be reacting to teacher behaviours. For instance, Youdell (2003) shows that teachers see them as intolerant, preferring that they were absent from classes. In turn, African Caribbean learners believe they are not treated equally or fairly in comparison with other students who may be culpable for the same behaviours. Teachers have also described them as ‘loud’ for speaking their minds (Archer, 2008). These negative interactions between students and teachers result in high rates of exclusion for African Caribbean (DfE SFR, 2016).

Overall, African Caribbean boys generally do not have direct control over many aspects of their lives and because of stereotyping, their behaviour is frequently determined by the behaviour of others to which they react. Indeed, Banks (1992, p. 20) concluded that ‘for black adolescents being black is a significant factor in the construction of self’. In the UK context, where most people are white, Banks argued that ‘it is likely that racial identity is self-identity [for black children] which in turn is self-concept’ (p.21).

2.2.3 Motivation, self-concept and behaviour

An individual is the product of interactions between hereditary factors and the environment which, in turn, determine the individual’s development. What is important is how motivation is influenced by an individual’s identity or self (group and individual) (Hallam, 2002). Goals are influenced by malleable aspects of the self and environmental factors. Behaviour is the product of the interactions of these factors and changes depending on environmental factors including those relating to peers or subcultures. This
impacts on long and short-term goals and academic achievement (Mischel, 1973).

Self-esteem is related to our need for competence (Koestner and McClelland, 1990) and achievement (to be more successful and better than others) (McClelland et al., 1953; Atkinson 1964). Need for achievement consists of two complementary elements, one is driven by ego that is the motive to succeed and the other is the motive not to fail, which may cause the individual to lose face. To understand the effect of self-esteem on a given task (e.g. achieving five GCSEs) one needs to look at the cost to self-esteem of engaging in these tasks where the likelihood of failure is high and may be too great for those with a high need for achievement. The link here is how the individual attributes success or failure, to stable or unstable, controllable or uncontrollable, or internal or external factors. An unstable factor would be bad luck. However, in this study I am concerned about stable factors for example perceived “lack of ability” which would perpetuate an expectation of continued failure by the individual (Weiner, 1986). When assessing success or failure the elements interact with each other. The individual’s interpretation of events is an important factor. This is due to the fact that some are seen as within personal control which is, in part, dependent on the amount of effort made. Some may be dependent on the quality of teaching received. Prior knowledge is important because it is a crucial determining factor for final results. Harter (1985) postulated that beneffectance – the individual attributing successful outcomes to internal causes and unsuccessful to external is tied to self-esteem. Therefore, individuals with high beneffectance tend to perform well when given academic tasks. Clifford (1986) suggests that individuals should assign failure to strategy attribution, whereby the learner does not have specific strategies or skills in place to succeed. This enables them to maintain a positive self-image.
2.3 The identity and self-concept of male African Caribbean

2.3.1 Ethnicity, race and identity

The terms race and ethnicity have frequently been used interchangeably in psychological research (Phinney, 1996; Helms and Talleyrand, 1997; Markus, 2008). Phinney (1996) argued that ethnicity includes both visible racial characteristics, for example, skin colour and the culture of origin, while Helms and Talleyrand (1997) classified ethnicity on the basis of race or immigrant status. Race can also be viewed from the differential treatment received in response to an individual physical appearance. In contrast, Cokley (2007 p.225) defined race ‘as a characterisation of a group of people believed to share certain physical characteristics such as skin colour and facial features’ while ethnicity is ‘a characterisation of a group of people who see themselves and are seen by others as having a common ancestry, shared history, shared traditions and shared cultural traits such as language, beliefs, values, music, dress and food’. Recent research by Litchmore, Safdar and O’Doherty, (2016) on second generation Canadians who were classified as Black in terms of their racial, ethnic and national identities in the community suggested that racial, ethnic and national identities were fluid and not fixed and depended on the nature of social interactions.

There are weaknesses in the theoretical positions relating to individual and collective ethnic identity expression. Collective identity ignores the internal heterogeneity of individuals and assumes that all individuals are the same. This can be detrimental depending on how society views the group which can either be positive or negative (Seol, 2008). Socio-economic status, generation and gender are all factors that influence how individuals express themselves because of the experiences that they have had.

Erikson (1950; 1982) hypothesised that exploration is central in identity formation.
Marcia (1980) also highlighted the importance of exploration but also commitment as the foundations of identity formation. Berman et al. (2001) defined exploration ‘as a process of examination and discovery of who and what one might be, with commitment to an identity being a consolidation of this process’ (2001, p.513). Marcia’s model of identity development theorised four statuses namely achievement, moratorium, foreclosure and diffusion.

Ethnic identity is important in relation to the current research since it may help in understanding the role it plays in identifying why African Caribbean boys in the UK may react in certain ways within the educational system. Although they might belong to low socio-economic groups they have created their own style. Harris-Britt et al. (2007) noted that African American adolescents’ self-esteem is improved if they have a positive ethnic identity, while African Caribbean boys feel more comfortable among their ethnic group in terms of achievements and class than among whites (Goldsmith, 2004. In the United Kingdom, African Caribbean ethnicity is an important reference point for the African Caribbean community. It allows African Caribbeans to make comparisons between different generations, learn from the past and adjust for continuous existence and their social, economic and political status (Seol, 2008). However, a positive ethnic identity is difficult to achieve in a society where the media continues to promote negative stereotypes of African Caribbeans. This creates a form of negative identity and sometimes causes adolescents to reject their ethnic identity if they have not resolved this issue (identity achieved).

Jenkins (1996) highlighted the importance of power and politics when considering identity. He argued that ‘institutions have established patterns of practice, recognised as such by actors, which have force in determining the way things are done’ (p 24). He explains that institutions take on identities which can be characterised as a mixture of the individual and the collective. In the UK context, where schools and most
organisations are predominantly staffed by white personnel one can infer that the identities of staff would be white Eurocentric. Gender differences also play a part. As Sidanius and Protto (1999) argue adopting social dominance theory, in societies that have racially based hierarchical systems the men are always subjected to disproportionately higher rates of discrimination. According to Jenkins (1996) labelling individuals can produce an identity effect which is related to resistance. This is important when one considers police stop and search tactics which tend to be disproportionately levelled against male black youths (http://www.stop-watch.org/).

2.3.2 History and identity

The identity of black people cannot be understood without taking account of the fact that African Americans and Caribbeans were the subject of chattel slavery and colonialism. This is part of what it means to be African American or Caribbean (Nobles, 2013). An individual’s identity is characterized not only by hereditary factors but also by the environment. African Americans and Caribbeans have been affected psychologically by being enslaved twice, albeit, under different conditions. First, through chattel slavery and secondly, through colonisation. Kojeve (1969) explains that it is important for humans to see themselves as human and that this only occurs when the individual is recognized by another human as a human. Nobles (2013) describes this as a process of validation or in the case of slavery, invalidation of a person’s humanity.

Because of the long period of oppression of African Caribbeans, it is argued that two elements have developed within their culture and personality:

- dependency (socio-economic) (Kneebone, Carey and Berub, 2011); and
- inferiority (fosters dominance – need to rule; self-hatred against their own).

Considering chattel slavery and the dehumanising conditions which individuals have had to endure it is perhaps not surprising that African Caribbean are now seen as aggressive. This trait might have been developed as a consequence of the long period of
enslavement and therefore have been passed down from generation to generation.

Fanon (1982) describes this as ‘historical violence’ in his book “The Wretched of the Earth” when he evaluates the role of class, race, national culture and violence looking at the struggle for freedom. What this indicates for African Caribbeans is that during the 300 years of slavery, the slave master could have only continued to be a master based on his strength. This would have been demonstrated by him being violent towards the enslaved in order to maintain control and authority. As Fanon (1982) indicated the reaction to this would have been one of violent resistance, while Perimbaum and Perimbaum (1983) describe it as a ‘holy violence’. It has also been argued that African identity has been diminished by the domination of a Eurocentric consciousness as a result of colonialism. For example, in Trinidad, England was referred to as the motherland after independence suggesting that colonisation continued to play a role in society’s thinking.

Nobles (2013) described the attempted destruction of the African American or Caribbean human being as ‘memes’ (p. 237). Dawkins (1989) defined this as ‘a unit of cultural inheritance that is naturally selected by virtue of its phenotypic consequence on the particular culture’s own survival replication’. Nobles (2012) summarised this as ‘ideals which reflect the substance of behaviour’ which propagates as a weed and infects the mind (consciousness) and in turn helps to keep intact altered behaviour from one generation to the other.’ Memes can take the appearance of ideas, symbols, images, and feelings. Using religion as an example, one can see how this has taken root in the African Caribbean home in pictures of Jesus being portrayed as a white man on the walls of their houses. What has resulted is the entire thought process of the African Caribbean psyche being distorted based on another ethnic group’s schema (Nobles, 2013).
2.4 Slavery and Psychological Affects

2.4.1 Slavery and its impact (Chattel Slavery)

In order to better understand African Caribbean boys and what might influence the way they behave I decided to look back at the past with an emphasis on slavery to see if this might have had any influence on African Caribbean boys’ behaviour, due to the psychological impact it had on their ancestors and how this might have permeated to the present day through the psychology of oral story telling (Killick and Frude, 2009). Leary (2005) and Nazroo (2003) argued that the legacy of the trauma of slavery is part of black people’s collectivist culture and is reflected in much behaviour and many beliefs which were necessary for survival during the period of slavery. This has proven to be detrimental to the black community mentally and psychologically. Leary further pointed out that that based on research on other oppressed groups ‘survivor syndrome’ was present in racial identity formation of second and third generation black people.

When slavery was abolished in 1833 throughout the British Empire no monetary compensation was given to African Caribbeans (Du Bois1935). As a result, the hopes, dreams and aspirations of many slaves for a better life after slavery and a more equal society were dashed. Added to this they had no education. Clarke (1994) stated that an “historical amnesia” occurred about being a slave. The implication of this was that 'your history began on a slave ship, and becoming a good slave is among your few realistic goals'.

Slavery in the Caribbean was politically and economically driven. This perpetuated the concept of inferiority and the right of one group to exploit another. This can be evidenced through folk tales and storytelling (Killick and Frude, 2009). Cultural stories feed into the way people see themselves and have a direct impact on the construction of identity. During slavery, what occurred was the destruction of the black man’s self-image. This
was a psychological and cultural process whereby he was taught to hate and see himself as valueless. This was achieved through domination and the power relationships that existed. Patterson (2000) described slavery as the most extreme form of domination where the master had total power and the slave was totally powerless.

Steinberg (1995) described the effects that slavery had on the mentality of African Caribbeans which would have been incorporated into their self-concept. Allen and Bagozzi (2001, p.6) identified three effects of inferiority which developed through slavery (i) the inability to respect African leadership, (ii) the physical emulation of white people and (iii) the tendency to think that dark skin and kinky hair are unappealing and African features are less desirable. From these, negative personal beliefs can develop. It seems likely therefore that there is a link between identity, self-concept and slavery. Gaines and Reed (1994; 1995) spoke about the fight that African Americans have in maintaining a positive self-concept due to the double consciousness emphasised by DuBois (1903) which leads to a hyphenated identity (Holt, 1995; Lewis, 1993; Sundquist, 1993).

Bell (1975) spoke about power and how it operates dividing it into three strands social, psychological and cultural. Akbar (1996) also considered the social and psychological effects of slavery and how it impacted on the minds of African slaves and does even today, for instance, via the mass media. This refers to the way that beauty has been portrayed using Eurocentric features (straight nose as oppose to flat nose; straight hair as oppose to kinky hair. The social element identified by Bell (1987) emphasised the use of force to ensure that the slave complied. The second element was psychological whereby the slave was taught to see himself as having little worth. The third was cultural. This gave the slave master the right to command the slave to conform to his dictates; the slave was to be subservient and obedient. Slaves endured physical hardships leading in some cases to death and psychological abuse. However, there were some instances where slaves resisted as individuals and collectively. The process of
dominating slaves was not as easy as many textbooks and films sometimes portray it to be. During the period of slavery there were many forms of resistance. On a day to day basis this took the form of destruction of tools, property and feigned illness. Some slaves committed suicide, infanticide and frequently ran away knowing the consequences if caught (Rivers, 2012). There were also numerous slave rebellions. Teachers, doctors, prophets, conjurers were instrumental in influencing the actions taken by North Americans slaves (John, 1969). One such revolt was the 1712 New York City slave rebellion. This was described as the most serious at the time of its occurrence. It resulted in the deaths of 10 whites with 12 wounded. It created panic in the North American slave colonies for fear of it spreading to other slave colonies. This rebellion was of only 28 slaves, but they created hysteria (Aptheker, 1993; Carroll, 1938). In Jamaica in 1760 there was a slave rebellion, similar to the one in 1712. In both these rebellions conjurers were very instrumental (Higginson, 1969). They rubbed a powder on the slave clothing that gave the slaves the belief that they were invincible and the confidence to rebel (Schuler, 1970). Other documented revolts led by conjurers were those in New York City in 1741, in Richmond in 1800 and in Charleston in 1822 (Rucker, 2001). Slaves also sang to resist and keep their sanity. This allowed them to maintain a sense of identity and create hope. It was also instrumental in developing a deep sense of spirituality which can still be seen in African American or African Caribbean churches (Sanger, 1995).

Slavery left psychological scars imprinted on the minds of African Caribbean people. Slavery and colonialism taught black people that the white man is superior; he is the natural leader in all spheres of importance. The natural corollary was that the black man was inferior and needed to be managed and led, as he was incapable of successfully controlling his own life. This powerlessness is perpetuated today, not through shackles and chains, but via political and economic power which to a large degree, is still seen as being in the hands of white people. It is also achieved through institutional racism in the way people of Black and ethnic minority groups are unfairly treated in the Criminal Justice
System (Lammy Review, 2017). The African Caribbean is seen as not having fully assumed his place in any society as s/he struggles to come to terms with his relationship with the descendants of the former slave masters. This is despite the fact that Barack Obama became the first black president in the United States of America serving from January 2009 to January 2017.

2.4.2 Double consciousness

According to DuBois (1903) double consciousness is where blacks negotiate multiple identities. DuBois (1903) explained that ‘the history of the American Negro is the history of this strife — this longing to attain self-conscious manhood, to merge his double self into a better and truer self. In this merging, he wishes neither of the older selves to be lost. He does not wish to Africanise America, for America has too much to teach the world and Africa. He would not bleach his Negro blood in a flood of white Americanism, for he knows that Negro blood has a message for the world. He simply wishes to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows, without having the doors of opportunity closed roughly in his face.’ (The Souls of Black Folk. p.5).

DuBois highlighted the struggle that black men encounter on a daily basis in their fight for respect and to be recognised as individuals. This double consciousness arose out of the 300 years of slavery, where Africans were told when to sleep, when to wake, when to eat. Black men lost the ability to provide for their family and for some this continues today. Many black British men do not take up a position as head of the family unit. When compared to white British fathers, black fathers are twice as likely to live apart from their children and three times as likely as British Asian fathers (Hunt, 2009; Platt, 2009), resulting in some black boys not having father figures that teach the importance of family life and the family unit. Of course, sometimes the reasons for the absence are similar to those for white households, for instance, low socio-economics status, unemployment
(Amato and Sobolewski, 2004). Other factors that also affect black households are early fatherhood, imprisonment and having been raised without fathers. However, we cannot stereotype all black men. Reynolds (2009) found that there was a high level of engagement by non-resident black fathers in Britain. This is similar for black boys in Trinidad and Tobago.

Double consciousness is an awareness of self as well as an awareness of how others perceive that person. The issue is that if one changes to conform to societal expectations one risks losing identity and whole communities can be easily assimilated into the dominant society. In the past, many dominant societies have used the colour of people’s skin or the way they speak as a means to segregate communities.

2.4.3 The long-term impact of slavery

Although the world has changed this has not alleviated the plight of black people throughout the world. Ethnic minorities have historically been more likely to be unemployed than their White counterparts (Institute of Race Relations, 2017). They still suffer from high rates of unemployment and under-employment. In 2015, 5% of white people, 13% of black (African or Caribbean) people and 9% of Asians, who were of working age and available to work (16-64) were unemployed (Institute of Race Relations, 2017). This is further compounded when in 2015 29% of black males in the age range 16-24 were unemployed compared to the number of white males in the same age range which was 15%, a difference of 14%. Twenty-four per cent of Asians were unemployed and 23% of people from other ethnic backgrounds.

The TUC (2015) stated that in Britain ethnic minorities were more than likely to be living in poverty than their white counterparts. The main reason for this was race discrimination towards black workers in the job market in relation to employment, training and promotion. In terms of low paid employment Black and Minority Ethnic (BME) employees
were more likely to be employed in this sector than whites. Table 2.1 shows that between 2011 and 2014, BME individuals employed in this sector increased by 12.7 percentage points compared to their white counterparts where there was an increase of 1.8 percentage points.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnic Group</th>
<th>2011</th>
<th>2014</th>
<th>% change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White employees</td>
<td>6,681,962 (29.6%)</td>
<td>6,801,803 (29.0%)</td>
<td>+1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BME employees</td>
<td>933,577 (36.8%)</td>
<td>1,052,472 (37.4%)</td>
<td>+12.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Quarterly Labour Force Survey (October to December 2011 and 2014)

There are also issues relating to the number of black men stopped by the police. Research carried out by the Institute of Race Relations (2017) found that in 2011 police were 28 times more likely to use Section 60 (stop and search powers) against black people than their white counterparts. In 2013/14, 59 per cent of people stopped under Section 60 were either Black British or Asian British. Similarly, Stopwatch (http://www.stop-watch.org/) indicated for the period 2014/15 that the Black Asian Minority Ethnic (BAME) group were twice as likely as white people to be stopped and searched. Black people as a group however were 4.2 times as white people to be stopped and searched. They highlighted that the stop and search practice was ineffective since only 14 per cent of actions led to any arrest.

There are similar issues in relation to arrests. In England and Wales in 2013/14, 79 per cent of arrests were of white people, eight per cent Black British and six per cent Asian people. The figures are more startling for Metropolitan Police Forces where the arrest rate is 25 per cent for Black or Asian people. In 2014, Black people were nearly three times more likely to be arrested than white people. For Joint Enterprise – Not Guilty by Association (JENGbA) (where someone is guilty by association even if they did not
commit the crime), 80 per cent of those found guilty are disproportionately from Black, Asian or Minority Ethnic groups (BAME). This is particularly relevant in relation to affiliation to gangs, as Black boys may be innocently put in prison for being in the wrong place at the wrong time. Table 2.2 shows the percentage by group of people sentenced to immediate custody for indictable offences. It indicates that Black people as a group are 1.11 times more likely to be sentenced immediately for indictable offences whilst Asians are 1.19 times more likely to be sentenced immediately when compared to their White counterparts.

Table 2.2 Percentages of offender sentences to immediate custody for indictable offences 2014

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>32</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


In terms of the United Kingdom prison population, 25 per cent of inmates are from BAME. In 2014, 10 per cent of the total prison population was from the Black or Black British population. This is startling since they only made up three per cent of the total United Kingdom population. Asian or Asian British made up six per cent of the total prison population while White British people made up 75 per cent but constituted 85 per cent of the United Kingdom total population. The Equality and Human Rights Commission report, ‘How Fair is Britain?’ also found that on average black people were five times more likely than white people to be imprisoned in England and Wales. It highlighted that one in four people who are imprisoned belong to Black and Minority Ethnic backgrounds. It also stated that compared to the USA, there is a greater disproportionality in the
number of Black people in prisons in Britain than in the USA (Equality and Human Rights Commission 2010). In 2013/2014, the Ministry of Justice reported that 18 per cent of young people from a White ethnic background in custody were held on remand, compared with 26 per cent of young people from a Black or mixed ethnic background and 24 per cent from an Asian background.

The Lammy Review (2017), the latest report on the British Justice System, confirmed that there is disproportionate bias in the number of Black people in prison. It stated that, although Black people as an ethnic group make up 3% of the general population, 12% of the prison population is Black (an increase of 2% from the previous data). In the USA the figures are 13% for the general population and 35% for prison population. The report further highlighted that young Black men are nine times more likely to be in prison compared to their white counterparts in England and Wales. Added to this the Black and Minority Ethnic proportion has increased overall from 25% in 2006 to 41% in 2016.

There are also issues in relation to people dying in police custody. For the period 1991 to 2014 there were 509 people from Black and Minority Ethnic groups, asylum seekers and migrant communities who died whilst in police custody in suspicious circumstances. 348 of the total deaths occurred in prison, 137 were while in police custody and 24 were at immigration detention centres. Of the recorded cases 478 were males and 31 were females. Over half were black or Black British. Table 2.3 sets out the details.
Table 2.3 Ethnicity of those who died in custody

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern European</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Dying for Justice (2015)

One hundred and thirty-seven people died as result of police contact in 2013/14. Of these 126 were male and 11 were female. Seventy-eight were from Black or Black British groups and 31 were Asian or Asian British. Table 2.4 provides a breakdown of the figures by ethnicity.

Table 2.4 Ethnicity of those who died during or following police contact:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ethnicity</th>
<th>Percentage (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eastern European</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
<td>8</td>
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<tr>
<td>Other</td>
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Source: Dying for Justice (2015)

2.5 Masculinity

Haywood and Mac an Ghaill (2003) define masculinity as a way of becoming a man in different cultures. While culture can have many connotations or meanings it is frequently
defined by the norms, values and beliefs shared by a given group. This can be influenced by the sub-cultures or popular culture that exists within that social group. Black popular culture was born out of what is described as ‘frustrated masculinity’ (Oliver, 2006). This resulted from continuous racial discrimination and the inability of black men to provide for their families in the same way as their white counterparts due to generations of racial and gender oppression. Because of this a masculine identity characterised by toughness, sexual conquest and street hustling developed (Oliver, 2006). This is portrayed through the media in gangster films, hip hop magazines, music videos, hip hop and rap music and has been able to provide not only young black men but youth in general across various races with alternative masculine identities to the norm.

Today, generally, masculinity tends to be seen as fluid. Defining it is therefore difficult and if a one-dimensional view is taken this can be seen as myopic. According to Haywood and Mac an Ghaill (2003) masculinity encompasses multiple social categories. What defines masculinity does not only rely on culture but also on ethnicity, age, and religious beliefs (Mac an Ghaill, 1999). However, popular masculinity continues to exist as a dominant force represented by machismo, sexual prowess and strength. While the concept of masculinity is relevant across all cultures the question arises as to what differentiates masculinity or its construction between cultures. What is important in this study is the construction of masculinity within the African Caribbean community and how it relates to identity and self-concept.

To better understand masculinity and its construction we need to view it from the eyes of different ethnic groups. Frosh, Phoenix and Pattman (2002) found that boys thought that certain characteristics of masculinity were demonstrated within different ethnic groups. Asian boys were seen as weak, whilst African Caribbean boys were seen as strong or macho. Masculinity for black men of African descent is stereotypical and is focused on physical strength and sexuality (Mercer and Julien, 1988). This is used as a
weapon against racism and the established male role; it allows black men to try to establish themselves in a world that is dominated by an established male norm.

Alveson and Billing (1997) highlighted the relationship between masculinity and work. Work functions as a passage from childhood to adulthood, since it enables independence and the removal of dependence on parents. Black males, because of inequalities in the UK work environment, are frequently unable to achieve this. They are deprived of being able to provide for their families in a responsible way. This undermines their position as provider similarly to the situation during the period of slavery. They seek to reclaim their masculinity in different ways (Archer and Yamashita, 2003).

2.5.1 African Caribbean masculinity

African Caribbean masculinity is centred on strength and sexual prowess (Mercer and Julien, 1988). There is little emphasis on the family unit in the construct. This only occurs in relation to how many children have been fathered with several women. The mass media and police have created a stereotypical image of black men. In the United Kingdom, they are described as muggers and criminals. They are over-represented in unemployment and the criminal justice system (Mirza, 1998, The Lammy Review, 2017). Hyper masculinity may be the cause of this. Over representation of African Trinbagonian in prisons is also a problem in Trinidad and Tobago (Deosaran, 2006; 2016; O'Callaghan, 2011). This has created an image in people’s minds which makes them fearful. Black males in the UK live this experience daily from a young age.

Black masculinity in terms of stylised walks, dress and speech also influences other ethnic groups’ portrayal of their masculinities. Although popular with young people black masculinity is seen as dysfunctional or as Mirza (1999) puts it as a “social identity in crisis”. It is always related to violence, drugs and women as portrayed in many films or rap music (Oliver, 2006). Hooks (1991) speaks about the machismo of black males.
In the United Kingdom being a ‘rude boy’ or ‘yardie’ encompasses all the characteristics of black masculinity. Every black man, if dressed or walking in a certain way, is seen as a ‘rude boy’. Being a ‘rude boy’ or ‘yardie’ is not held in high regard by the majority but earns respect from peers. It symbolises everything that is bad. One can see why in the classroom this may present a source of conflict between teachers and black boys. Most gang-related black on black crime in Britain is described as ‘yardie styled’ by the mass media or police. This is highlighted in a report in The Evening Standard that boys saw being incarcerated in Feltham young offender’s prison as a rite of passage (Evening Standard, Oct 2009). Teachers may have their own preconceived idea of who are yardies and may not give black young men the opportunity to prove them wrong.

Misunderstanding of African Caribbean culture and masculinity as it relates to identity has caused a high proportion of black boys to be excluded from school (DfE SFR, 2016). Wright et al. (1998a, b) argue that black masculinity is also influenced by school processes which influence teacher-pupil relationships which are mainly based on conflict. Overall, black boys are up to three times more likely to be permanently excluded from the school population as a whole (DfE, SFR, 2016).

Why do black young men think the portrayal of their masculinity is so important? Majors and Billson (1992, page 4-5) suggest that ‘it eases the worry and pain of blocked opportunities. Being cool is an ego booster for black males comparable to the way that white males gain high levels of self-belief through attending good schools, landing prestigious jobs and bringing home decent wages.’ Many black young men in Britain today are disillusioned by the system due to the perception of inequality be it in the workplace or in education (real or imagined). This expectation leads to certain self-perceptions.
2.5.2 The construction of black masculinity identity and socialisation via the streets

Perkins (1975) and Oliver (2006) have argued that the street provides an alternative form of socialisation for black males to traditional family, church and community-based institutions. The street environment influences how young black males shape their identity and behaviour. Young black males face many challenges in both the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago including poverty and institutionalised racism, unemployment, underemployment, high rates of imprisonment, absent fathers and drugs. Wilson (1996a, b) and Anderson (1999) describe these as the characteristics of black males who spend their lives on the streets. Wacquant (2009) showed that the prison population in America is largely made up of black men who come from the social and economic margins of society. In Trinidad and Tobago, the Minister of National Security, Jack Warner, in September 2011, stated in a press release that the statistics showed that crime and drug commerce were mainly undertaken by African Trinbagonians. In the United Kingdom, black men suffer from high rates of unemployment and underemployment. A study in 2012 showed that black males were on average 2.12 times more likely to be unemployed compared to white men (Murray, 2012). High levels of unemployment mean that many black males may having nothing to do on a daily basis. Black adolescent boys may therefore turn to illegal means of making money which is considered acceptable by their peers especially if they are affiliated to a gang. The Lammy Report (2017) stated that black boys are 10 times more likely to be arrested for drug offences when compared to their white counterparts. In the UK, this is referred to as being a roadman (the street or on road). This is accepted as normal since some young people perceive that there are no other options. This is in line with ghetto-centric thinking, the streets being a ghetto institution (Clark, 1965; Wilson, 1996a, b; Gunther, 2008; Pitts, 2008; Hallsworth and Silverstone, 2009).

White and Cones (1999, p142) argue that white males have created a society where they
exercise control at a macro level in politics, the economy, education and legal fields. This limits life choices for black men. Therefore, black men see the streets as an alternative way to construct their masculinity, obtain wealth and gain recognition. To survive on the street, the emphasis is on being tough and being sexually promiscuous (Anderson, 1999; Whitehead et al., 1994). In the United Kingdom street life is referred to as ‘trapping’, whilst in Trinidad and Tobago it is referred to it as ‘hustling’. Although African Caribbeans as a group are stereotyped due to the creation of false pathologies of the black criminal (Keith, 1993), the perpetrators are a relatively small proportion of blacks, who may have been brought up in a very deprived neighbourhood with the worst performing schools. They are disadvantaged from the start. Figure 2.3 illustrates this. It takes a United Kingdom perspective on criminality adapted from The Psychology of Blacks (Parham, Ajamu and White, 2011) to show that only a very small proportion of the black population end up in criminal activity. The same can be said in Trinidad and Tobago where the population is predominantly African and Indian Trinbagonian (34.2% African Trinbagonian and 35.4% Indian Trinbagonian, CSO 2011 population census) with a high crime and murder rate compared to the United Kingdom (Deosaran, 2006; Newsday, 2011). Criminal activity is usually committed by people who live in deprived areas or ghettos. According to the Institute of Race Relations (2017), 12 per cent of the total prison population at the time of the research was Black or Black British, although there are an increasing number of black men who are resilient and are better able to cope with the adverse situations they face. Even when the system limits their ability to compete they defy the odds and go on to be successful (Rhamie, 2012).

2.5.3 Consequences of street socialisation

The problem with street socialisation for black boys is that it perpetuates the marginalisation of black men and damages prospects for future employment. As a result, their social status does not change. Black boys who embark on this trajectory will never gain the necessary marketable skills or training needed in the normal work environment.
This traps them into a vicious cycle which limits their opportunity to transform their lives and economic position (Oliver, 2006; Wilson, 1996a, b).

Black men who embark on trapping or hustling do not provide stability as dependable husbands for black women as they have a high likelihood of being imprisoned or having out of wedlock births due to high levels of promiscuity. This results in many female, single parent households. If black men are to make responsible fathers, they need to provide for their families financially and support their children. Street life does not follow conventional work patterns, there is no steady flow of income, it requires much time away from family and there is a high risk of imprisonment because of involvement in illegal activities (Tucker and Mitchell-Kernan, 1995; Wilson, 1996a, b; Oliver, 2006; Lammy Review, 2017).
Figure 2.3 Criminal Element (UK) – Adapted from the Psychology of Blacks, p. 22

White British

Weakness Dominated
Inferiority Oriented
Conclusions about
Black People

Reactionary

Narrow Conception
of Black Behaviours,
Thoughts, Lifestyles

Ghetto-centric

African Caribbean

African Centred

Emerges from an African Frame
of Reference: Does not validate
in Comparison to White
Normative Standards
2.5.4 Fatherhood

Featherstone (2003) highlighted the importance of good relationships with both parents in providing a warm and nurturing environment. Having positive relationships helps children to be well adjusted psychologically. This illustrates the importance of fathers’ and mothers’ influences on children which could be positive or negative depending on the relationship. Milligan and Dowie (1998), in research undertaken with 43 boys and 24 girls in Edinburgh, found the following five themes as important in relation to the question: What do children need from their fathers: -

- a role model;
- quality time;
- supportive behaviour;
- expressions of love; and
- physical contact.

Although these factors were not identified specifically in relation to African Caribbean boys, the research highlights the importance of fathers in the lives of children, having a positive role model was the most important. This is particularly important in relation to African Caribbeans as Duncan and Edwards (1999) showed that 50% of African Caribbean births were to single women and 25% of all African Caribbean women were lone parents.

Chattel slavery took away the ability of black men to provide and protect their family. This has continued due to unemployment, economic factors and the lack of education of some black men which undermines their masculinity. During slavery family structures were broken. Black men were not allowed to fulfil their parental obligations to children. What transpired during the period of slavery was detrimental to black men’s psyche in that they were humiliated to the point that they felt less than a man. What occurred was that black men were stripped of their masculinity (Hook, 1981). This led to the collapse of the family
structure in African Caribbean homes.

Society has stereotyped African Caribbean men as economically irresponsible, hyper-masculine and absent from the home (Smith et al., 2005). This is demonstrated in the media in music videos where black men are shown to only focus on living an extravagant lifestyle, drinking, partying and having relationships with a series of women. This may have contributed to the development of an identity in young black men where fatherhood is not seen as important. Dates and Stroman (2001) highlighted the tension between blacks and whites in terms of what is expected of a father. African Caribbean cultural expectations over time may have also helped to fuel the behaviour of black men (hyper-sexualised, fathering many children) which is not in line with societal expectations of a responsible father. It is assumed that black men ‘father children but are seldom fathers’ (Roberts, 1998). The father figure in the house is the first male role model that a boy child will have. The absence of this leads to a void developing which can lead to the child being affected emotionally (Green, 2009). This absence in the home is not only characterised as a social issue but has historical connotations.

Lone or single parents continue to be a problem among African Caribbean households although this problem is also experienced by other ethnic groups (Song and Edwards, 1997). Figure 2.4 shows that in the UK, African Caribbeans have the highest occurrence of lone parent households at 56.9% compared to Asian households which have the lowest occurrence of lone parents. The Lammy Review (2017) highlighted lone-parent families as one of the contributory factors in African Caribbean boys being involved in criminal activity.

Lone mothers can and do successfully raise black boys (Bush, 1999), although Bush also suggested that to develop successfully into manhood a father is needed since there are aspects of manhood that a mother cannot teach. Besides this, there are socio-
economic issues. A report by the Equality and Human Rights Commission (2010) showed that Black Caribbean women were more likely to be in full-time work compared to any other group of women. In this situation, there is a higher likelihood that boys may not receive the supervision that they need. This may allow boys the space to become influenced by and involved in gangs or unsocial behaviour.

**Figure 2.4: Lone parent households by ethnicity**

![Figure 2.4](http://publications.teachernet.gov.uk/eOrderingDownload/DFES-0208-2006.pdf)


### 2.5.5 Progressive masculinity

During the last two decades, there has been a drive towards an alternative expression of masculinity, progressive masculinity, which can be utilised to re-train boys and men to develop a different perspective towards one of gender equality (Ratele, 2015). Hegemonic masculinities are the result of a socialisation process which promotes misogyny and homophobia (Harper, Harris and MMije, 2005). The problem with this form of masculinity is that it encourages unequal treatment of woman and marginalises gay and bisexual men (McGuire et al., 2014). Progressive masculinity can encourage the empowerment of black people (male and female). It aims to get black men to realise that masculinity based on power and domination contributes to destroying the fabric of
the black community family. Mutua (2006, p.4) defines progressive masculinities as unique and innovative practices of the masculine self actively engaged in struggles to transform societal structures of domination. She argues that traditional masculinity is based on domination which is supported by the societal structure of the family, the criminal justice system, the economy and the political system. She emphasised that all of these systems work against black men or men of colour. The progressive masculinity movement offers an interventionist strategy that can help the black community to break from the stereotype of a deficient family structure. Hill-Collins (2006) also suggested that black men do not necessarily need to accept the traditional definition of masculinity based on domination and that there is a need to move towards more progressive masculinities through the deconstruction of the traditional form of masculinity and the education of black boys and men on equality of gender (Morrell, Jewkes and Lindegger, 2012; Shefer, Stevens and Clowes, 2010).

In the USA, Ramaswamy (2010) found that Black and Latino men in urban low-income communities could change their perception of masculinity as an outcome of educational programmes. Ramaswamy suggested that as Black and Latino men do not have control in many aspects of their lives (school, prison, society) that they could come to realise that they could exercise control in the home by becoming a good parent. Earlier studies had found that men defined masculinity as being able to care and support their family in line with the traditional definition of a father’s responsibilities (Anderson, 1999; Bourgois, 1995), whereas Ramaswamy found that the younger men had learnt to be men from their mothers and that this portrayed masculinity in a more fluid and progressive form. The young men in the study did not identify gender specific roles. They were happy to take on whatever task was needed. This did not follow a traditional outlook in the form of domination and inequality for gendered roles. Similarly, Messerschmidt, (1993) found that gang members demonstrated two forms of masculinity, one for the street which was hard and tough, while in the house they took part in doing household chores. Overall, it
seems that men and boys taking part in progressive masculinity programmes aimed at changing attitudes towards the treatment of women, their children and gay or bisexual men can change (Dworking et al., 2013; WHO, 2007; Ringheim and Feldman-Jacobs, 2009). Generally, men and boys are becoming more supportive of the equality of men and women (WHO, 2010; Levlov et al., 2014).
2.6 Acculturation into UK culture

During the 1950s, many African Caribbean emigrated to the United Kingdom in search of betterment for themselves and their future families. This move resulted in their having to make cultural adjustments to their new surroundings. Many received harsh treatment from the local population with respect to racial discrimination and inequality. Since that time, second, third and fourth generation immigrants have had to negotiate their own culture within the national culture (Safdar, Calvez and Lewis, 2012).

Cultural adjustment and generational status affect identity and self-concept. Berry (1984) suggested that acculturation of immigrant populations was a developmental process. Berry (1980) and Berry et al., (1992) considered the acculturation of African Caribbeans from the perspective of first-hand contact with a different culture (English culture). They were faced with a dilemma between cultural maintenance (one’s cultural identity and characteristics) and cultural contact (relationships with the dominant culture or society) (Berry and Sam 1997). Four acculturation styles were identified: assimilation (lack of interest in maintaining one’s own cultural identity); separation (maintaining one’s cultural identity); integration (an investment in both preserving one’s cultural identity and maintaining relationships with other groups); and marginalisation (lack of interest in cultural maintenance).

2.6.1 Young people’s culture

Culture is regarded as the social norms within a society and varies between different ethnic groups depending on what part of the world they are from. In the UK, there are many cultures and within these there are subcultures. These may develop because of external influences such as media, music and life style. Amongst ethnic groups music plays an important role in the culture of young people. Willis (1990) suggests that regardless of young people’s cultural upbringing, popular music is seen as common
ground. The mass media have played a pivotal role in the development of youth popular culture. The media can also be used as a tool to influence an individual’s identity. Young people express themselves through the way that they dress, and the language they use. This helps in the development of their individual and collective selves (Willis, 1990). It allows them a medium whereby they can feel safe and not be misunderstood by their peers. In relation to African Caribbean boys, Sewell (1997) blamed the problems that they experience on urban black male culture that is anti-school and obsessed with the violence and the hyper-masculinity of the street. While there may be some truth in this, there are other factors at play. Gunther (2008) undertook research on boys at a micro level in East London focusing on race, socio-economic status, and residential locality and how this might influence lifestyle choices or individual behaviour. He summarised this by calling it ‘Road Culture’ this is very similar to Oliver’s (2006) description of how black boys learn to survive in the streets, mainly by hustling.

2.6.2 Media – Visual representations and surrounding narrative

The depiction of African Caribbeans on television has come a long way from their mainly playing the role of the butler or cook to include a diverse range of occupational roles (Tamborini et al., 2002) some of which are negative and reinforce popular beliefs (Bussell and Crandell, 2002). African Caribbean and African Americans perceive that the roles depicted on television reflect the various occupations they take up (Punyanunt-Carter, 2008). However, historical negative roles continue to be portrayed. For instance, Penny Dreadful, a series (2014) set in Victorian London has a predominantly white cast but a black footman reinforcing the place of black people in society at the time. Dixon (2006) highlighted that the continuance of negative portrayals of black people on television reinforces stereotyping and influences viewers to believe that they are true. This makes high achievers such as Oprah Winfrey (talk show host), Barack Obama (United States President - past), Sir Trevor McDonald (retired UK news reporter) seem the exception rather than the rule.
The media certainly can cultivate perceptions of reality which may be false (Punyanunt-Carter, 2008). The media is responsible, in part, for the perceptions of black men. During my childhood, I remember seeing shows such as Goodtimes (John Amos and Esther Roll) (aired from 1974 to 1979) which portrayed an African American family who lived in social housing in a high-rise building in Chicago. This series depicted a father who worked two jobs simultaneously, for instance, being a dishwasher and construction worker, who also hustled money sometimes through playing pool. It showed a father who was struggling to make ends meet. In the UK, Desmond (Norman Beaton and Carmen Munroe) was a black Guyanese barber with a shop in Peckham, a socially deprived part of London. This programme ran from 1989 to 1994. The Jefferson’s (Sherman Hemsley and Isabel Sanford), which was an improvement on Goodtimes, ran from 1975 to 1985. It showed George who was a little more successful but always striving to increase his status in society according to white norms. The family were more affluent and lived in New York City. The Cosby's (1984 to 1992) and Fresh Prince of Bel Air (1990 to 1996) followed. These shows demonstrated black fathers at their best, with good careers and considerable wealth, compared with anger and frustration (Goodtimes) or being poor and funny (Dates and Stroman, 2001). The way that blacks are portrayed on television is changing. For example, on the BBC breakfast programme one of the sport’s presenter is a young black male, Ore Oduba, who also won 'Strictly Come Dancing' in 2016. Black actors have also played leading roles in many films over the past decade.

2.6.3 Beliefs about African Caribbean

Beliefs about other ethnic groups can lead to conflict (Eidelson and Eidelson, 2003). People make sense of their world through the expectations that they have. Eidelson and Eidelson (2003) proposed five belief domains: vulnerability, injustice, distrust, superiority and helplessness that can cause intergroup or intragroup conflict. One collective
vulnerability that exists for African Caribbean and black ethnic groups (Stephan and Renfro, 2002) is the vulnerability of black men and women to incarceration or death whilst in police custody (Dying for Justice, 2015). This is common in the United States of America where protestors have used the slogan ‘Black Lives Matters’. The phenomenon of injustice manifests itself in many ways in the UK, where black and ethnic minorities feel they are not treated equally (Lammy Review, 2017). This has caused much tension between white and minority ethnic groups. Examples can be seen in schools’ high rates of exclusion of black boys (DfE SFR, 2016), unequal stop and searches by the police, and the death of black men whilst in police custody (Stopwatch). The most recent was Rashan Charles who died after being chased and held down by police in East London. Because of such injustices, in the past, there have been violent clashes (Eidelson, 2009, Staub, 1989). One such was the riots in 2011 because of the shooting to death in Tottenham (London) of Mark Duggan (Telegraph, 8th August 2011). This riot was mobilised because of shared perceptions of injustice (Brewer and Brown, 1989). The Telegraph described it as ‘the underclass lashes out’ (Telegraph, 8th August 2011).

The belief of ‘distrust’ is very important since it involves stereotyping (LeVine and Campbell, 1972) and suspicion of one group towards another (Eidelson, 2009). Beliefs about African Caribbeans assume that they are dishonest and untrustworthy (Eidelson, 2009, p.3). Biafora, Warheit, Zimmerman et al. (1993) postulated that there is a causal relationship between racial mistrust and black adolescent boys’ delinquent behaviour and opposition to the law and mistrust of police (Rich and Grey, 2005). Lammy (2017) found that black boys distrusted the police and the judicial system and that minority ethnic defendants perceived the justice system in terms of ‘them and us’ (Lammy Review, 2017). This feeling of mistrust is demonstrated by the stop and search policy that the police use to target black adolescents. This policy has enhanced black distrust for whites (Brazziel, 1974; Grier and Cobbs, 1968; Terrell, 1980). The problem of distrust is also evidenced in the education system where black students can become
disillusioned and feel that they will never be treated equally to their white counterparts. Crozier (2005) highlighted how students are disenfranchised in the way they are treated in secondary school which can lead them to adopt anti-school attitudes and instead of striving for excellence giving up. This can then spiral into deviant behaviour since they are unable to access good jobs due to poor educational outcomes (Taylor, Biafora and Warheit, 1994; Biafora et al., 1993).

‘Superiority’ is exemplified as the white group, because of the history and enslavement of black people, where white people continue to see themselves as the superior group with society functioning in a Eurocentric manner (Eidelson, 2009). Europeans are used as the yardstick against which everything is compared. African achievements are only a focus during black history month which is once a year, slavery is not discussed in any detail. History in relation to black people is determined by the white population, the dominance of one group over another is not discussed (Sidanius, 1993). This means that African Caribbean students can feel left out and an ethnocentric monoculture is established where one culture dominates others (Eidelson and Eidelson, 2003). This can lead to African Caribbean students feeling disenfranchised about their studies.

African Caribbeans may feel helpless and believe that they are unable ‘to influence or control events and outcomes, be they real or imagined (Eidelson, 2009, p4). This can impact on motivation to achieve. Third generation African Caribbeans, who identify themselves as a racial group, may feel helpless and academically incompetent due to constant stereotyping (Steele, 1992; 1997; 1998; 1999). Bandura (1997, p.524) argued that the psychological barriers created by beliefs of collective powerlessness are especially pernicious because they are more demoralising and more debilitating than external impediments.
2.6.4 Socio-economic status and poverty
Many African Caribbeans living in the United Kingdom have low socio-economic status (SES). This limits educational opportunities as schools in areas of deprivation typically under-perform (Lupton, 2005). Many African Caribbean boys live in the most deprived areas, so-called ghettos, with poor social housing, high crime rates, gangs and turf wars and a poor choice of schools (Graham, 2013, Lammy Review, 2017). The parents of adolescents with low SES usually do menial or lowly paid jobs (Graham, 2013). It is difficult to improve their social condition and usually they are trapped in a vicious cycle of poverty for generations. Figure 2.5 below illustrates the problem. They also have little political or social influence and therefore feel helpless or powerless as a group. Many young people then become involved in crime (John, 2006). A high proportion of African Caribbean boys are in prison in comparison to other ethnic groups. They are nine times more likely to be locked up in England and Wales in comparison to their white counterparts (Lammy, 2017). This might be because of lack of parental supervision and life on housing estates where they are exposed to drugs and violence. Garbarino (2008) describes this as social toxicity. One can see why education is usually not a priority and young people are more inclined to take up employment than to continue with their education.
Adolescents falling into low SES groups are constantly reminded of their lack of status by the media and their classification as eligible for free school meals. This stigma can have a detrimental effect on their self-concept and may lead to social deviation and rebellion (Wadsworth and Compas, 2002; Gunther, 2008).

Source: Dolgin, 2011
2.7 Education

It has long been documented that African Caribbeans have experienced inequity in the school system. Archer and Francis (2006) argued that the DfES position about ethnic minorities as a group was that they were responsible for their own lack of progress. At that time the DfES did not acknowledge the structural inequalities or institutional racism in the education system that was part of the problem for the lack of progress among these groups. Youdell (2003, p.3), in her ethnographic study identified that African Caribbeans were perceived as undesirable, or even intolerable learners, suggesting that they were to blame for their own underachievement due to their attitudes in the classroom. She argued that students and teachers had a collective responsibility to enable a positive learning environment. She failed to acknowledge the overall responsibility of the teacher and that the behaviour of young African Caribbeans might have been in response to teachers’ attitudes towards them, because of negative stereotyping or young people’s perceptions of the lower educational expectations that the teachers had for them (Stevens, 2007).

In 1971, Coard argued that the Black child acquired two fundamental attitudes or beliefs as a result of his experience of the British school system: a low self-image and consequently low self-expectations in life. Coard’s findings have been supported by more recent research. Gillborn and Gipps (1996) argued that despite their shared position as minorities, African Caribbean and Asian pupils were frequently subject to different expectations. Teacher’s interactions with students and their expectations play a significant role in whether students are excluded. Some researchers have suggested that exclusions can be used as a means of selection and regulation or even as a form of ethnic cleansing (Lloyd-Smith, 1993), while Stirling (1992) argued that teachers experience anxiety and intimidation and regard black children as being difficult to teach. Research has shown that the attainment gap between black and white, that is non-
existent at the start of schooling widens as children advance through the school system (Alexander et al., 1988). Pupils may feel disengaged due to the little attention being given to them and their work by teachers and therefore eventually lose interest.

Mac an Ghaill (1988) showed that a relationship of conflict existed between black boys and white teachers. Wright (1985) also pointed out that the interactions between black boys and white teachers consisted of enforcing discipline, rather than being encouraging. Gillborn and Gipps (1996) gave further credence to this, by stating that there was a high level of tension and conflict between white teachers and African Caribbean pupils. This led to African Caribbean children being put into lower ability groups and tiered examinations (foundation, whereby the highest grade they can achieve is a C). Exacerbating an already challenging situation, students put in lower ability groupings tend to be taught by teachers with less experience and lower level qualifications and this impacts on the quality of education that they receive (Ireson and Hallam, 2002).

African Caribbean boys may have contributed to the phenomenon of their under-achievement through a self-fulfilling prophecy. Fuller’s (1980) account of African Caribbean girls casts light on this. In contrast to the boys the girls developed coping strategies and were highly motivated to do well. This was not true for the boys who developed a dislike of whites. Nash (1973) found that students were very responsive to teacher’s opinions of their ability. This unspoken opinion had a negative effect on pupils’ performance and achievement (Morgan, 1996). Morgan stated:

‘Teachers may claim to treat all children the same but there is often a subtle, vague but persistent difference in attitudes. This treatment may be extremely slight, incessant and cumulative and may affect their behaviour in ways that can wear children down. Such low-level differentiation is not always easy to define or object to and can insidiously undermine children.’ (Morgan, 1996, p.38)
Where teachers may not be aware of their differential treatment of pupils and the impact it has on them psychologically, intervention could perhaps induce change. It is those teachers who are aware and continue to practice differential treatment that are of greatest concern. Such behaviour can be classified as overt racism. The impact of these factors has given rise to a self-fulfilling prophecy such that African Caribbean boys have become part of a sub-culture which is anti-school (Sewell, 1997). This may be due to them being stereotyped and also influenced by how they are portrayed in most of the media.

Gillborn (1990) found that the group of African Caribbean boys he studied were quite happy about the sense of power they had over their teachers because of their ethnicity and physical prowess. This allowed them to distance themselves from the negative effects of teacher criticism. He found that though they were not anti-school, they clashed with authority when they were unhappy with the techniques that teachers used. As a result, they received unfair treatment with regards to exclusions, suspensions and detentions (DfE SFR, 2016). Sewell (1997) showed that due to stereotypical beliefs about African Caribbean and black masculinity teachers saw African-Caribbean boys as threatening. However, some African Caribbean children have alternative support systems i.e. home and community and are able to succeed academically (Rhamie, 2002).

Exclusion is used as a tool to move black boys into line with the ‘ideal client’ of what is appropriate or expected behaviour in the classroom (Gillborn 1990, p.26). The high rates of exclusion of African Caribbean boys seems to be because of the expectations of white middle-class teachers about in class behaviour. These attitudes reinforce the development of an opposing culture by African Caribbean boys which works against the normative school culture. Schools reject black sub-cultural identities since they are a
challenge to authority and white hegemony be it real or imagined (Youdell, 2003). This is to the detriment of black students. Ladson-Billings (1998) argued that whiteness is normative while blackness is ranked and categorized. Black sub-cultural identities are seen as anti-school (Sewell, 1997; Phillips, 2005). Archer (2008) describes this as a popular imagination of the way black boys are demonised to be against school and challenges to authority, and are not in line with what teachers classify as the ideal client. She explains that this prevents them from having ‘authentic’ success (p.89) since they do not meet the criteria. She goes on to argue that there needs to be a more holistic approach for educational improvement which considers inequalities due to social class, race or ethnicity (Archer, 2008).

Youdell (2003) points out that sub-cultural identities are constituted through students’ body and linguistic practices (p7) arguing that if black students jettison the practices of black cultural identities and act white (p.16) they are not treated so harshly. Wright’s (1988a, b) interpretation of the oppositional behaviour of African Caribbean boys, which preceded that of Youdell (2003), saw it as a form of resistance against unequal treatment or discrimination by teachers which was demonstrated through, for example, patois and dress. However, Foster (1990a) questioned the validity of Wright’s findings due to the small sample size and the selection criterion of the participants. African Caribbeans may see maintaining a cultural identity as very important since greater emphasis is placed on white boys as the dominant or more important culture than that of ethnic minorities (Stevens, 2007).

The problem faced by African Caribbeans is which identity they should take. Girls may be more accepting than boys of adopting a white identity and many do this (Youdell, 2003). Boys seem to resist this since they see the adoption of an ideal client identity as conforming to white hegemony (Youdell, 2003). Youdell argues that retaining a black sub-culture gives black students a feeling of increased self-esteem and sense of
belonging. Although they may express resistance to school they are committed and understand the value of education and of having educational qualifications. The notion that they are just passive victims of teacher labelling is not true (Stevens, 2007, p.160).

Mirza (1992), Sewell (1997) and Youdell (2003) all share a common view that African Caribbean learners are difficult to teach. The problem with this generalisation is that it was constructed around the notions of rebellion, loudness and (hyper) heterosexuality alongside the racist historical assertions of African Caribbean people (Archer, 2008). Archer, (2008) in her analysis of loudness, found that African Caribbean students challenged their teachers due to injustices in treatment experienced in the classroom and stood up for themselves by being confrontational and strong minded. Teachers were not happy about being confronted and therefore described African Caribbean learners as loud.

Archer (2008) suggested that there was another hypothesis about black learners as having unacademic/un-aspirational home cultures (p.96). She suggested that this was based on an historic racist viewpoint that black families were culture poor (Benson, 1996) and of lower intelligence (Mama, 1995). Other research has highlighted teachers’ views about African Caribbean as having lower intelligence leading to them having low expectations of them as a group (Osborne, 2001; Shain, 2003; Tikly, Caballero and Haynes, 2004).

Overall, the adoption of an oppositional identity may, in part, explain why some African Caribbean boys do not perform well academically. They are continuously looking for recognition as an African American/Caribbean and believe that good academic achievement is aligned with acting white in relation to European ideals (Fordham and Ogbu, 1986). Fordham and Ogbu have argued that African American/Caribbean boys achieve when they become raceless, that is when they suppress their black cultural identity (resilience).
2.7.1 Role models

A key issue for African Caribbean boys in the UK is the relative lack of positive role models. Rhamie and Hallam (2002) presented a community model which identified parents, family members and members in the church congregation as possible mentors. These were found to be able to impact positively on a young person’s life aspirations. Byfield (2008) confirmed these findings showing that access to positive role models in the church helped black boys to develop strong personal, social and community identities, with enhanced self-concepts which led to an academic identification and success. It seems that young black men need support and encouragement from adults in the community and in school so that they can achieve their fullest potential. One proposal is that more black teachers are needed to provide appropriate role models who share a common identity. However, Blair (1994, p. 285) is critical of this approach arguing that being a role model is not an ethnic skill. The DfES (2007, p.113) also found that for a role model to have any effect on attainment the mentor needed to be credible to the individual, in other words, the learner must recognise the black teacher as a role model. Maylor (2009) argued that what was important was the recruitment of good quality teachers with good pedagogic skills, and those who were able to see black learners as learners and not black based on stereotyping. This approach minimises the perceived impact of the ethnic group of the teacher suggesting that good quality teaching is what matters regardless of ethnicity.

2.7.2 Resilience

Some African Caribbeans have developed coping strategies to help them achieve. Rhamie (2012) argued that a range of protective factors could offer support so that African Caribbeans could become more resilient and work around the negative experiences that they had at school. Rhamie and Hallam (2002) proposed two supportive models based on Home-School and Home-Community each of which could
provide support mechanisms offering a cushion for the negative experiences that African Caribbean may have and help them to achieve. Byfield (2008a, b) described these as compensatory factors, while Channer (1995) called them a buffer against racism.

Byfield (2008a, b) conducted research on black boys in the United Kingdom and the USA and found that religious beliefs and religious communities significantly influenced young people’s thirst for academic success. Byfield concluded that black churches provided positive black role models which helped young people in identifying with strong personal, social and community identities. This enabled them to have a positive self-concept and positive academic identification. Rhamie and Hallam (2002) also found that active religious affiliation could contribute to academic success. This was due to the support networks and role models that could motivate a pupil to achieve academically (Brown and Gary, 1991). Religion and the church have helped African Caribbeans to develop resilience to the many negative experiences they encounter daily at school and to enhance their academic achievement (Toldson and Anderson, 2010; Maydun and Lee, 2010). Religion seems to operate like a branch of the extended family which is very important to African Caribbeans.

2.8 Chapter summary

This chapter has investigated the literature concerning black male identity and self-concept. Little research in the UK has focused on the black male adolescent self, the focus of research has tended to be negative in relation to underachievement and delinquency. This research is of value as it will help in achieving understanding of the type of change needed to promote better educational outcomes. Predominantly, research has been carried out on black men by researchers who have little lived experiences of the environment of black men. The research has been carried out from a Eurocentric prospective. The group being researched may also not trust them.
Outstanding research has been undertaken recently by Rhamie (2012) who focused on the successes of the black community and the resilience that exists. It is hoped that this research will help to complement her work.

This chapter has reviewed the research literature in general on identity and self-concept with a specific focus on the identity and self-concept of African Caribbeans. The literature has highlighted the need for policy makers and schools to re-examine the way that issues relating to the needs of African Caribbean boys are addressed.

The questions considered in this thesis may assist in this process. They are:

1. What different identities do African Caribbean teenage boys have in the UK and Trinidad and Tobago and how is identity expressed in their perceived lifestyle for example dress, stylised walking, music, church?
2. Are there differences between teenage boys in the UK and Trinidad and Tobago in relation to the perceived relationship with their fathers?
3. Are there any differences in how these two groups perceive themselves in the world and their lives in relation to achievement?

It is hoped that the findings related to these questions may enhance our understanding of African Caribbean boys’ identity formation and self-concept and may contribute to the larger body of research concerned with trying to improve the overall academic performance of this group of young people.
Chapter 3: Methodology

“Let us hold fast the confession of our hope without wavering, for he who promised is faithful” Hebrews 10:23

3.1 Rationale for choice of methodology

3.1.1 Design of the study

Choice of methodology is a critical factor in any research project. This research uses the data generated to help in understanding boys’ behaviour adopting a grounded theory approach. In addition, the research is embedded within an eco-systemic framework (social systems). It recognises that individuals are complex beings that exist within an ecosystem which includes the home, school and the community. Rhamie and Hallam (2002) explored the importance of the interactions between the home, the individual, school and community factors and how they influenced the academic success of African Caribbean students. Two models were developed, (i) The Home-School Based Model and the (ii) The Home-Community Based Model. Figures 3.1 and 3.2 below illustrates this.

Figure 3.1 The Home School Based Model

Source: Rhamie and Hallam (2002)

Figure 3.2 The Home – Community Based Model
Hinds (2005) also considered how the home, school and the individual influenced masculinity (see Figure 3.3).

Figure 3.3 Home School and the Individual

'Sense of belonging', love, security, acceptance, achievement and success.

Source: Hinds (2005)
The three models illustrate how the eco-system within which the individual exists influences their behaviours (Upton and Cooper, 1991). This research takes cognisance of these social systems. The school, the home, the community and the individual him or herself. The school comprises the school environment, the teachers, other students and the administrative system; the home includes parents, siblings, the extended family and the home environment while the community includes peers, role models, the church and the wider environment.

In order to understand the role of identity, self-concept and self-esteem from the perspective of this research a range of social systems must be considered within which African Caribbean boys’ function also taking account of the experiences they may have. The behaviour of boys in general is affected by interaction with each other and those they encounter in their everyday lives (Upton and Cooper 1991). For instance, in school, the attitude of the teacher is important as this can influence how African Caribbean boys respond. This can be extended to the street environment and police behaviour. Interactions with peers and the family are also key influences (Hinds, 2005). Overall, it is clear that trying to understand an isolated issue without paying attention to other circumstances and events is a ‘conceptual error’ (Volpato, 2013). The eco-systemic approach allows us to better understand how or why African Caribbean boys behave in a certain manner given the situation they find themselves in and identify patterns or contributory factors which may inform policy decisions.
3.2 Methodological approach

The two fundamental approaches to research are positivist and interpretive. Positivists believe that the logic and method of the natural sciences can be applied to the social sciences i.e. observation – hypothesis – proposed method – data collection – analysis – re-test theory (Robson, 2004). This approach is highly organised using deductive logic and helps to discover or confirm causal laws that can be used to explain human behaviour (Neuman, 2011). It is proposed that by the use of scientific analysis we can learn the extent to which individuals are shaped and controlled by agencies of socialisation. As order is maintained through the socialisation of individuals in conformity with the norms of society, there is an assurance of a predictable pattern of behaviour to a great extent. Positivists largely employ quantitative methods which include the use of questionnaires.

Interpretivists hold that it is not necessary to model natural science. Less emphasis is placed on objective methods and greater value is given to subjective methods. There is a rejection of the view that there is a social world ‘out there’ which can be subject to objective, scientific study. Interpretive methods are more appropriate to understanding social behaviour. This model uses observation as a tool for collecting data. It has several variations: hermeneutics, constructionism, ethno-methodology, cognitive, idealist, phenomenological, subjectivist and qualitative sociology (Neuman, 2011). This approach allows the researcher to be able to gather an in-depth understanding of how people interpret their social worlds. Interpretivism when compared with positivism adopts a more nominalist ontology, based on perception. The research drew on both of these approaches.

The researcher chose to adopt both of these approaches as they complement each other. The interpretivist methodology enabled the use of concepts in gathering and
analysing the way the boys perceived their world. The data collection methods used were a combination of drawings, letters and interviews (for development of questionnaire). These were mainly qualitative (interpretivist) by nature and were used to support the development of theory to explain the quantitative data which was based on the analysis of questionnaires.

The pilot work was undertaken with a phenomenological framework in mind. Phenomenology is a theoretical point of view that advocates the study of direct experience taken at face value and which sees behaviour as determined by the phenomena of experience rather than by external, objective and physically described reality (Dreyfus and Wrathall, 2009). The advantage of the phenomenological approach is that it allows freedom from all preconceptions about the world (Warnock, 1970).

This understanding informed the development of the questionnaire. A repertory grid technique was used during the initial stage of the design of the questionnaire. Kelly (1955) in his work on personal construct psychology was concerned with how the world appeared to individuals. This approach enabled a better understanding of African Caribbean boys’ interpretation of their lived experiences which in turn allowed a better understanding of their personality. This then supported the development of a questionnaire that captured their experiences.

Qualitative research facilitates the development of themes, an approach within this phenomenology framework which allows the use of concepts in the data gathering and analysing process. This adds flexibility and allows the data and theory to interact (Neuman, 2011). A disadvantage of this inductive approach is that the connection between concepts and principles from various areas can be difficult.

An advantage of using qualitative research is that it allows the researcher to take into
consideration the social context which includes time when the event occurs, spatial factors, i.e. where it happens, emotional feelings regarding the event and socio-cultural elements, the social and cultural milieu where the event occurs. In contrast quantitative research is more concerned about numerical measure than the context.

Sarantakos (1998, p.43-45) postulated that using quantitative analysis in social research is not appropriate, due to the fact that human beings are not inanimate, but like natural phenomena, are people who have desires. In quantitative research humans are treated as items which can be broken into some form of binomial or multi-nominal regression. What quantitative analysis does is fail to recognise that an individual is a unique person and cannot just be allocated numerical values (Horkheimer, 1972).

The problem with qualitative research as stated by Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000) is the difficulty of making generalisations about human behaviour. There are also procedural problems in qualitative research as argued by Bernstein and Freeman (1975), in terms of how data is gathered for example the subjectivity of reports and verbal accounts.

3.3 Mixed methods approaches

Mixed method research involves both quantitative and qualitative methods and allows the researcher to use whatever methodological tools are appropriate to answer the research questions (Tashakkori and Teddlie, 2009). In the initial stages of this project, I adopted a series of methodologies that aided me in the design of the questionnaire.

Quantitative methods were used to provide an overview of the behaviours, beliefs and experiences of a large number of the young people. This approach was to help with generalising the findings. Qualitative data were used to provide a deeper understanding
of the issues raised in the Likert scale elements of the questionnaire. The sections below set out the methods adopted and the reasons for their adoption.

3.3.1 Preliminary work
A considerable amount of preliminary work was undertaken before the main research was embarked on. I had already investigated the educational experiences of third generation African Caribbean boys in the United Kingdom and the perceived causes of underachievement in my master's dissertation. In that research I interviewed 18 boys aged between 15 and 25 years. The findings indicated that three factors were important in contributing to underachievement, home, school and identity. The research identified that a lack of parental supervision as a result of belonging to a single parent family was a fundamental cause for the poor performance for some boys, although there were exceptions. It also showed that interactions between teachers and students were influenced by cultural differentiation which led to a misinterpretation of boys' attitudes. Finally, the research identified issues relating to the shaping of masculinity and the passage from boyhood to manhood where the father was absent. This led to a reliance on peers for recognition. The current research built on this work with a particular focus on the shaping of African Caribbean boys' masculinity.

During the preliminary stage of this study I met with 20 boys once or twice a week over a period of six months. The boys taking part in this preliminary study were either interviewed at their homes or at mine. The researcher met up with them over several weeks to gather data and develop a profile on each young man. They were briefed on the purpose of the research and they were free to continue meeting me or not continue if they wished. Some of the boys had taken part in the previous research so they were already familiar with the nature of the research. Some of the boys who participated were recruited from adopting snow balling techniques. Boys and parents that I already knew acted to recruit other participants. In the meetings, the boys were given various tasks
to undertake. These were used to build a profile so that I could explore commonality and
difference with a view to informing the design of the questionnaire.

The boys were asked to complete the following tasks (i) to write a letter to their father
and mother; (ii) to complete a repertory grid; and (iii) to respond to questions on music,
life, school, friends, and mentors. Depending on their responses additional questions
were generated to explore issues arising further. For example, on the topic of music the
following conversation took place:

Researcher: What does music do for you?

Participant: Music stirs my emotions and my thoughts. Either making me feel
better or worse depending on the actual song and the lyrics.

Researcher: Explain better or worse.

Participant: If a song contains a skippy beat and positive lyrics you feel better. If
it is the opposite or reminds you of something you don’t want to remember, you
feel worse.

Researcher: Does it influence your behaviour? If so, how?

Participant: I use music. If I feel sad, I play a happy (upbeat) song. If I
feel depressed, I’ll play an angry or passionate song to raise my spirit.

Initially, the boys were asked to respond to questions in writing. They were given a sheet
with type written questions. They then typed their responses. I read the responses and
then probed further adopting a semi-structured interview approach as illustrated in the
example above. All of the boys were asked similar questions and did identical tasks
initially. The responses to the questions were collated. I and an experienced researcher
discussed the findings and devised statements to be included in the final questionnaire.
The main purpose of the preliminary work was to generate information that could be used to inform the design of the main study. It allowed me the opportunity to explore what would work well and what needed refining. During this preliminary work, boys were asked to give their opinions on many topics including religion, music, employment, parents, themselves, police, being British, racism or discrimination, ethnicity and stereotypes. The following is an example of extracts from responses to different questions from two of the young men in the study.

**Participant 1**

Researcher: what are your three priorities in life?
Participant: making money, having fun, looking after friends and family.
Researcher: How do black young men see themselves in society?
Participant: I can’t really speak on the behalf of young black men but for myself I can. I see myself as an equal to everybody else even though in some situations this is not always the case.
Researcher: In what situations is this not the case?
Participant: Situations such as dealing with higher authorities e.g. the police.

**Participant 2**

Researcher: How do you see yourself?
Participant: I see myself as a person striving for excellence.
Researcher: What music artiste do you like and why?
Participant: Gospel artists because they are positive and inspirational.
Researcher: What about the lyrical content?
Participant: Anything.
Researcher: What influence does this have on you?
Participant: Not that much. There is nothing good nowadays, but gospel is good.
Researcher: Where are you going in life?
Participant: To be rich and famous.
Researcher: What does music do for you?
Participant: It makes me dance and sing along to it.
Researcher: Does it influence your behaviour? If so, how?
Participant: I personally don’t think it influences my behaviour.
Researcher: What things are important to you?
Participant: Money cars, women.

Participants were asked to explain what they meant by statements made during the interview phase so that I did not misunderstand or misinterpret what they had said. During this preliminary work I was able to develop an understanding of the relationships the boys had with their parents. It revealed that the boys became very emotional when they spoke about their fathers. This was because many of their fathers were absent from their lives. It was therefore decided to explore this as part of the research considering the extent to which black male identity was influenced by a father’s presence or absence.

During this preliminary phase participants were also asked to draw a picture of themselves in the world. All twenty boys took part in the drawing element of the research. I have included here two examples Figures 3.4 and Figure 3.5.
Figure 3.4 Me and the world
Figure 3.5 Life of a black young man
The boys were given a blank page with a statement, for example Boy 1 was asked to draw ‘me and the world’. Boy 2 was asked to draw ‘life as a young black man’. In the interviews I asked the boys to explain their drawings to ensure that I did not misinterpret what they were trying to express.

Drawing 1 shows how the system is overpowering; it is a heavy weight. The boy also illustrated the world as a rat race.

Drawing 2 illustrates the ‘life of a black young man’. It shows various perspectives, the young man enjoying video games, FIFA (football) being the most popular for most young men. It also illustrates, how, as they get older they may become involved in crime or alternatively study, get a degree and work in an office. The preponderance of crime elements suggest that this is perceived as most likely, although the alternative leads to greater happiness.

A repertory grid technique was used during the initial stage of this research to provide a basis for the development of the questionnaire and to elicit important dimensions to be considered in the research. Repertory grid techniques can adopt a standard format whereby, using numerical computations, a calculation to self-identity can be arrived at. This helps in understanding the personal social environment of the individual, which influences behaviour particularly in relation to people who are seen as important (Makhlouf-Norris and Jones, 1971). Twenty boys participated in this activity. Each boy was asked to prepare a Repertory Grid (see Figure 3.6). This allowed me to understand each individual’s personal view of the world. Each participant generated a set of personal constructs illustrating the way that they made sense of their life experiences (Kelly, 1969). This was important because African Caribbean boys’ experiences of the world are different from other ethnic groups because of their marginalised status. The constructs generated allowed me to be able to compare and evaluate their experiences and then formulate patterns within each boy’s perspective. The boys were asked to
complete a repertory grid using a computer programme.

In order to ensure consistency and a valid and reliable interpretation, the elements were based mainly on Kelly's (1955) role titles, these were as follows:

1. Self
2. Mother
3. Father
4. Girlfriend
5. Same sex friend
6. Opposite self (friend)
7. Someone you get along well with
8. Someone you don’t get along well with
9. Ideal self

Using the above allowed for reliable comparisons to be made between boys of their perceptions and relationships with people who they believed to be very important in their lives. In order to elicit constructs from each of the boys the researcher used the method of elicitation suggested by Fransella, Bell and Bannister (2004). The elements consisted of the nine items outlined above relating to people important in their lives and their self and ideal self. These were sorted into triadic comparisons, after which descriptions of bipolar constructs were developed by each boy describing similarities and differences between the people identified in the elements. The boys were then asked to rate each element (each person) using +1 (emergent pole) whose value indicated individuals who were judged as similar; and values of -1 (contrast pole) which indicated the opposite person. For example, if a person responded with ‘happy’ the opposite being ‘sad’, the boy would then be asked to rate an element, say the father on these poles. If he gave the father a rating of one, the father would be seen as a source of happiness.
An identity plot was also derived to measure self-identity in relation to participants' peers as a reference point. This is illustrated below in the self-identity plot of one of the participants (see Table 3.1 Figure 3.6). The technique used a two-dimensional plane which took into consideration the distance from the individual’s actual versus ideal self and the other elements. This plot mapped the boys as the focal point with their ideal self also using the five friends who they were most similar to and those who might be unlike them. It was found that in most cases the friends they chose were very similar to themselves. This information was used in the development of the questionnaire. An example of the pilot material and the final version of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1 and a completed questionnaire in Appendix 2.

Table 3.1 Matrix of Triads

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Note. Values of 1 indicate individuals who were judged as similar; Values of -1 indicate the contrasted person.

Self-Identity Plot for Elicited Repertory Grid

(Graph Created: Self-Identity Plot for Elicited Repertory Grid) -- Your self vs. lucilla --
Self-Identity Plot for Elicited Repertory Grid

Figure 3.6 Identity plot
The findings from this preliminary research not only demonstrated the areas which needed to be covered in the questionnaire but also indicated that interviews were not the best way of eliciting information from these young people as they found it difficult to communicate in this way. Interviews have many advantages in that they enable the interviewer to probe and gather in depth data (Tuckman, 1972), are flexible and can take a range of forms from being highly structured to less formal, almost adopting a conversation approach (Cohen and Manion, 1994). Semi-structured interviews, in particular, allow the interviewer a degree of control but also the ability to adjust questions according to the interviewee and to stimulate discussion accordingly. However, interviews were not used in the main study as the preliminary work had demonstrated that it was very difficult to get teenage boys to open up and speak about the private but relevant issues that they faced, for example their relationship with their fathers or issues surrounding money. For this reason, alternative means of data collection were adopted including a questionnaire, the use of drawings and an imaginary letter.

3.4 Choice of data collection methods

3.4.1 Questionnaires

Questionnaires were adopted since they allow for a large number of young people to be sampled in a relatively short period of time at a low cost (Breakwell, Hammond and Fife-Schaw, 1995). Although there are concerns about the validity and reliability of the use of questionnaires since participants are more prone to give false information on a questionnaire and may also mis-understand the question (Munn and Drever, 1995), they were used but in conjunction with other methods.
3.5 Imaginary letter

In order to better understand the boys’ experience living with or without a father, I needed to find a method that the boys felt comfortable with to express themselves. During the preliminary stage of the research, when boys spoke about their fathers, lots of emotions were expressed; love, anger, resentment. The strong link that most boys developed with their peers was because many of them lived in households with absent fathers and therefore relied on their peers for kinship (male bonding). It was clear that these boys missed the presence of their fathers (first male role model). In order to capture the boys’ true feelings on a larger scale, there was a need for a methodology that would enable access to the deep emotions of many boys without actually meeting them and having a discussion. This approach was interpretive as the aim was to seek to better understand how boys interpreted the significance of a father figure. In order to explore the importance of the young men’s relationships with their fathers, participants were asked to write an imaginary letter to their fathers as part of the questionnaire. This method allowed the exploration of their world and facilitated the gaining of a better understanding of the true significance of having a father present. Carr and Kemmis (1986, p.86) stated that ‘social reality can only be understood by understanding the subjective meanings of individuals’. These letters allowed the identification of similarities between boys and enabled links to be made with existing research. In order to better understand the data, hermeneutics, the theory and practice of interpretation was used. There was a challenge in trying to understand the meanings boys might have attached to each of the letters written (Nielsen, 1990). A thematic analysis was used to analyse the data from the letters (see Appendix 3). The use of letters provided information about the type of relationship the boys had with their father and if there were any negative effects from this relationship that impacted on the boys as they were growing up. This provided qualitative data without recourse to interviews.
3.6 Use of drawings

Drawings have the potential for providing greater depth to support the understanding of quantitative data. In this research, drawings were used as a means to try to understand the inner thoughts of the participants. They were used as a means to elicit information from individuals who may have lacked confidence in expressing themselves verbally. Although the participants were aged 12-25 years, drawings were perceived as being an effective tool to better understand their perceptions of the world.

Drawings as a methodology have been used in a range of social research. Examples include arts-based research (Knowles and Cole, 2008), participatory visual methodologies (De Lange, 2008; Rose, 2001), textual approaches to visual studies (Mitchell, Theron, Stuart, et al., 2011) and a range of psychological studies. MacGregor, Currie and Wetton (1998) successfully used drawings with children and adults, asking them to ‘write and draw’ and ‘talk and draw’. Using drawings allows exploration of the thinking and feelings of children (MacGregor et al., 1998) and adults (Guillemin, 2004; Theron, 2008). The drawings of adults, in particular, can reveal memories, thoughts and feelings which are not always easily expressed in words. Mertens (2009) argues that drawings give a voice to marginalised groups.

In the current research the drawings were used to enable the participating young people to express feelings which they might have been uncomfortable about expressing in words. A thematic approach was adopted to analyse the drawings. All the participants expressed similar themes in their drawings suggesting that these themes were dominant within these communities and provided important insights into the participants’ lives and beliefs.

Participants were asked to draw (i) ‘the way you see yourself in the world’ and (ii) ‘a
snapshot of your life’. The use of drawings as a method was believed to help provide a
deepen understanding of the perceived experiences that African Caribbean boys may
have had in the United Kingdom or Trinidad and Tobago. This would help to increase
understanding of the quantitative analysis which looked at the different identities the boys
may have developed given their different societal upbringing.

The analysis of the drawings was undertaken using existing frameworks. For instance,
Burkitt, Barrett and Davis (2003) argued that in analysing children’s drawings, large
elements can usually be associated with positive characteristics whilst smaller elements
have less importance. Creech (2006) used drawings in order to better understand
students and the teacher – pupil - parent interaction in learning how to play a musical
instrument. This aided understanding of how pupils perceived their experience of
learning to play a musical instrument, giving Creech a better understanding of the
quantitative data collected (Creech and Hallam, 2011).

A coding scheme was devised based on the content of the drawings and size of the
objects in the drawings (see Appendix 3). This is discussed further in chapter 6 when
the findings from the drawings are reported.

3.7 The development of the research materials

The content of the questionnaire was drawn from the findings of the preliminary repertory
grid work and interviews held with boys during the preliminary stages of the research as
set out above. Examples of statements are: ‘I admire my mother.’ ‘I am likely to be
stopped by the police.’

The questionnaire comprised three sections, the first part was made of 38 statements
based on a five-point Likert scale, which enabled the researcher to gather information on
African Caribbean (British) and African Trinbagonian boys’ perceptions of their lifestyle, education, self-concept, self-esteem and the role of the church. This was based on previous research (Hinds, 2005), the extensive preliminary work which had been undertaken and the research of Rhamie (2002). The questionnaire was the same for both groups with the exception of statement 17 which for the Trinidad and Tobago sample read ‘I see myself as being a Trinbagonian first.’ The statements used in the questionnaire are set out in the Table 3.2.
### Table 3.2 Questionnaire statements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Question</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>My parents value education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>My parent helped me with homework</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>It is very important to wear designer labels</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Music is important in my life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>I admire my mother</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>I admire my father</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>African Caribbean’s hold high status jobs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>My parents have high expectations of me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>My parents expect me to go to university</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>If I disagree with members of my group I will behave independently of them</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>Other ethnic groups feel uncomfortable with my presence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>I am likely to be stopped by the police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>I value the support I receive from my church</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>A good education is important to success in life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>I value education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>It is more important to get a job as soon as possible than to continue education</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>17</td>
<td>I see myself as being British first</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18</td>
<td>The prospect of completing university motivates me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>19</td>
<td>I do not believe anything is intrinsically wrong with using cannabis for recreational purpose</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>I go to church regularly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>21</td>
<td>It is important to be with my friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22</td>
<td>I value being with my friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>23</td>
<td>My friends are predominantly black</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24</td>
<td>I have a regular girlfriend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>25</td>
<td>I like the clothes I wear to be identified with my friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>26</td>
<td>It is important to me that I listen to the same music as my friends</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>27</td>
<td>How people walk at my age is important</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>28</td>
<td>Everyone should be free to choose their sexual orientation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>29</td>
<td>I feel people stereotype me on the basis of my race</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>I like myself</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>31</td>
<td>I can achieve whatever I set out to be</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>32</td>
<td>What happens to me is my own doing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>33</td>
<td>Sometimes I do not feel in control</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>I seem to be capable of dealing with most problems that come up in life</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>I sometimes cannot help but wonder if anything is worthwhile</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>I am more concerned about how I feel about myself than about how other people think about me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>People like me have no say in what the Government does</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Men and women should do the same jobs around the house</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second part of the questionnaire asked participants to write an imaginary letter to their father. They were asked to do this based on previous work, which showed that there was high father absenteeism in the home (single-parent, female-headed household) (Hinds, 2005). The instructions were ‘write a letter to your father – expressing your
feelings towards him’. In the third section of the questionnaire participants were asked to make two drawings. The instructions were (i) ‘draw the way you see yourself in the world’ (ii) ‘draw a snapshot of your life’.

3.8 Pilot study

The questionnaire was initially piloted on a group of African Caribbean boys in order to test its effectiveness, its readability and ‘user friendliness’. A copy of the draft and final questionnaire used is in the Appendix 1, while Appendix 2 shows a completed questionnaire. During the pilot stage the draft questionnaire contained various elements; letter writing; random questions about life and self and drawings. Changes were made to the final format of the questionnaire and the way it appeared. Statements were used with a rating scale instead of tick boxes based on the advice of participants; statement 19 had a word changed from marijuana to cannabis.

3.8.1 Participants in the research

Participants for the interviews and questionnaires were sampled based on a number of strategies. Participation was voluntary although during the pre-study where the repertory grid method was used participants were re-imbursed for their transport costs and also given a £10 mobile phone voucher. Prior parental consent was obtained for boys under 16 years.

Twenty boys, ages 12–25, participated during the repertory grid stage. The process by which this was undertaken was explained in the section on preliminary work.

In the United Kingdom, the sample for the main study was recruited by contacting schools to ask if they would allow their students to participate. This led to the completion
of 20 questionnaires from schools in London. A further 120 were completed through snowballing techniques through my own personal contacts. A total of 140 questionnaires were completed for boys from the United Kingdom although more than a 1000 were given out. Data gathering in the United Kingdom proved extremely difficult and took all of 2007.

Data gathering in Trinidad and Tobago was easier and was completed during visits there. Questionnaires were distributed to schools. The schools chosen were a mix of denominational run by the various church boards but subsidised by the state (salaries and building maintenance grant) and state run schools (fully state funded). A letter was sent to the Ministry of Education in Trinidad and Tobago to facilitate access to the schools. The Ministry took a long time to respond, therefore it was decided to gather the data through contacts in schools (through head teachers and their friends). This proved successful. In a very short space of time 178 questionnaires were completed. These were completed in schools where the pupils were mainly boys although one was mixed gender.

### 3.9 Analysis of data

The analysis of the rating scales in the questionnaire was carried out using the Statistical Package for the Social Science (SPSS). The statistical tests undertaken in relation to the questionnaires were factor analyses and a cluster analysis.

The letters were analysed using a thematic analysis based on the work of Cooper and McIntyre (1993). This process of deriving themes seeks to continually refine and test the themes as they emerge. The process involves:

1. Reading random scripts;
2. Identifying points of similarity and difference among these transcripts in relation to the research questions;
3. Generating theories, on the basis of emergent answers to the research questions;

4. Testing theories against a new set of transcripts

5. Testing new theories against transcripts that have already been dealt with;

6. Carrying all existing theories forward to new transcripts;

7. Repeating the above process until all data have been examined and all theories tested against all data (Cooper and McIntyre, 1993).

Following this, all the themes that arose were re-analysed to provide a numeric count of the number of young people responding in each theme. An example is provided in Appendix 3.

The analysis of the drawings was undertaken adopting a similar process. Initially each drawing was examined to identify and note its key features to establish the emerging themes. For many of the drawings this was relatively straightforward as the young people frequently added text to the drawings to make the meaning clearer. For instance, in Figure 3.7 it was easy to identify that the young man was preparing to sing to an audience and that his purpose in doing that was to improve the audience. This clearly represented musical activity and an aspiration to bring about change. Some of the drawings were more difficult to interpret with fewer text cues. The size of the depicted self gave an indication of power, feelings of helplessness or unimportance, while facial expressions sometimes indicated emotion as in Figure 3.8 where the individual is clearly sad, with a cloud over his head, while his friends are depicted as happy. The similar size of the faces did not suggest feeling less important than his friends but just indicated a different state of mind.
Adopting an iterative process, similar to that outlined by Cooper and McIntyre (1993) a random sample of drawings were considered, and areas of similarity and difference identified. On the basis of these, themes were generated. More drawings were then examined to see to what extent the existing themes were adequate to categorise them. This process continued until all of the drawings had been examined and all themes identified. An example of the identification of the key elements in a drawing and the generation of the themes is provided in Appendix 3.
3.10 Validity and reliability

When conducting research, a researcher is concerned that the results of the findings are truthful and credible. Reliability concerns dependability or consistency whilst validity relates to truthfulness. It establishes the goodness of fit with actual reality (plausibility). Reliability is essential in the measurement of a concept for it to be valid, however reliability alone does not indicate that the measurement is valid in relation to the construct (Neuman, 2011). Trustworthiness was critical in order to improve the validity and reliability of this study. Guba (1981) proposed four criteria relating to trustworthiness.

(1) Credibility was assured through the use of different research methods (Brewer and Hunter, 1989) which allowed for triangulation of the results. It was also supported as the researcher was familiar with the culture of the participants being African Caribbean himself. This was particularly important when the initial interviews involved discussing with the boys, issues relating to their life experiences. Care was taken not to pressure the boys to enhance the honesty of their responses.

(2) Transferability in the case of this research relates to the extent to which the findings may transfer to other ethnic groups, in particular the relationships between boys and their fathers. The research may provide a ‘baseline understanding’ (Gross, 1998) whereby comparisons can be made with similar studies and the results used as a basis to better understand this issue and inform policy.

(3) Dependability was assured by establishing clear and detailed methods which were consistently enacted in the data collection process. The detailed accounts of methodology will also inform future researchers if a decision is made to replicate this study.

(4) Confirmability was taken into account by the use of a range of methods facilitating triangulation of the data. The reliability of the research depended on the development of
a valid questionnaire, the data collection process, and the way that the analysis was interpreted with the minimisation of subjectivity. As I myself am African Caribbean I had confidence that the boys taking part would be more forthcoming with me than a non-African Caribbean researcher.

Silverman (2000) argued that it is difficult to establish validity and reliability when interpreting qualitative data. This was achieved in several ways. (i) Triangulation was achieved by using multiple methods of data collection – quantitative and qualitative. (ii) The qualitative data was obtained from a large sample of respondents using a questionnaire which allowed the integration of both quantitative and qualitative data. Triangulation was achieved by collecting qualitative data in the form of letter writing and two drawings which each of the boys were asked to produce.

In the questionnaire there were questions pertaining to admiration of father and the role of parents. The responses to these statements could be linked to the findings in the letter to the father. This provided an opportunity for checking whether the interpretation provided a credible explanation. The drawings also helped to verify responses to different parts of the questionnaire such as issues relating to the importance of education and the church.

The qualitative data of letter writing and drawings were derived from a large sample of respondents which allowed the researcher to establish a reliable and replicable process of analysis. This was achieved by putting all the letters from each country sample into a word document and systematically going through them and coding them until the emerging themes were stable and consistent. These were verified by an experienced researcher who selected a sample of the letters to check for consistency of labelling. The drawings were analysed and coded in batches,
of ten. This process was repeated until there was stability and consistency in the coding. This was again verified by an experienced researcher who selected a sample and checked for consistency.

### 3.11 Ethics

Ethics can be considered from two positions (i) procedural ethics, for example seeking ethical clearance from the ethics committee, and (ii) ethics in practice, that is the day to day ethical situations that may arise while conducting research. (Guillemin and Gillam 2004). Research ethics is important when undertaking any research project and should take into consideration the way the data are collected and the role of the participants through to the publication of the findings. When people take part in any research project they must understand what they are taking part in and this must also be voluntary (Howitt and Cramer, 2005). This research followed the ethical guidelines as laid down by British Psychological Society. The methodology was also approved by the ethics committee of the Institute of Education (University of London).

Participants were informed about the purpose of the research and participation was voluntary. The young people who participated in the preliminary research gave verbal consent to their participation. Participants were informed of the research aims, focus and methods, and the young men were given assurance by the researcher that the drawings would be anonymized in any reporting of the data.

As the main study relied on completion of a questionnaire and participants were under no compulsion to complete it their completion of it served as giving written agreement to be involved in the research. Boys were free to refuse. In the administration of the questionnaires in the secondary schools in Trinidad the schools informed the parents that the research was taking place and they were free to withdraw their sons should they
wish to do so. In the UK, where most of the data were collected using a process of snowballing, parents gave their consent by allowing their sons to participate. The instruction on the questionnaire was as follows: ‘This questionnaire aims to explore identity and self-concept. The answers that you give will be confidential. They will contribute to a research project about African-Caribbean identity and achievement issues.’

Please answer every question but do not spend too long thinking about the questions; there are no right or wrong answers. It will take you about 30 minutes to complete the questionnaire. For each of the questions please circle the number that most represents your response to each statement.

5  Strongly agree
4  Agree
2  Disagree
1  Strongly disagree
3  Use this if you find it impossible to give an answer or you feel that the question does not apply to you.

All answers are confidential but will provide useful information for the project. Thank you for your help. If you wish to be considered to be interviewed for this study you can contact me either by email (address given) or on my mobile phone (number given). You will be given a voucher for your time.

The researcher visited most of the schools himself in Trinidad and Tobago and distributed the questionnaire. The purpose of the research was explained and boys who were interested in participating were asked to meet the researcher in a designated classroom later. The researcher then distributed the questionnaires and the boys completed them. Most questionnaires given out in the schools were completed in this way, although a small number of boys took them home to complete and then returned
them to school. Where the researcher did not administer the questionnaire himself the teachers adopted the same procedure. Teachers were instructed by the researcher face-to-face about the administration of the questionnaires and the importance of confidentiality. Where teachers collected the completed questionnaires, they were immediately inserted into a folder and the contents not perused by the teachers.

It was made very clear to all of the boys that they did not have to participate in the research and that they were under no pressure to do so. As an African Caribbean myself, I am aware of the issues that exist within my community especially with regards to the misunderstanding of African Caribbean boys by other ethnic groups. Taking this into account, I knew that the boys in the United Kingdom would be willing to take part in a study that helped them to express themselves, particularly as I, the researcher, was also an African Caribbean.

Further evidence that the boys did not feel pressured to complete the questionnaire was derived from an examination of the questionnaires themselves. Not all of the participants completed all elements of the questionnaire. If they had felt under pressured it is likely that they would have done so.

As a researcher, I had the responsibility to disclose any concerns which should be signposted to a third party organization, in relation to disturbing findings in the study. This was important especially for the letters and drawings that conveyed powerful emotions in the boys, for example anger, powerlessness and feelings of being crushed by life. However, in this research the researcher was guided by the promise of confidentiality and anonymity of the responses. The boys who took part in the preliminary work were debriefed after they had taken part. The boys in the main study were not debriefed. The nature of the data collection precluded this.
The participants in this research would not have a direct benefit from taking part in the research. However, as the research may influence government policy in trying to address concerns within the African Caribbean community, it may have an indirect benefit for the participants.

3.12 The role of the researcher and researcher bias

I managed my insider status with the boys during the pilot study where I interviewed the boys and participated in much personal conversation by not tape recording the information that the boys wanted to be kept classified following the example of Reynolds (2004 p.99), who managed her insider status by turning off the recording when the interviewees indicated they wanted to discuss areas that they did not want disclosed. Armstrong (2006) argued that insider status allows the researcher to be able to gain deep understanding when processing and analysing the data collected.

As an African Caribbean I was familiar with the patois sometimes used by the boys during the pilot study (Hesse-Biber, Leavy and Yaiser, 2004). This allowed me to make sense of the data generated during this period. However, I also believed that I maintained outsider status because the boys perceived me as an educated black male who was successful, had done well educationally and was employed in a high-status role unlike some black males who might be hustling or involved in illegal activities to make money.

In carrying out the research, I had to remain neutral. This was achieved by preparing a predesigned set of questions that I was able to give to participants for them to complete. They were asked to do this in a separate room in order that they felt comfortable and under no undue influence. They completed this at their own pace and time.
3.13 Chapter summary

In this chapter, the steps taken in the development and operationalization of the research were described. The procedures adopted for designing the questionnaire, piloting, analysing the pilot data and then modifying the research instrument for the purposes of the main data collection were explained. The sample selection method was described and the data collection procedures. Issues of reliability, validity and ethics were considered. Finally, information was provided regarding how the quantitative and qualitative data were analysed.
Chapter 4: Analysis of the questionnaire data and factor analysis

I can’t choose how I feel, but I can choose what I do about it…. I can’t change my past, but I can improve my future. (Matthew 6:34; John 17:3)

4.1 Introduction

This chapter sets out the analysis of the rating scale data providing a range of descriptive statistics and three factor analyses. The first two factor analyses are separate analyses of the data from the UK and Trinidad and Tobago samples. The third combines the data from both samples. The particular research question which is addressed is:

(1) What different identities do African Caribbean teenage boys have in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago? And how is identity expressed in their perceived lifestyle, for example dress, stylised walking, music and the church?

4.2 The data

There were 318 cases in the data set of which 140 were from the UK and 178 from Trinidad and Tobago. The variables included:

- Nationality (1 = British, 2 = Trinbagonian)
- Age (range 12 - 25)
- 38 variables concentrating on themes reflecting the behaviour of young adult boys

The sample comprised African Caribbean boys from both the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago. The British sample comprised boys mainly from the London area although there were a few from other cities including Manchester and Birmingham, however the numbers were small. The sample of boys surveyed was made up of some from a school in North London and the majority through snowballing and personal acquaintances of the researcher. The Trinidad and Tobago sample comprised boys from
the various secondary schools across the island. The schools were made of single and mixed sex. No boys were sampled from Tobago for this study.

4.3 Findings

An independent t-test was conducted to compare each of the 38 statements from the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago data set. There was a significant difference in scores for United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago young people for statements relating to homework, the value attached to education, lifestyle issues, self-esteem, racial stereotyping, family factors and the extent of being stopped by the police. In each table, in addition to means, standard deviations and statistical significance, eta values are also included. The guidelines (proposed by Cohen 1988, p. 284-7) for interpreting this value are: 0.01 = small effect; 0.06 = moderate effect; and 0.14 = large effect.

4.3.1 Responses to statements about family

Table 4.1 sets out the means and standard deviations for statements relating to the family. Only two statements differentiated between the respondents from the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago. They related to whether parents helped with homework and whether respondents admired their father. In the case of homework, the highest responses were from the United Kingdom sample, whereas in relation to admiring their father the strongest responses came from the Trinidad and Tobago participants. The eta values were low to moderate.
Table 4.1: Differences in responses to statements about family

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>UK Mean S.D</th>
<th>TT Mean S.D</th>
<th>Overall mean S.D</th>
<th>t value</th>
<th>Eta</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>p value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My parents value education</td>
<td>4.62 0.81</td>
<td>4.69 0.58</td>
<td>4.66(0.69)</td>
<td>-0.923</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents helped me with homework</td>
<td>3.73 1.23</td>
<td>3.41 1.30</td>
<td>3.56(1.28)</td>
<td>2.247</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>0.025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I admire my mother</td>
<td>4.56 0.84</td>
<td>4.44 0.95</td>
<td>4.50(0.90)</td>
<td>1.145</td>
<td>0.004</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I admire my father</td>
<td>3.52 1.48</td>
<td>3.96 1.26</td>
<td>3.76(1.37)</td>
<td>-2.793</td>
<td>0.024</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>0.006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents have high expectations of me</td>
<td>4.36 0.87</td>
<td>4.39 0.92</td>
<td>4.38(-.90)</td>
<td>-0.33</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents expect me to go to university</td>
<td>3.85 1.24</td>
<td>3.84 1.31</td>
<td>3.85(1.28)</td>
<td>0.82</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When interpreting mean values, please note that a value of 1 stands for ‘strongly disagree’ and a value of 5 stands for ‘strongly agree’.

4.3.2 Responses to statements about education

Table 4.2 sets out the responses to statements about education. There were statistically significant responses in relation to all of these statements except the one about valuing education. The Trinidad and Tobago students agreed more strongly that a good education was important to success in life and that the prospect of completing university motivated them. The United Kingdom students more strongly agreed that it was important to get a job as soon as possible.
Table 4.2: Differences in responses relating to education

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>UK Mean</th>
<th>S.D</th>
<th>TT Mean</th>
<th>S.D</th>
<th>Overall mean</th>
<th>t value</th>
<th>Eta</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>p value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A good education is important to success in life</td>
<td>4.20</td>
<td>1.15</td>
<td>4.60</td>
<td>0.87</td>
<td>4.42(1.02)</td>
<td>-3.48</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value education</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>0.92</td>
<td>4.57</td>
<td>0.81</td>
<td>4.50(0.86)</td>
<td>-1.483</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to get a job as soon as possible</td>
<td>2.37</td>
<td>1.28</td>
<td>2.07</td>
<td>1.16</td>
<td>2.21(1.23)</td>
<td>2.238</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>0.026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The prospect of completing university motivates me</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>1.31</td>
<td>3.88</td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>3.66(1.30)</td>
<td>-3.525</td>
<td>0.04</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When interpreting mean values, please note that a value of 1 stands for ‘strongly disagree’ and a value of 5 stands for ‘strongly agree’.

4.3.3 Responses to statements about friendships and social life

Table 4.3 sets out the means and standard deviations relating to statements about friendships and social life. There were very few statistically significant differences. The United Kingdom participants agreed more strongly (although overall it was a low score) that it was important to wear designer labels and that their friends were predominantly African Caribbean. Neither group agreed strongly that it was important to listen to the same music as their friends, but the United Kingdom group agreed slightly more. There was much stronger agreement from the Trinidad and Tobago participants that everyone should be free to choose their sexual orientation.
### Table 4.3: Differences in friendship and social life

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>UK Mean S.D</th>
<th>TT Mean S.D</th>
<th>Overall mean</th>
<th>t value</th>
<th>Eta</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>p value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>It is very important to wear designer labels</td>
<td>2.88 1.29</td>
<td>2.52 1.36</td>
<td>2.68 1.34</td>
<td>2.409</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>0.017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music is important in my life</td>
<td>4.09 1.17</td>
<td>4.13 1.08</td>
<td>4.11 1.12</td>
<td>-0.382</td>
<td>0.0005</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If I disagree with members of my group I will behave independently.</td>
<td>3.56 1.27</td>
<td>3.38 1.31</td>
<td>3.46 1.29</td>
<td>1.224</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not believe anything is intrinsically wrong with using weed for recreational purposes</td>
<td>2.48 1.37</td>
<td>2.33 1.35</td>
<td>2.40 1.36</td>
<td>1.015</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to be with my friends</td>
<td>3.78 1.11</td>
<td>3.74 1.25</td>
<td>3.75 1.19</td>
<td>0.412</td>
<td>0.0005</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value being with my friends</td>
<td>4.30 0.80</td>
<td>4.08 1.02</td>
<td>4.17 0.941</td>
<td>2.001</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My friends are predominantly African Caribbean/Trinbagonian</td>
<td>3.58 1.31</td>
<td>2.96 1.35</td>
<td>3.22 1.36</td>
<td>4.12</td>
<td>0.05</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have a regular girlfriend</td>
<td>3.17 1.37</td>
<td>3.14 1.41</td>
<td>3.16 1.39</td>
<td>0.205</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like the clothes I wear to be identified with my friends</td>
<td>2.81 1.24</td>
<td>2.75 1.12</td>
<td>2.77 1.38</td>
<td>0.374</td>
<td>0.0004</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to me that I listen to the same music as my friends</td>
<td>2.18 1.38</td>
<td>1.89 1.38</td>
<td>2.02 1.38</td>
<td>2.144</td>
<td>0.014</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>0.033</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How people walk at my age is important</td>
<td>2.34 1.26</td>
<td>2.28 1.29</td>
<td>2.31 1.28</td>
<td>0.445</td>
<td>0.0006</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyone should be free to choose their sexual orientation</td>
<td>2.73 1.51</td>
<td>3.30 1.55</td>
<td>3.06 1.56</td>
<td>-3.245</td>
<td>0.03</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>0.001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I go to church regularly</td>
<td>3.29 1.45</td>
<td>3.21 1.47</td>
<td>3.25 1.45</td>
<td>0.451</td>
<td>0.0006</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value the support I receive from my church</td>
<td>3.56 1.26</td>
<td>3.67 1.25</td>
<td>3.63 1.25</td>
<td>-0.796</td>
<td>0.002</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When interpreting mean values, please note that a value of 1 stands for ‘strongly disagree’ and a value of 5 stands for ‘strongly agree’.

### 4.3.4 Responses to statements about self and others’ perceptions

Participants were asked to respond to a range of statements about their self-perceptions. Overall, they were positive about the extent to which they believed that they could achieve whatever they wanted and had high levels of self-liking. However, those from Trinidad and Tobago rated themselves statistically significantly higher on this than those from the United Kingdom. There were also relatively high ratings from both groups in regard to the statements that they did not always feel in control, that they sometimes wondered if anything was worthwhile and that they did not have any say in government.
policy (see Table 4.4).

### Table 4.4: Differences in response to self-statements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>UK Mean (S.D)</th>
<th>TT Mean (S.D)</th>
<th>Overall mean (S.D)</th>
<th>t value</th>
<th>Eta</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>p value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>If I disagree with members of my group I will behave</td>
<td>3.56 (1.27)</td>
<td>3.38 (1.31)</td>
<td>3.46 (1.29)</td>
<td>1.224</td>
<td>0.005</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like myself</td>
<td>4.42 (0.90)</td>
<td>4.66 (0.74)</td>
<td>4.56 (0.82)</td>
<td>-2.594</td>
<td>0.02</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>0.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I can achieve whatever I set out to do</td>
<td>4.40 (0.87)</td>
<td>4.58 (0.86)</td>
<td>4.51 (0.87)</td>
<td>-1.857</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What happens to me is my own doing</td>
<td>3.73 (1.27)</td>
<td>3.80 (1.33)</td>
<td>3.76 (1.30)</td>
<td>-0.483</td>
<td>0.0007</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes I do not feel in control</td>
<td>3.16 (1.26)</td>
<td>3.31 (1.36)</td>
<td>3.25 (1.32)</td>
<td>-1.048</td>
<td>0.0035</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I seem to be capable of dealing with most problems</td>
<td>3.89 (1.17)</td>
<td>3.75 (1.16)</td>
<td>3.81 (1.17)</td>
<td>1.097</td>
<td>0.0038</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes cannot help but wonder if anything is</td>
<td>3.08 (1.36)</td>
<td>3.22 (1.34)</td>
<td>3.16 (1.34)</td>
<td>-0.919</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am concerned about how I feel about myself than about</td>
<td>3.74 (1.32)</td>
<td>3.88 (1.25)</td>
<td>3.81 (1.28)</td>
<td>-0.976</td>
<td>0.003</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People like me have no say in what Government does</td>
<td>3.32 (1.43)</td>
<td>3.04 (1.46)</td>
<td>3.17 (1.45)</td>
<td>1.702</td>
<td>0.01</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When interpreting mean values, please note that a value of 1 stands for ‘strongly disagree’ and a value of 5 stands for ‘strongly agree’.

### 4.3.5 Issues of race

There were statistically significant differences between the two groups in relation to being likely to be stopped by the police and feeling as if they were being stereotyped on the basis of their race. In both cases the United Kingdom sample agreed more strongly with these statements (see Table 4.5). The eta value in relation to being stopped by the police was substantial.
Table 4.5: Responses relating to issues of race

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statements</th>
<th>UK Mean</th>
<th>TT Mean</th>
<th>Overall mean</th>
<th>t value</th>
<th>Eta</th>
<th>Df</th>
<th>p value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Other ethnic groups feel uncomfortable with my</td>
<td>2.57</td>
<td>2.34</td>
<td>2.44(1.31)</td>
<td>1.522</td>
<td>0.007</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>NS</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>presence</td>
<td>1.33</td>
<td>1.29</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am likely to be stopped by the police</td>
<td>3.40</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>2.80(1.56)</td>
<td>6.564</td>
<td>0.122</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.47</td>
<td>1.46</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel people stereotype me on the basis of my race</td>
<td>3.73</td>
<td>2.87</td>
<td>3.25(1.38)</td>
<td>5.779</td>
<td>0.10</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>0.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1.25</td>
<td>1.37</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When interpreting mean values, please note that a value of 1 stands for ‘strongly disagree’ and a value of 5 stands for ‘strongly agree’.

4.3.6 Overall combined frequencies for statements

Overall combined descriptive statistics for each statement are shown in Table 4.6. On the positive side were issues in terms of education and parental expectations. Admiration of mother, self-belief, friendship and music were all responded to positively with means above 4 and low standard deviations. The findings showed that statements relating to education and self-esteem had high levels of strong agreement. More negative responses related to issues about African Caribbeans holding high status jobs, stereotyping based on race, being stopped by the police, and group affiliation. These had mean responses of less than three.
Table 4.6: Overall Combined Frequencies for statements

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Strongly disagree (%)</th>
<th>Disagree (%)</th>
<th>Not sure (%)</th>
<th>Agree (%)</th>
<th>Strongly agree (%)</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>S.D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My parents value education</td>
<td>0.9</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>73.6</td>
<td>4.66</td>
<td>0.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parent helped me with homework</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>19.8</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>26.1</td>
<td>3.56</td>
<td>1.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is very important to wear designer labels</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>38.4</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>11.6</td>
<td>2.68</td>
<td>1.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music is important in my life</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>2.5</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>45.9</td>
<td>4.11</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I admire my mother</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>3.8</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>67.9</td>
<td>4.49</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I admire my father</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>12.9</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>42.8</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>1.37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Caribbean's hold high status jobs</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>38.1</td>
<td>18.2</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>2.81</td>
<td>1.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents have high expectations of me</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>31.1</td>
<td>57.2</td>
<td>4.38</td>
<td>0.90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents expect me to go to university</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>42.1</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>1.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If I disagree with members of my group I will behave independently of them</td>
<td>8.2</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>32.4</td>
<td>25.5</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>1.29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ethnic groups feel uncomfortable with my presence</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>2.44</td>
<td>1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am likely to be stopped by the police</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>20.8</td>
<td>2.80</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value the support I receive from my church</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>28.9</td>
<td>3.63</td>
<td>1.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A good education is important to success in life</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>21.1</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>4.42</td>
<td>1.02</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value education</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>65.7</td>
<td>4.50</td>
<td>0.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is more important to get a job as soon as possible than to continue education</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>2.21</td>
<td>1.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The prospect of completing university motivates me</td>
<td>7.2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>13.8</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>3.66</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not believe anything is intrinsically wrong with using cannabis for recreational purpose</td>
<td>37.4</td>
<td>19.5</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>17.3</td>
<td>8.5</td>
<td>2.40</td>
<td>1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I go to church regularly</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>9.7</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to be with my friends</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>2.8</td>
<td>47.8</td>
<td>27.7</td>
<td>3.75</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value being with my friends</td>
<td>2.2</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>47.2</td>
<td>40.6</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>0.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My friends are predominantly black or African Trinbagonian</td>
<td>11.3</td>
<td>28.3</td>
<td>8.8</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>3.22</td>
<td>1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have a regular girlfriend</td>
<td>15.1</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>23.3</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>1.39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>Strongly disagree (%)</td>
<td>Disagree (%)</td>
<td>Not sure (%)</td>
<td>Agree (%)</td>
<td>Strongly agree (%)</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>S.D</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------------------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>--------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like the clothes I wear to be identified with my friends</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>23.6</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>2.77</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to me that I listen to the same music as my friends</td>
<td>40.9</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>7.5</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>2.02</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How people walk at my age is important</td>
<td>33.3</td>
<td>32.7</td>
<td>10.7</td>
<td>16.4</td>
<td>6.9</td>
<td>2.31</td>
<td>1.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyone should be free to choose their sexual orientation</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>17.6</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>20.1</td>
<td>26.4</td>
<td>3.06</td>
<td>1.56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel people stereotype me on the basis of my race</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>23.9</td>
<td>10.4</td>
<td>30.2</td>
<td>22.3</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>1.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like myself</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>21.4</td>
<td>70.1</td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>0.82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I can achieve whatever I set out to be</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>3.1</td>
<td>4.1</td>
<td>24.2</td>
<td>66.7</td>
<td>4.51</td>
<td>0.87</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What happens to me is my own doing</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>17.9</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>31.8</td>
<td>37.7</td>
<td>3.76</td>
<td>1.30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes I do not feel in control</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>21.7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>14.8</td>
<td>3.25</td>
<td>1.32</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I seem to be capable of dealing with most problems that come up in life</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.3</td>
<td>6.3</td>
<td>45.6</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>1.17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes cannot help but wonder if anything is worthwhile</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>26.7</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3.16</td>
<td>1.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am more concerned about how I feel about myself than about how other people think about me</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.7</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td>31.4</td>
<td>39.3</td>
<td>3.81</td>
<td>1.28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People like me have no say in what the Government does</td>
<td>15.7</td>
<td>25.8</td>
<td>9.1</td>
<td>24.5</td>
<td>24.8</td>
<td>3.17</td>
<td>1.45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When interpreting mean values, please note that a value of 1 stands for ‘strongly disagree’ and a value of 5 stands for ‘strongly agree’.

### 4.4 Factor analysis

Factor analysis is a mathematical technique that is used to describe covariation in variables (Spearman, 1904) in respect to communalities (common factors). Exploratory factor analysis was adopted in this research since it allows structure to be explored in the data. The priori assumption was that any of the 38 variables listed could be associated with any factor. A Principal Component Analysis was selected as it affords...
empirical analysis of the data set (Tabachnick and Fidell, 2001). It was used with a varimax orthogonal rotation to establish if there were any linear components in the data (Kaiser, 1960). Eigenvalues were retained if they were greater than 1 and a scree test (Cattell, 1966) was used to identify those factors before the breaking point of the elbow of the plot. A Monte Carlo PCA for parallel analysis was also used to support the determination of the number of factors to select. This method performs a Monte Carlo simulation and calculates Parallel Analysis criteria which allows the selection of the number of factors to retain. The analysis is divided into two sets, the first for the United Kingdom data and the second for the Trinbagonian sample (Trinidad and Tobago). This was followed by a combined factor analysis.

4.4.1 United Kingdom data analysis

A factor analysis of the data from the United Kingdom participants was performed using the Principal Component Analysis method of extraction. Bartlett’s test of sphericity, which tests the overall significance of all the correlations within the correlation matrix, was significant ($\chi^2 (703) = 1607.085, p < 0.0001$). This indicates that it was appropriate to use the factor analytic model on this set of data. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy indicated that the strength of the relationships among variables was high ($KMO = 0.661$), greater than the 0.5 required to assess the adequacy of the sample (Field, 2000). Thus, it was acceptable to proceed with the analysis.

A varimax rotation was used to enable interpretation and description of the results (Green, Salkind and Akey, 2000; Tabachnick and Fidell, 2001). Examining the scree plot (Fig 4.1), the elbow suggests a four factor solution. This was deemed to be the most appropriate solution and accounted for 35% of the variance overall. This was further supported by the results of Parallel Analysis (Table 4.7), which showed only four components with eigenvalues exceeding the corresponding criterion values for a
randomly generated data matrix of the same size (38 variables x 140 respondents).

Table 4.8 below illustrates this. Only items with factor loadings of above 0.2 are shown.

**Table 4.7 Comparison of eigenvalues from PCA and criterion values from Parallel Analysis**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component number</th>
<th>Actual eigenvalue from PCA</th>
<th>Criterion value from Parallel Analysis</th>
<th>Decision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.560</td>
<td>2.1544</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.100</td>
<td>2.0228</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.686</td>
<td>1.8982</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.975</td>
<td>1.8038</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.694</td>
<td>1.7144</td>
<td>Reject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.622</td>
<td>1.6352</td>
<td>Reject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.531</td>
<td>1.5655</td>
<td>Reject</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 4.1 Scree plot United Kingdom**

Scree Plot

![Scree Plot](image-url)
Table 4.8 sets out the factor loadings from the rotation matrix. Those below 0.2 have been suppressed so that one can easily see the groupings in the matrix.

4.4.1.1 Factor 1: Family support and self-belief

The first factor was robust, with a high eigenvalue of 5.56. It accounted for 14.6% of the variance in the data. This factor had high weightings for self-esteem/confidence, the extent to which the young people and their parents valued education, the importance of music in their life and having a great admiration for their mother.
4.4.1.2 Factor 2: Valuing education, religious beliefs

Factor two had an eigenvalue of 3.1 accounting for a further 8.2% of the variance. This factor had high weightings on statements relating to the importance of church, parents and education, positive self-perceptions and self-belief in what they could achieve. It also had negative weightings on being stereotyped on the basis of race, being stopped by the police and believing there was nothing wrong in using cannabis.

4.4.1.3 Factor 3: Importance of peer group membership

Factor three had an eigenvalue of 2.69 and accounted for a further 7.1% of the variance. This factor had high weightings for the importance of listening to the same music as their friends, the importance of stylised walking and dress sense, suggesting that group affiliation, friends and friend’s opinions were very important and closely related to popular culture.

4.4.1.4 Factor 4: Having a national identity

The eigenvalue of factor four was 1.98 accounting for 5.2% of the variance. The statements with high loadings were those related to sexual orientation choice, friends not predominantly being black and the use of drugs.
Table 4.8 Factor loadings for United Kingdom data analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Component 1</th>
<th>Component 2</th>
<th>Component 3</th>
<th>Component 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I admire my mother</td>
<td>.741</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents value education</td>
<td>.685</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like myself</td>
<td>.635</td>
<td>-.255</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I can achieve whatever I set out to be</td>
<td>.588</td>
<td>.327</td>
<td>-.205</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I seem to be capable of dealing with most problems that come up in life</td>
<td>.584</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music is important in my life</td>
<td>.540</td>
<td>.242</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men and women should do the same jobs around the house</td>
<td>.500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value being with my friends</td>
<td>.481</td>
<td>.208</td>
<td>-.364</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents helped me with homework</td>
<td>.479</td>
<td>.215</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am more concerned about how I feel about myself than about how other people think about me</td>
<td>.476</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value education</td>
<td>.459</td>
<td>.451</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel people stereotype me on the basis of my race</td>
<td>.456</td>
<td>-.340</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I admire my father</td>
<td>.396</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What happens to me is my own doing</td>
<td>.383</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If I disagree with members of my group I will behave independently of them</td>
<td>.296</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes cannot help but wonder if anything is worthwhile</td>
<td>.235</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I go to church regularly</td>
<td></td>
<td>.695</td>
<td>-.201</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents expect me to go to university</td>
<td></td>
<td>.680</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The prospect of completing university motivates me</td>
<td>.204</td>
<td>.574</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A good education is important to success in life</td>
<td>.313</td>
<td>.573</td>
<td>.213</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value the support I receive from my church</td>
<td>.234</td>
<td>.553</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents have high expectations of me</td>
<td>.349</td>
<td>.469</td>
<td>-.240</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am likely to be stopped by the police</td>
<td>.293</td>
<td>-.466</td>
<td>.250</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not believe anything is intrinsically wrong with using cannabis for recreational purpose</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.391</td>
<td>.332</td>
<td>.277</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ethnic groups feel uncomfortable with my presence</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.268</td>
<td>.217</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to me that I listen to the same music as my friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.703</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like the clothes I wear to be identified with my friends</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.675</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is very important to wear designer labels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.585</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How people walk at my age is important</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.528</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have a regular girlfriend</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is more important to get a job as soon as possible than to continue education</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.469</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyone should be free to choose their sexual orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I see myself as being British/Trinbagonian first</td>
<td></td>
<td>.217</td>
<td>.579</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My friends are predominantly black</td>
<td></td>
<td>.339</td>
<td>-.418</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to be with my friends</td>
<td>.221</td>
<td>.312</td>
<td>-.377</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes I do not feel in control</td>
<td>.282</td>
<td></td>
<td>.318</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People like me have no say in what Government does</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>-.317</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. Rotation converged in 6 iterations.
4.4.2 Trinidad and Tobago data analysis

A factor analysis of the data from the participants from Trinidad and Tobago was performed using the Principal Component Analysis method of extraction. Bartlett’s test of sphericity, which tests the overall significance of all the correlations within the correlation matrix, was significant ($\chi^2 (703) = 1502.059, p < 0.0001$). This indicates that it was appropriate to use the factor analytic model on this set of data. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy indicated that the strength of the relationships among variables was high (KMO = 0.628), greater than the 0.5 required to assess the adequacy of the sample (Field, 2000). Thus, it was acceptable to proceed with the analysis.

A varimax rotation was used to enable an interpretation and description of the results (Green et al., 2000; Tabachnick and Fidell, 2001). Examining the scree plot below (Fig 4.2) and the results of the Parallel Analysis (Table 4.9), which showed only six components with eigenvalues exceeding the corresponding criterion values for a randomly generated data matrix, of the same size (38 variables x 178 respondents), a six factor solution seemed to be the most appropriate (see Table 4.10). Only items with factor loadings of above 0.2 are shown.
Table 4.9 Comparison of eigenvalues from PCA and criterion values from Parallel Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component number</th>
<th>Actual eigenvalue from PCA</th>
<th>Criterion value from Parallel Analysis</th>
<th>Decision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.690</td>
<td>1.9959</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.263</td>
<td>1.8708</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.241</td>
<td>1.7796</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.822</td>
<td>1.7029</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.639</td>
<td>1.6274</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.623</td>
<td>1.5624</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.452</td>
<td>1.5028</td>
<td>Reject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>1.415</td>
<td>1.4460</td>
<td>Reject</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>1.321</td>
<td>1.3947</td>
<td>Reject</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 4.2 Scree plot Trinidad and Tobago
4.4.2.1 Factor 1: Personal value attached to education

The first factor was robust, with a high eigenvalue of 4.69. It accounted for 12.3% of the variance in the data. This factor had high weightings for valuing education and self-belief and a high negative value for being stopped by the police.

4.4.2.2 Factor 2: Friends and parents as role models

Factor two had an eigenvalue of 2.26 and accounted for a further 5.9% of the variance. It had high values for statements relating to friendship and admiring parents, particularly the father.

4.4.2.3 Factor 3: Lifestyle

Factor three had an eigenvalue of 2.24 and accounted for 5.9% of the variance. It related to lifestyle issues, self-determination and motivation.

4.4.2.4 Factor 4: Religion and aspirations for higher education

Factor four had an eigenvalue of 1.82 and accounted for 4.8% of the variance. There were high loadings related to church attendance and going to university. There were moderate negative weightings in relation to freedom of choice of sexuality, friends who do not belong to their ethnic group, and beliefs about using cannabis.
4.4.2.5 Factor 5: Group affiliation

Factor five had an eigenvalue of 1.98 and accounted for 5.2% of the variance. There were high weightings for statements relating to clothes, stylised walking, music and using cannabis.

4.4.2.6 Factor 6: Low self-belief and helplessness

The eigenvalue of factor six was 1.64 and accounted for 4.3% of the variance. It loaded very high on statements related to being helpless, being out of control, and being stereotyped on the basis of race. Table 4.10 sets out the factor loadings in the rotation matrix. Those below 0.2 have been suppressed so that one can see any cluster in the matrix.
### Table 4.10 Factor Loadings Trinidad and Tobago Sample

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Component 1</th>
<th>Component 2</th>
<th>Component 3</th>
<th>Component 4</th>
<th>Component 5</th>
<th>Component 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I value education</td>
<td>.744</td>
<td></td>
<td>.223</td>
<td>.211</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I can achieve whatever I set out to be</td>
<td>.610</td>
<td>.302</td>
<td>-.203</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am likely to be stopped by the police</td>
<td>-.587</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A good education is important to success in life</td>
<td>.492</td>
<td>.231</td>
<td>.253</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like myself</td>
<td>.478</td>
<td>.371</td>
<td>.208</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to get a job as soon as possible than to continue education</td>
<td>-.444</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ethnic groups feel uncomfortable with my presence</td>
<td>-.399</td>
<td>-.257</td>
<td>.216</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to be with my friends</td>
<td>.650</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value being with my friends</td>
<td>.265</td>
<td>.571</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I admire my father</td>
<td>.565</td>
<td>.311</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I see myself as being British/Trinbagonian first</td>
<td>.487</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents value education</td>
<td>.485</td>
<td>.249</td>
<td>.203</td>
<td>.238</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I admire my mother</td>
<td>.310</td>
<td>.414</td>
<td>.244</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents helped me with homework</td>
<td>.400</td>
<td>.304</td>
<td>.345</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is very important to wear designer labels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.559</td>
<td>.400</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am more concerned about how I feel about myself than about how other people think about me</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.521</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What happens to me is my own doing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.505</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music is important in my life</td>
<td>.301</td>
<td>.494</td>
<td>-.278</td>
<td>.266</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents have high expectations of me</td>
<td>.365</td>
<td>.491</td>
<td></td>
<td>-.271</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have a regular girlfriend</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.387</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I seem to be capable of dealing with most problems that come up in life</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.316</td>
<td>.254</td>
<td>-.230</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I go to church regularly</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.692</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents expect me to go to university</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.532</td>
<td>.258</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value the support I receive from my church</td>
<td>.291</td>
<td>.292</td>
<td>.512</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The prospect of completing university motivates me</td>
<td>.378</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.396</td>
<td>.267</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyone should be free to choose their sexual orientation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>.262</td>
<td>-.306</td>
<td>.222</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If I disagree with members of my group I will behave independently of them</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
I like the clothes I wear to be identified with my friends  .724
How people walk at my age is important .550
My friends are predominantly African-Trinbagonians' .230 -.398 .453
It is more important to me that I listen to the same music as my friends -.394
Men and women should do the same jobs around the house .217 -.361
I do not believe anything is intrinsically wrong with using weed for recreational purpose -.288 -.309 .344
I sometimes cannot help but wonder if anything is worthwhile .653
Sometimes I do not feel in control .505
People like me have no say in what Government does .457
I feel people stereotype me on the basis of my race .228 .438
African-Trinbagonians hold high status jobs .221 -.255

4.4.3 Factor analysis merged data

A factor analysis of the complete data set was performed using the Principal Component Analysis method of extraction. Bartlett’s test of sphericity, which tests the overall significance of all the correlations within the correlation matrix, was significant ($\chi^2 (630) = 2296.010$, $p < 0.0001$). This indicates that it was appropriate to use the factor analytic model on this set of data. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin measure of sampling adequacy indicated that the strength of the relationships among variables was high (KMO = 0.709), greater than the 0.5 required to assess the adequacy of the sample (Field, 2000). Thus, it was acceptable to proceed with the analysis.
A varimax rotation was used to enable an interpretation and description of the results (Green et al., 2000; Tabachnick and Fidell, 2001). Examining the scree plot below (see Fig 4.3) the elbow occurs at a three factor solution, this was deemed to be most appropriate and accounted for 26% of the variance overall. However, the results of Parallel Analysis (Table 4.11) showed six components with eigenvalues exceeding the corresponding criterion values for a randomly generated data matrix of the same size (38 variables x 318 respondents). Ultimately a three factor solution was chosen (Table 4.12). This was due to the fact that three distinct patterns seemed to have emerged from looking at the two prior factor analyses.

Table 4.11 Comparison of eigenvalues from PCA and criterion values from Parallel Analysis

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Component number</th>
<th>Actual eigenvalue from PCA</th>
<th>Criterion value from Parallel Analysis</th>
<th>Decision</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.764</td>
<td>1.7207</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.561</td>
<td>1.6371</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.987</td>
<td>1.5690</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.708</td>
<td>1.5122</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>1.551</td>
<td>1.4629</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.422</td>
<td>1.4178</td>
<td>Accept</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>1.368</td>
<td>1.3749</td>
<td>Reject</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4.3.1 Factor 1 Community and self:

The first factor was robust, with a high eigenvalue of 4.76. It accounted for 13.23% of the variance. This factor had a high loading on music being important in life, church, admiring mother, high parental expectations and value for education and high levels of self-belief and sense of control.

4.4.3.2 Factor 2 Group affiliation:

Factor two had an eigenvalue of 2.56. It accounted for 7.1% of the variance. This factor had high loadings on the importance of group affiliation and lifestyle issues, low levels of self-belief and control and being likely to be stopped by the police.
4.4.3.3 Factor 3 Anti-accepted social norm:

The eigenvalue of factor three was 1.99 and it accounted for 5.5% of the variance. This factor had high loadings for music, being stereotyped by race, with negative loadings for church, education, jobs, and friends. This factor was thought to be anti-accepted social norms since it appears that boys in this cluster was very anti-establishment (see Table 4.12).

Table 4.12 Factor loadings for merged data

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Component</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents value education</td>
<td>.584</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents helped me with homework</td>
<td>.324</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is very important to wear designer labels</td>
<td>.536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music is important in my life</td>
<td>.333</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I admire my mother</td>
<td>.568</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I admire my father</td>
<td>.404</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African -Trinbagonians or British hold high status jobs</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents have high expectations of me</td>
<td>.573</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents expect me to go to university</td>
<td>.475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If I disagree with members of my group I will behave</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>independently of them</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ethnic groups feel uncomfortable with my presence</td>
<td>-.234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am likely to be stopped by the police</td>
<td>-.258</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value the support I receive from my church</td>
<td>.529</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A good education is important to success in life</td>
<td>.603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value education</td>
<td>.636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is more important to get a job as soon as possible</td>
<td>-.253</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>than to continue education</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The prospect of completing university motivates me</td>
<td>.494</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not believe anything is intrinsically wrong</td>
<td>-.394</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statement</td>
<td>UK</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I go to church regularly</td>
<td>.405</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to be with my friends</td>
<td>.232</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value being with my friends</td>
<td>.411</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My friends are predominantly African-Trinbagonians’</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have a regular girlfriend</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like the clothes I wear to be identified with my friends</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to me that I listen to the same music as my friends</td>
<td>-.243</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How people walk at my age is important</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyone should be free to choose their sexual orientation</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel people stereotype me on the basis of my race</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like myself</td>
<td>.519</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I can achieve whatever I set out to be</td>
<td>.660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What happens to me is my own doing</td>
<td>.287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes I do not feel in control</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I seem to be capable of dealing with most problems that come up in life</td>
<td>.279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes cannot help but wonder if anything is worthwhile</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am more concerned about how I feel about myself than about how other</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people think about me</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People like me have no say in what Government does</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Extraction Method: Principal Component Analysis.

a. 3 components extracted.

**4.4.4 Comparison between the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago samples**

A test for homogeneity of variance was carried out on the factor scores. There was no violation of the assumption of homogeneity. A one-way between-groups analysis of variance was conducted to explore differences in the two samples on the three factors. There were no statistically significant difference between Factors 1 and 3 at the p < 0.05.
level. However, there were statistically significant differences for Factor 2 \( (F(1, 315) = 27.87, p = 0.0001) \). There was a statistically significant effect in the between group comparison of Factor 2 with a mean score for the United Kingdom of 0.322 (SD = 1.061) and Trinidad and Tobago \( M = -0.251 \) (SD = 0.873). The United Kingdom participants seemed to place greater importance on group affiliation and lifestyle issues. They also had lower levels of self-belief and control and believed that they were more likely to be stopped by the police.

4.5 Chapter Summary

The evidence presented in this chapter was concerned with the different identities held by African Caribbean boys in the United Kingdom or the Caribbean and whether there were differences between the two groups. Comparisons of the means of both samples revealed few statistically significant differences. Key differences were:

- Trinidad and Tobago boys valued education more than the United Kingdom boys;
- United Kingdom parents were more likely to help with homework;
- Trinidad and Tobago boys were more likely to admire their father.

There were very few differences in social life, but the United Kingdom boys were more likely to agree that their friends were African Caribbean. Trinidad and Tobago boys were more likely to agree that people should be able to choose their sexual orientation. There was only one difference in self-perception, Trinidad and Tobago boys had slightly more positive responses to liking themselves.

In relation to issues of race United Kingdom young people were much more likely to report being stopped by the police and feeling stereotyped on the basis of race. The combined sample factor analysis confirmed that the United Kingdom boys were more concerned with group affiliation which was central to factor 2 in the combined analysis, had lower self-beliefs and believed that they were more likely to be stopped by the police.
Church was identified as significant factor according to the one way between group analysis (F (1,315) = 27.87, p = 0.0001) (see above). Church was identified in both groups as being important. Religion has always been important in the lives of African Caribbean and African Americans (Billingsley, 1999). The black church has historically played an important role in the African Caribbean or American community. Taylor and Chatters (2010) highlighted the importance of religion and spirituality to African American, Caribbean Blacks and Non-Hispanic Whites. They emphasized how the church has been pivotal in setting up various programs in relation to young people pertaining to social, educational and health issues in the communities that they live in. The church is seen as being able to reach out to the black community as it is likely to engender trust. Although school as an institution is important, it is tainted with institutional racism and therefore parents may be skeptical.
Chapter 5: Analysis of the participants’ imaginary letters to their fathers

“The effective, fervent prayer of a righteous man avails much” James 5:16

5.1 Analysis of the participants’ imaginary letters to their fathers

This chapter considers the findings in relation to the research question: What kinds of relationships do black male teenagers have with their fathers? It presents an analysis of the imaginary letters that the participants were asked to write to their fathers. Letters were used since it was believed that they would help to elicit how the absence or presence of a father figure in the household impacted on the boys. This was important as many African Caribbean boys in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago live in female-headed, single-parent households with non-resident fathers. It was felt that the impact of the absence of a father would help in understanding the formation of the boys’ identity and self-concept (Frazier 1948; Gutman 1976; Furstenberg 1988).

5.1.1 Analysis of letters

A thematic analysis framework was adopted for the analysis of the letters. The process involved reading through the letters and becoming familiar with the contents and identifying, analysing and reporting any patterns found within the data (Braun and Clarke, 2006). An inductive approach was adopted (Patton, 1990) where the data led the analysis, although previous research relating to absent fathers was drawn on where appropriate.

Each letter was read several times and commonalities were identified adopting Cooper and McIntyre’s (1993) seven stage process:

1. Reading a random sample of transcripts;
2. Identifying points of similarity and difference among these transcripts in relation to the research questions;

3. Generating theories (on the basis of 2) describing emergent answers to the research questions;

4. Testing theories against a new set of transcripts;

5. Testing new theories against transcripts already dealt with;

6. Carrying all existing theories forward to new transcripts;

7. Repeating the above process until all data were examined and all theories tested against all data.

Data familiarisation was critical to the process. This was accomplished by transcribing all the letters into a word document. Tentative codes were then developed giving verbal descriptions to the data. This process was refined and adjustments made as ideas developed at different stages of the analysis. Through a careful process of comparative analysis, the categories were tested, modified and reapplied to the data. In doing this the aim was to be as objective, systematic and self-critical as possible to conform to Cooper and McIntyre’s (1993) seven stage process. I also tried to set aside all my biases and prejudices, to describe the experiences before analysing them and to treat all data as being equal as suggested by Spinelli (1989). The process was verified by a second researcher who read a random sample of letters from both populations to check for commonality in the identification of themes.

Once the themes had been identified, examples were chosen to illustrate the various themes. These are set out in the following sections. In addition, to consolidate the findings the researcher adopted a numerical indication of the incidences and prevalence of each theme in the data (Howitt and Cramer, 2005). These were used to make comparisons between the two samples.
5.1.2 Themes emerging from letters to the father

One hundred (71.4%) letters were written within the 140 questionnaires which were completed by the UK sample. One hundred and forty (78.7%) letters were written within the 178 questionnaires completed by the Trinidad and Tobago sample. Eight main themes emerged from the analysis. These were:

1. Nature of relationship
2. Emotional connection
3. Positive or negative role model
4. High expectations
5. Supportive father
6. Strict/controlling father
7. Feelings for father
8. Independence

The following sections provide a description of each emerging theme and illustrative sections from the letters which support the categorisation. The percentages will not sum to 100% as not all participants referred to each theme in their response. The percentages reported below refer to the percentage of the whole sample from each country and not the sample of letter writers.

5.1.3 Nature of relationship

This theme related to the nature of the respondents' relationship with their father. Table 5.1 below shows that 9.4% of the United Kingdom sample indicated that their father was present in the household; while 17.1% indicated that they were absent. 7.3% did not respond in a way which enabled a categorisation to be made, 1.3% of respondents indicated that their father had died.
The respondents from Trinidad and Tobago also referred to their relationship with their father. Table 5.1 indicates that 19.2% of fathers were either present in the household or supportive, 10.3% had either left or were absent, 3.9% of the letters did not give a clear indication as to whether the father was present or not and for 1.1% of respondents, the father had died. Table 5.2 gives illustrative examples of what they wrote. A cross-tabs analysis showed that the difference in percentages between the two samples was statistically significant ($\chi^2 (3) = 9.89 < .05$).

### Table 5.1: Nature of relationship

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nature of relationship</th>
<th>Father present</th>
<th>Left/absent</th>
<th>Unknown</th>
<th>Dead</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>UK sample category</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No of respondents</td>
<td>9.4% (22)</td>
<td>17.1% (40)</td>
<td>7.3% (17)</td>
<td>1.3% (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago sample category</td>
<td>19.2% (69)</td>
<td>10.3% (37)</td>
<td>3.9% (14)</td>
<td>1.1% (4)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentages do not sum to 100% as not all participants referred to this theme in their responses

### Table 5.2: Illustrative examples from the letters

**UK sample**

Father present:

“I love you and thank God for you” (16, UK)

“Dad you’re the guy who’s there thanks” (19, UK)

Father absent:

“I am disappointed in you for the way you’ve treated me in the last 10 years you never call me not even a text …….” (17, UK)

“It’s been a few years since we last spoke or saw each other. I have had no interest in coming back to see you because I realised you are not and never have been a true father to me. I’m a three hour flight away and you’ve never come to see me. You don’t keep contact. You make no effort I’m 19 now which you probably didn’t know I will be 20 in five months. No longer a boy but a man. One day I’ll have kids that won’t have or know their grandfather because he doesn’t exist. He didn’t even exist for his own son.” (19, UK)
Dead:
“…..ever since you died nothing has been the same... You have been dead for six years (was 13 years when father died) now and I remember you like it was yesterday. " (19, UK)
“My father is deceased” (17, UK)

Trinidad and Tobago sample
Father present:
“Thank you for always being there for me” (NA, TT)
“……Firstly I would like to say that you are the best Father any child could have. The good times and the bad you were always their” (18, TT)

Left/absent:
“I don’t know you but deep down I feel that I do. I think that you are a scumbag who wants not to do with me” (13, TT)
“Never knew or met my father” (23, TT)
“I have been hurt ever since you left home and things have been downhill from since then. I wish and pray every day that you can return home” (20, TT)
“…..you should come over and visit me or come see me in school. You call yes but I feel that you forgetting where I am living” (14, TT)
“You are not around to see me nor I am to see you but I definitely love you. Through my childhood I say you just once which hurts my feelings. It is really affecting me now” (17, TT)

Dead:
“My father died when I was small” (16, TT)

5.1.4 Emotional connection to father

Table 5.3 below shows that 11.5% of the United Kingdom respondents indicated that they had a lot of love and affection for their father, while 4.7% were disappointed with their fathers either because they had left them or because of their father’s attitude towards them. 1.3% were sad because their father was not present. 1.7% of respondents indicated that their feelings were neutral, with 1.3% of them showing some form of dislike related to their father’s attitude or behaviour. 7.3% of respondents
expressed pent up hate and anger in relation to their father. Table 5.4 gives illustrative quotes.

The respondents from Trinidad and Tobago also referred to the emotional connection with their fathers. Table 5.3 indicates that 15.0% of respondents expressed love and affection towards their father, while 3.6% were disappointed with their father’s attitude or behaviour toward them. 1.7% of the boys showed sadness about the connection they had with their father, 0.3% were neutral, and 1.1% missed their fathers, whilst 4.7% of the boys indicated hate and anger towards their father. Most of the bboys longed for an emotional connection with their father. A cross-tabs analysis showed that the difference in percentages between the two samples was statistically significant ($\chi^2 (3) = 12.18 < .005$). Table 5.4 gives illustrative examples of what they wrote.

Table 5.3 Emotional connection

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UK Category</th>
<th>Emotional connection</th>
<th>Love and affection</th>
<th>Disappointed</th>
<th>Sad</th>
<th>Neutral</th>
<th>Dislike</th>
<th>Hate and Anger</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No of respondents</td>
<td>11.5% (27)</td>
<td>4.7% (11)</td>
<td>1.3% (3)</td>
<td>1.7% (4)</td>
<td>1.3% (3)</td>
<td>7.3% (17)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago Category</td>
<td>No of respondents</td>
<td>15.0% (54)</td>
<td>3.6% (13)</td>
<td>1.7% (6)</td>
<td>0.30% (1)</td>
<td>1.1% (4)</td>
<td>4.7% (17)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentages do not sum to 100% as not all participants referred to this theme in their responses
### Table 5.4: Illustrative examples from the letters

#### UK sample

**Love and affection**

“You made me what I am today and I thank you” (NA, UK)

“I love you so much without you I would not have been the man I am today. Thanks” (18, UK)

**Disappointment**

“I can only pray that my little brother grows to know he has an older brother who will always have him in his thoughts. You have been nothing but a failure to me and you are not worthy of the title “father” (19, UK)

“You’re out of order because you left me and mum on our own” (16, UK)

**Neutral**

“Nothing to express” (21, UK)

**Hate and anger**

“I have nothing to say!” (16, UK)

“I have no father as far as I’m concerned” (19, UK)

“2 months aint ceen u fcukin cunt duss n

Don’t cum back pussy!” (17, UK)

“fuck you dad I hate you, you’ve never really been there for me and I don’t need you” (16, UK)

“I don’t know my father” (15, UK)

#### Trinidad and Tobago sample

**Love and affection**

“I love you so much. I feel safe and comfortable around you. You always bring a smile to my face. There is no better father in the world than you. You are my best friend” (16, TT)

“…..Yah know you is my real horse so big up…..” (17, TT)

“Love, love you daddy for giving me life and for supporting me through my life. I will never forget you and I will always be there for you” (25, TT)
Disappointed

“This is a short letter letting you know how you have let me down over the years. I am very disappointed and I really can’t see how you can call yourself a father. I am your son and there are certain things you as a father is required to do……..” (17, TT)

“I am disappointed that you were not there for the family. I have turned out to be a fine young man……..” (14, TT)

“Dear father, I don’t hate you but yet am disappointed at you for abandoning me at a young age I wanted to know why. But I don’t care anymore when I see you I want to beat you up…..” (20, TT)

Sad

“How are you? I know we don’t have that father and son relation and we may never have but I hope we develop a relation that best suits both our lifestyles. I don’t know how you feel but calling you Dad is a little strange for me since I never had a father figure for 16 years and still counting……..I wish we could but it’s too late to fill in that empty space. It’s just too hard to let someone in who hasn’t been there to support you in your ups and downs” (16, TT)

“We have not talked for a while. I would really like to see you face to face and converse for even five minutes. You not being there when I need someone to look up to has left me hurt. Hearing my friends speak of the stuff they do with their fathers sometimes angers me and that happening for all my life has troubled me days and nights, even while I try to sleep…….” (19, TT)

Neutral

“I have no feelings towards you. So I can’t see myself writing this letter” (18, TT)

Missing dad

“….. you never stayed in touch but I am here and alive and please try to stay in contact 986-1486” (12, TT)

“…..I’m mad that you don’t come often but you should come. I still love you Dad and I expect to see u more” (13, TT)

“I miss having a father figure in my life and no one can play that role as you were designed to play its part” (20, TT)

Hate and anger

“I hate you, by the way Fou8ck you” (14, TT)

“Fock you Dad Fock and your mother” (14, TT)

“Things will never be different between you and me. It’s a shame I’m a part of you, the part I hate passionately. Go to hell!” (19, TT)
5.1.5 Positive or negative role model

Some letters referred to the way that fathers had been a role model. Table 5.5 below shows that in the UK, 6% of the boys’ indicated that their father was a positive role model, while 3% thought they were negative role models. Similarly, the respondents from Trinidad and Tobago outlined the importance of their fathers being positive or negative role models. Table 5.5 shows that 5.0% of the boys indicated that their father was a positive role model; with 2.5% indicating they were negative. Some fathers were seen as good role models and had great influence on their sons whilst some boys saw their fathers as a negative influence. These differences were not statistically significant. Table 5.6 gives illustrative examples of what they wrote.

Table 5.5: Positive or negative role model

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UK sample Category</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role model</td>
<td>Positive</td>
<td>Negative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No of respondents</td>
<td>6% (14)</td>
<td>3% (7)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinidad and Tobago sample Category</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No of respondents</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentages do not sum to 100% as not all participants referred to this theme in their responses
Table 5.6: Illustrative examples from the letters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UK sample</th>
<th>Positive</th>
<th>Negative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>“I admire the inspiration you have given me is infinite. You have showed me how to live with a state of mind that is free and ambitious how to be a gentleman and have pride in my race and family. I have always admired you and I cannot say I have any reasons to criticise you at all. You have been quite honestly a perfect father to me, and I wish that my life is fulfilled in the way I have planned so that you may see your principles in me manifest in the fruits of my efforts&quot; (17,UK)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“It's your great son here. I thank you for bringing me up the way you have. I am grateful that you have been a part of my life and I would probably be lost without you. Thanks dad for always being there.” (23, UK)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Hey dad this is just a brief letter to say that I admire what you’re doing. It’s hard to work and raise up. In your line of work the effort that you put into both your work and family is inspiring.” (20, UK)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>“There are things that you have done that have made me lose respect for you….” (23, UK)</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“It's all good telling me, Gillian and Lorraine we should have made more effort academically as it proves the way for future success. However, you never have a job for long even though they usually pay well – so I’m told. Lorraine’s only 13/15 so what you do influences her too.” (20, UK)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinidad and Tobago sample</th>
<th>Positive</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>“Well you like a role model to me. Your life story and your strength encourages me to on with life……” (17, TT)</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“……I'll do my best to turn out to be a man like you……” (16, TT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“……You truly are my mentor and thank you for your unfailing support, no matter the endeavours.” (TT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“……Your life story and your strength encourages me to go on with life. I really appreciate you in my life.” (TT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“….I'll do my best to turn out to be a man like you……” (TT)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.1.6 High expectations of some fathers

3.4% (8) of the United Kingdom boys indicated that their fathers had high expectations of them. No letters from the boys in the Trinidad and Tobago sample referred to this theme. Table 5.7 provides an illustrative example from the letters.

Table 5.7: An illustrative example from the letters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UK sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Dad you can be over protective and set out extremely high goals for me but this is just because you know the sky is the limit and want me to succeed plus you know I work better under pressure thanks 4 always being supportive Alex (mother died of cancer)” (15, UK)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.7 Supportive father – gratitude to father

9% (21) of United Kingdom respondents thought that their father was very supportive and expressed their gratitude for this as did 13.1% (47) of the Trinidad and Tobago sample. A cross-tabs analysis showed that the difference in percentages between the two samples was statistically significant ($\chi^2 (3) = 18.7 < 001$). Examples from the letters are given in Table 5.8.
Table 5.8: Illustrative examples of letters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UK sample</th>
<th></th>
<th>Trinidad and Tobago sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“….I thank you for bringing me up the way you have. I am grateful that you have been a part of my life and I would probably be lost without you. Thanks dad for always being there.” (UK)</td>
<td>“I want to thank you for supporting me in almost all the thing I did and even have to do” (18, TT)</td>
<td>“You have shaped me into who I am today. I believe that without you my life would not have been as wonderful as it is. I thank you for everything you have done for me…..” (TT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Dad, thank you for having me and looking after to this stage of my life. Also for giving birth to my brothers and sisters and showing them just as much care. I will always love you because you have made a great sacrifice in staying with us. You are what a father should be, and are a prime example of a handsome and intelligent, black man, and you do every black man justice by being who you are and having these qualities. You have set a great example for me, and helped me to get through life. Thank you so much dad, your son Nathan.” (17, UK)</td>
<td>“You have looked after and cared for me for nearly 17 years without ever leaving my side. I appreciate and love you…….Thank you for my education and the amount of time, money and effort you have given to me in my sporting endeavours…..” (17, UK)</td>
<td>“I want you to know how much I love and respect you for all you have taught me and continue to teach me. You truly are my mentor and thank you for your unfailing support, no matter the endeavours” (TT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“Thanks for the car dad. I love you so much without you I would not have been the man I am today. Thanks.” (UK)</td>
<td></td>
<td>“I just want to tell u that I really appreciate you as an individual. You have made me to be the person I am today….. I really do admire you cause you are my father and I love you……I thank you for your love towards me.” (TT)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.1.8 Strict or controlling father

2.6% (6) of United Kingdom respondents thought their fathers were strict and controlling while 1.4% (5) of the Trinidad and Tobago respondents did so. A cross-tabs analysis showed that there was no statistically significant difference in these responses. Examples from the letters are given in Table 5.9

Table 5.9: Illustrative examples of letters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UK sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“I don’t always show you how I feel but you know, there’s a lot of things you don’t approve of. You swear blind to everyone that I don’t smoke it’s the bad influence of my friends. I heard you tell mum to put up a no smoking sign in my bedroom so that my mates will see it but I also smoke, not in front of you but behind your back. You’re not happy now I bring my friends home late at night and play loud music but it sounds rubbish turned down low. I know I can’t be bothered to keep my room clean and tidy but I’ve got more important things to do. Like answering my mobile and going out. I don’t have time to sit and eat with the family. I’m really busy.” (UK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I think it is a hard life, at home I feel safe and I know if I come in late you are too tired to argue with me. All I want to do is chill out in my room and I don’t want anyone to bother me. I listen to what you have to say and I do respect your house rules and all that but I also want to have my life even if you don’t agree with me driving around with my friends as you say up to nothing but we enjoy doing that.” (23, UK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“….when I wanted to stay out late and you always said that staying out late would not help me pass my exams. You kept pushing me to do better knowing I was more than capable of passing my exams. I thank you Dad for this.” (20, UK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I know you want me to be a successful but I want to leave and lead my own life” (UK)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinidad and Tobago sample</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“I sometimes wish we could talk more with each other on a neutral basis without having to deal with your position of authority…..” (19, TT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“………Also I believe in letting people experience life and that mistakes are perfectly normal however you don’t seem to think so. Mistakes are just unacceptable in your regime and again I can’t stand you for this……..” (20, TT)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
5.1.9 Critical of father/ challenging to father / rejecting of father / admiration for father

Table 5.10 shows that 4.7% of United Kingdom respondents were very critical of their fathers, with 0.4% of respondents challenging their father's behaviour and 6.8% of the boys indicating the admiration they had for them. The respondents from Trinidad and Tobago were either critical of their father and indicated an alternative self for themselves to their fathers' behaviour (not wanting to be like their fathers) or indicated the admiration they had for their fathers. Table 5.10 shows that 9.8% of Trinidad and Tobago respondents were very critical about their fathers, with 2.0% of respondents wanting to be different from their father and 3.1% indicating the admiration they had for their father.

A cross-tabs analysis showed that the difference in percentages between the two samples was statistically significant ($\chi^2 (3) = 12.12 < .01$). Table 5.11 gives illustrative examples of what they wrote.

**Table 5.10: Critical of father/ challenging to father / rejecting of father / admiration for father**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UK Category</th>
<th>Attitude to father</th>
<th>Critical</th>
<th>Challenging</th>
<th>Rejecting</th>
<th>Admiration</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No of respondents</td>
<td>4.7% (11)</td>
<td>0.4% (1)</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>6.8% (16)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago Category</td>
<td>No of respondents</td>
<td>9.8% (35)</td>
<td>Nil</td>
<td>2.0% (7)</td>
<td>3.1% (11)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Percentages do not sum to 100% as not all participants referred to this theme in their responses
Table 5.11: Illustrative examples from letters relating to being critical or admiring father

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UK sample</th>
<th>Critical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Why? Do you think u can make a difference in my life? Do you want to get involved in my life now? Now do u want to be part of the family? I am doing fine with my life, I do not need u now or ever u cannot offer me any family values? What r u 2 me?” (19, UK)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“You should take more care of us through the years. You also seem to do things in your own interest you are a selfish man. I hope you change your ways. You’re going to be on your own soon” (NA, UK)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Admiration</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“you made me what I am today and so I thank you” (NA, UK)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trinidad and Tobago sample</th>
<th>Critical</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“I feel as if I am not fully appreciated by you from your reaction to me. I may not be able to achieve excellence at all times, but I try my best. Please accept me for who I am and for not who you want me to be” (21, TT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“……I see myself in life completely different to you. While you work and maintain you second family I want to be working playing football and maintaining one family. I cannot see myself having different children with a couple of different women……..” (15, TT)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Alternative self</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“……My mindset is not to treat my family as you have done. I’ll make myself stronger better and more knowledgeable than any of you” (19, TT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“……I would use your life example as an example of not what to do with my life” (22, TT)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Admiration</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“I have always admired the way in which you have treated your family. You have greatly influenced my life and for that I am eternally grateful……..” (18, TT)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“I admire you so much I want to be like him or even better……..” (15, TT)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5.1.10 Father’s behaviour led to independence

1.3% of United Kingdom respondents thought their father’s behaviour had led them to become more independent. 1.4% of the respondents from Trinidad and Tobago also referred this. A cross-tabs analysis showed that the difference in percentages between
the two samples was not statistically significant. Table 5.12 gives illustrative examples.

### Table 5.12: Illustrative examples of letters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>UK sample</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>“Hi daddy how are you I am doing fine I’m at uni now where I’m staying is fine. I have finally made it and I hope you are proud of me. Even though I find myself confident and independent. I think you not being here has made me more determined to succeed in life.” (18, UK)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>“I really don’t like you father. You are a little fraction of a man. I will ensure I don’t grow to be like you nor will my son. You are very selfish and not short of being a bully. You are fake and a liar. I really do hope you find happiness as I am extremely happy without you. I am an admired and respected individual who takes pride in the efficient completion. In any given task – a champion! I done it without you! Holla. I also have a degree….Damn I’m good. Bitch!” (22, UK)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Trinidad and Tobago sample                                              |                                                                 |                                                                 |
| “…..I have already become used to living for myself. You should just leave me alone. I have already proven that I make good decisions and am doing pretty well in school, so when I’m successful in life you will not be responsible” (17, TT) |                                                                 |                                                                 |

### 5.2 Chapter Summary

The imaginary letters to the boys’ fathers revealed the importance of the father/son relationship. The nature of the data meant that it was not possible to draw definitive conclusions from the percentage of times that each category was referred to. However, the sample of boys from Trinidad and Tobago referred to having more fathers present in their lives. The United Kingdom sample expressed more anger towards their fathers typically because they felt that they had been abandoned. In contrast, a higher proportion of the boys from Trinidad and Tobago expressed their love for their fathers. There was no difference in the extent to which fathers were perceived as role models or in the extent to which they were perceived to be strict. Only boys from the United Kingdom sample referred to the high expectations which their fathers had of them. They were also less critical of their fathers and a greater percentage referred to admiring them. Despite this the Trinidad and Tobago sample referred to a higher level of support from their fathers.
Chapter 6: The story pictures tell

“Whatever you do, do it heartily, as to the Lord” Colossians 3:23

6.1 The story pictures tell

This chapter sets out the findings from the drawings that the young people made of themselves in the world. The young people were given the opportunity to provide a visual representation of the way that they saw themselves in the world to provide a snapshot of their lives. This approach was adopted as it was thought that some young people might be better able to articulate their perceptions of their lives through drawings rather than with text and that the pictures would help triangulate and add depth to the quantitative analysis and the analysis of the imaginary letters to fathers. 145 young people provided drawings from the Trinidad and Tobago sample and 96 young people from the United Kingdom sample.

6.1.1 Drawings as a research method

Drawings as a methodology have been used in a range of social research. Examples include arts-based research (Knowles and Cole, 2008), participatory visual methodologies (De Lange, 2008; Rose, 2001), textual approaches to visual studies (Mitchell, 2011) and a range of psychological studies. MacGregor et al., (1998) successfully used drawings with children and adults, asking them to ‘write and draw’ and ‘talk and draw’. Using drawings allows exploration of the thinking and feelings of children (MacGregor et al., 1998) and adults (Guillemin, 2004; Theron, 2008). The drawings of adults, in particular, can reveal memories, thoughts and feelings which are not always easily expressed in words. Mertens (2009) argues that drawings give a voice to marginalised groups.

In the current research the drawings were used to enable the participating young people
to express feelings which they might have been uncomfortable about expressing in words. A thematic approach was adopted to analyse the drawings. All the participants expressed similar themes in their drawings suggesting that these themes were dominant within these communities and provided important insights into the participants’ lives and beliefs.

6.1.2 Analysis of the drawings

There is a long history of analysing children’s drawings. They were used in early research as a medium to understand child development relating to personality characteristics, emotional states, perceptions and attitudes to see if drawings could provide accurate representations (Buck, 1966; Koppitz, 1968; Machover, 1949). If children drew human figures this was believed to represent their inner self, although Malchiodi (1998) has argued that empirically there is insufficient evidence to support this kind of interpretation. Ehrleen (2008) argued that drawings should be interpreted from the children’s own meanings, while Cherney et al. (2006) and Rubin (1984) suggest that interpretations of drawings must be taken in the context of socio-cultural upbringing. Haney, Russeo and Bebell (2004) suggest that children’s drawings can be used as a valid and reliable source for educational research. More recent research supports this view (Literat, 2013).

Drawings have also been used with adults. For instance, Gaventa (2006) used drawing with teachers in a longitudinal project on how teachers could promote resilience in schools in South Africa. However, in most of the research the analysis of the drawings is supported by interviews or other forms of verbal commentary (Guillemin, 2004) with the drawings being used as visual stimulus for discussion of their meaning. Typically, these data are then used to complete a thematic analysis.

There is little research where drawings have been analysed without verbal commentary. Where this has been undertaken size of objects is important in the analysis process. Size
in children's drawings usually has a relationship with feelings towards these objects (Sechrest and Wallace, 1964, Burkitt et al., 2003, Thomas, Biafora and Warheit, 1989). Large objects tend to indicate positive elements, small objects negative elements (Burkitt et al., 2003, p. 580-581). Creech (2006) in her research on music education with children used drawings to help her understand the child's perspective with respect to violin playing and suggested that there is a psychological affinity to large size, while small size suggests a defensive mechanism.

In the current study, the drawings were grouped into themes according to their content in a manner similar to the coding of the imaginary letters to fathers. This involved examining all of the drawings and establishing themes; going through all the pictures from both samples and developing a consistent set of themes for the various categories. This is a complex process and the content of the drawings may be able to be interpreted in more than one way (Rose, 2001). To address this issue, two experienced researchers discussed and verified the emerging themes as a means of establishing the reliability of the themes generated as the thematic analysis of the drawings required inferences to be made about their meaning. In a few cases alternative interpretations were acknowledged and described. Where content could be categorized into more than one theme, as would be the case when analyzing interview data, the drawing was allocated more than one code.

### 6.2 The themes emerging from the drawings

Figure 6.1 sets out seven main themes with their sub-categories. These were: lifestyle; everyday life; aspirations and success; powerfulness and powerlessness; relationships with others; emotions; and education. The most complex themes were those relating to lifestyle, everyday life and emotions. The lifestyle theme included themes relating to music, dress, the church and gang activity. These drawings were often complex. Closely
related to this theme were issues about everyday life and choices and decisions relating to it. Relationships with others included positive feelings and those of loneliness and isolation. The emotions or feeling theme included sub-themes relating to being happy, sad, and stressed. Two further themes concerned aspirations and success and being powerful or powerless. Education also emerged as a theme but somewhat disconnected from the other themes. The term education was adopted rather than school as a number of the participants were in education post-school. The next sections provide examples of drawings which illustrate each theme and its sub-themes where appropriate.

Figure 6.1 Categories of drawings
6.3 Lifestyle

Several sub-themes emerged relating to lifestyle. These included religion; dress; Gangster; music, sports and drama.

6.3.1 Music/sports/drama

Two examples of drawings depicting musical activity are set out in Figures 6.2 and 6.3. Figure 6.2 shows a boy entertaining an audience. The drawing of the boy is dominant in the picture suggesting that he had a positive view of himself. This is reinforced by the speech bubble which indicates he was attempting to uplift the audience. Figure 6.3 also presents a positive outlook. The drawing of the face dominates the picture, with the musical notation indicating that the boy is singing rather than speaking.

Figure 6.2 (UK): entertaining and uplifting an audience
Sports were also an important emerging theme. Figure 6.4 is a complex drawing. It shows a boy attending college between 8am and 2pm and then taking part in sports from 2:30 pm until 5pm. The size of the buildings and the small size of the figure suggest that the boy's life is dominated by education and sporting activities. The boy is not depicted as smiling which suggests that he may not be entirely motivated by either of these activities. In contrast, in Figure 6.5, the drawing of the boy is the focus suggesting that for him football is important and makes a positive contribution to his life. The boy is drawn as muscular, with the number 7 on his shorts perhaps representing a favourite player.
6.3.2 Dress/style/friends

Themes relating to style of dress and friendships also emerged. Figure 6.6 from a participant in Trinidad and Tobago illustrates the use of ‘bling’ in dressing. The central role of the figure indicates that the boy is positive about himself, the bling perhaps
contributing to his identity. Figure 6.7 is again dominated by the drawing of the boy but in this case at different stages of his life. This development is shown facially by the change from a dummy being in the mouth of the infant, to a moustache in the last drawing. It illustrates the development of what for him is a positive identity with the importance of stylised dressing and brand illustrated by the Nike sign. As a young adult other changes are illustrated as his dress conforms to the group to which he now belongs, work related clothes dominating, with him depicted as standing on the top of the world. The facial expressions and body language indicate defiance and are expressed in all of the drawings even those of himself as an infant. This would seem to be an important element of his identity. Figure 6.8 shows close group affiliation and friends sharing a similar dress code. The figures dominate the drawing suggesting that friendships are very important for this individual and make a positive contribution to his life. Dressing in a similar style may contribute to this.

**Figure 6.6 (TT): Stylised dressing**
6.3.3 Gangster/drugs/girls/sex

The gangster lifestyle was represented by drawings of guns or drugs. Figure 6.9 illustrates a drive by shooting. The car is the dominant feature in the drawing with the driver only partially seen. The drawing clearly illustrates the lifestyle of the participant but
the relative size of the drawing of himself suggests defensiveness and perhaps fear. In contrast, while still focused on the gangster lifestyle, Figure 6.10 illustrates a young boy saying ‘screw the world’ wearing stylised clothes, with a gun at his side. The boy is the dominant element in the drawing suggesting that he is positive about his adoption of this lifestyle. In Figure 6.11 the boy is absent from the drawing which focuses on the influences on his life, violence, crime, drugs and making money hustling. His absence from the drawing suggests that he wishes to absent himself from these activities. The boy in Figure 6.12 is drawn alongside an illustration of an area which is a ghetto. The drawing of himself is large in comparison with the ghetto. As he is outside the ghetto this may indicate a wish to leave it.

Figure 6.9 (TT): A drive by shooting
Figure 6.10 (TT): Gun possession and negative attitude to the world

Figure 6.11 (UK): Illustration of a life of violence, crime and drugs
6.3.4 Religion

For some UK participants the church and religion were important. Figure 6.13 depicts a boy who is committed to Christianity, faces challenges to this lifestyle but is focused in maintaining it. The size of the figures in relation to the environment and the narrow and long pathway suggest that the pressures are immense. Another participant drew a bible (see Figure 6.14). The individual himself was not included in the drawing. This could be interpreted as indicating that religion dominates his life and that he willingly diminishes his self-interest to religion or that he wishes that religion did not dominate his life. There is no means of determining which of these applies.
6.4 Everyday life

The theme of everyday life emerged in relation to the complexity of the lives of some of the young people, how they managed competing time demands, and issues relating to choices and indecision about lifestyle.

6.4.1 Complex lives

Some of the drawings reflected the complexity of the young people’s lives. Figure 6.15 illustrates several themes: family, education, marriage, financial stability and a social life, alongside religious convictions. The individual himself is not included in the drawing. It is therefore difficult to interpret his responses to these various themes in his life. Figure 6.16 illustrates an individual who spends time reflecting on his situation. The drawing depicts church, family life and financial stability. The figure is well dressed and gives an impression of someone who is powerful and carefully reflecting on his life. The young person uses a lot of bubble and narrative to clearly highlight his thoughts. Figure 6.17 depicts two major elements, one is desire, and the other is procrastination. On one side teachers and the church are congratulating the young person on his good performance, on the other he is being bullied and perceives a lack of respect when at school. A hand
holds the depiction of himself which is in a bubble perhaps indicating that he is being supported in some way. The bubble also contains symbols of church, love (a heart) and scales perhaps indicating justice. It is not clear whether these are in tension with each other. The figure itself is clearly and strongly defined indicating confidence.

Figure 6.15 (TT): A complex life (1)

Figure 6.16 (UK): A complex life (2)
6.4.2 Managing a range of different life activities

This theme concerned managing a range of different life activities. Figure 6.18 illustrates how this young person had to juggle different life routines such as school, work and recreation. He is the dominant element in the drawing suggesting that he is in control, but with support from friends and family. The double ended arrow suggests that he also provides support to them. Figure 6.19 shows the small figure of a boy whose life appears to be dominated by school and work a situation which the close proximity of the buildings suggests he feels trapped in. In Figure 6.20 the young person is central to the picture and larger than the other objects but clearly has a lot of different demands on his time. His smile suggests that this does not constitute a problem for him. The size of the different elements in the drawing suggests that some elements are more important than others. For instance, work, money, food and Microsoft are all represented in capital letters and are large in proportion to other elements.
Figure 6.18 (TT): Managing everyday life (school; church; home and stress)

Figure 6.19 (TT): Juggling work and school
6.4.3 Difficulties with managing competing time demands

There was evidence that some young people found managing competing demands on their time difficult. Figure 6.21 illustrates very clearly the daily struggles and life problems of stress, depression, relationships and health and the difficulties experienced in dealing with these. The figure of the young person is much smaller than the burden he is carrying. Figure 6.22 shows a boy aiming to succeed, facing various situations in life and with decisions to make. He illustrates this by having to walk a tightrope. If he falls he can be caught up in drugs, robbery and being on benefits. The tightrope is relatively wide and the figure itself substantial which suggests that he believes he can succeed. Figure 6.23 shows another boy who seems to be overwhelmed with life problems. He summarises this in the caption stating ‘everything always cumming down on me’. He uses symbolism to illustrate the problems with him under a raincloud with the rain pouring down on him. The final example (Figure 6.24) illustrates a boy trying to achieve success as he climbs a ladder. The ladder is broken indicating that he feels that he will not be successful. In addition to this, there is only a partial representation of himself.
Figure 6.21 (TT): Daily struggles and life problems

Figure 6.22(UK): Walking a tightrope in life
6.4.4 Choices and indecision about lifestyle

Some of the drawings showed confusion in the minds of the young people about the future they should select. Figure 6.25 depicts a boy faced with three options and they are all one way, which indicates once chosen there is no turning back. No indication is given about what is at the end of them. He himself is portrayed as small in comparison with the buildings suggesting a lack of confidence and perhaps fear. Figure 6.26 is more telling in that there are four options available, girls, A levels, work, or relaxation, with the question 'where do I go' clearly indicating choices to be made. The boy is portrayed at the centre and is very small perhaps indicating indecision. Figure 6.27 indicates two
options; one being right, the other wrong. Again, the boy is unsure which direction to take. The drawing for this theme indicates two roads that can also be taken, one being easy while the other is long and hard. The easy road includes money, drugs and hoes (whores), but the fate might be imprisonment while the hard road is rocky as the drawing indicates but the end of it is an ‘admirable life’. The decision made will have long term consequences and there appears to be no way back (Figure 6.28). Figure 6.29 shows a university, a gym, reference to relaxation and work and a drawing of a head with five different thought captions. The boy highlights the various activities he has in his life, opportunities, politics, jobs, relationships and education. He has to prioritise amongst these in order to gain maximum benefit. The facial expression of the figure suggests that he is unsure about how to rank the various demands on his time. He seems to be in employment while attending university. This means balancing the competing demands of earning money and his education. He recognizes the importance of education but also needs to work.

**Figure 6.25 (TT): Three options**
Figure 6.26 (TT): Cross roads

Figure 6.27 (UK): Left or right

Figure 6.28 (UK): Easy versus hard road
6.5 Powerful and powerless

An important theme which emerged was that relating to being powerful and being powerless. This theme was characterised in many ways. For instance, Figure 6.30 shows how one boy drew himself as a superhero, larger than the other people, in charge of law and order, some people being afraid of his presence while others appreciated him. In the caption he stated ‘Educate the world’ depicting his power and also a desire to be admired and do well.

Figure 6.31 illustrates a boy as the sole authority, again depicted as larger than the other characters with people being afraid of him, almost as if they are worshipping his greatness. The final example of this theme (Figure 6.32) shows a boy on top of the world holding the power of law and order but also love for all, suggesting fairness. The hand gesture is one of peace. In all of these examples the depiction of self is the dominant element suggesting positive self-perceptions. In contrast, Figure 6.33 illustrates a different kind of power through detachment from the world. Anger is indicated by the hand gesture. The size of the figure suggests that the young man feels in control.
Figure 6.30 (TT): Superhero

Figure 6.31 (TT): The boss
Contrasting with the theme of being powerful was the theme of being powerless. This was illustrated by drawings where the individual was ‘small’ in the world. In Figure 6.34 powerlessness is illustrated by the boy drawing himself as a small dot suggesting his insignificance in a much larger world. Figure 6.35 shows a boy being crushed by the world. This is distinctive in relation to the other drawings of a figure carrying the world on his shoulders as in this drawing the figure is very small and insignificant. Another boy drew himself as a small fish in a big pond, again suggesting his insignificance (Figure 6.36). In Figure 6.37 the boy is portrayed as a small figure with the text indicating that he
perceives himself as lost.

**Figure 6.34 (TT): Insignificant**

**Figure 6.35 (TT): Crushed by the world**

**Figure 6.36 (UK): Relative unimportance**

Small fish in a big pond
6.6 Aspirations and success

A number of the drawings illustrated the aspirations of the participants in terms of future careers. Typically, the drawings relating to aspirations showed the young men as adults. For instance, Figure 6.38 illustrates the aspiration of one young person wishing to be an engineer. The self-figure is looking up clearly indicating aspiration. He also has a clipboard suggesting that he is in charge. Figure 6.39 shows a psychologist at his desk working with a client. Figure 6.40 shows a boy with the aspiration of becoming a barrister illustrating growth from womb to adulthood. The figure dominates the drawing suggesting confidence in this aspiration. The final example in this theme illustrates a boy’s aspiration using a podium. He puts his family and friends first, his dance career second and finally himself. He illustrates himself giving a motivational talk, seeing himself as a mentor to other people having achieved his aims (Figure 6.41).
Figure 6.38 (TT): Engineer

Figure 6.39 (TT): Psychologist

Figure 6.40 (UK): Barrister (through life stages)
Some of the drawings illustrated what represented success for the participants. Figure 6.42 illustrates a boy having a job, family and home. The boy is the largest of the figures and is comparatively large in relation to the buildings suggesting a positive outlook in relation to achieving success in these terms. Figure 6.43 shows a boy who is the focus of the drawing surrounded by trophies, being photographed by the paparazzi and on the front cover of a broadsheet (daily newspaper). The drawing of the figure illustrates confidence and self-belief. Figure 6.44 shows a boy who has made being obedient to God central even though there are other key elements in is life. He is not the dominant figure in the drawing, although he is central suggesting that he sees himself more equal, rather than more important, than others. The final example for what constitutes success shows a boy being independent, hard-working and determined, completing his dreams, being a family man and caring for others. The caption depicts the things that he thinks are important for being a complete person (Figure 6.45).
Figure 6.42 (TT): Job and family

Figure 6.43 (TT): Champion
6.7 Emotions

Some of the drawings represented emotions. Figure 6.46 shows a boy who is sad whilst his friends appear to be happy. He has rain clouds over his head which tends to suggest that he perceives that everything goes wrong for him. Figure 6.47 also illustrates a boy who is sad with what appears to be a banana skin on the ground in front of him suggesting he is afraid of slipping up in his life. He is on his way home, maybe depicting that all is not well at home. Figure 6.48 shows two aspects of the participant, one being sad, the other angry, while Figure 6.49 shows all four emotions of sadness, hate, happy, and love. There is no human figure in the drawing and a vehicle of some kind, possibly a plane. It is not possible to interpret the relevance of the vehicle maybe it might suggest
that the vehicle could be used to get away from current problems.

Figure 6.46 (TT): Sad boy versus happy friends

Figure 6.47 (TT): Sad boy (maybe problems at home)

Figure 6.48 (UK): Sad versus angry
6.8 Relationships with others

A further theme related to relationships with others. In some cases, this was positive indicating how the self was perceived as a result of interactions with others, while in others it represented loneliness and isolation. Figure 6.50 shows the young person with his four friends who he describes as the fantastic four. The figures are all smiling and he is portrayed as the only one wearing a hat perhaps indicating a leadership role. Figure 6.51 features a large face which completely dominates the drawing which suggests confidence, although the descriptor ‘They say I’m a big head that laughs like an old man’ is difficult to interpret.
Some of the drawings indicated loneliness and isolation. Figures 6.52, 6.53, 6.54 and 6.55 illustrate loneliness. Figure 6.52 shows four different groups of young people with the respondent not included in any of them. The caption he provides is ‘living alone and ignored’. He clearly wants to be included but is having difficulty being accepted. Figure 6.53 shows a lone figure with no apparent connection with people in a rural environment with a cloudy sky. The individual who drew Figure 6.54 participated in the pilot study in
addition to the main study. There was therefore interview material to support the analysis of the drawing which depicts a boy who feels isolated from everyone and in order to cope with the world uses an alter-ego. He takes on the personality of what appears to be a scary animal. The animal face is huge suggesting a large body. This alter-ego allows him to take control of his problems so that he no longer needs to hide himself in a hood. Figure 6.55 shows ‘all of the people in the world’ with the young person isolated from them.

**Figure 6.52 (TT): Isolated**

![Isolated](image1)

**Figure 6.53 (TT): Alone**

![Alone](image2)
6.9 Education

The term education was used for this theme rather than school as some of the young people were no longer at school but at college. Education was often disconnected from the other themes. Figure 6.56 and Figure 6.57 illustrate classroom situations. In Figure 6.56 the boy is alone in the classroom working diligently, indicating the importance he
attaches to education. In Figure 6.57 the boys are at the front of the classroom and are very attentive to what is taking place. The blackboard is large in relation to the boys as is the teacher’s desk. This might indicate how important they believe a good education to be or how powerless they feel in relation to the education system. Figure 6.58 shows the subjects being studied, all highly academic. These are represented by books and a large pencil and work being undertaken. These are all super-sized which again might indicate the importance of education or perhaps its challenges and difficulty. The inclusion of the DVDs and the large musical notation suggests an interest in music perhaps as a means of relaxing when not working. Figure 6.59 shows a boy who is happy to enter and engage in learning at school in contrast to those behind him who seem to be more reluctant, not smiling. He has drawn himself a little larger than them and is first in front of the huge school door. This suggests the value that he places on education, its importance and for him, the prospect of doing well which will lead to future success.

**Figure 6.56 (TT): Classroom – Focus on himself**
Figure 6.57 (TT): Classroom environment

Figure 6.58 (UK): Studies (Educational aspiration)

Figure 6.59 (UK): Happy to attend school
6.10 Chapter summary

This chapter illustrated the aspirations and concerns of the young people. Their drawings provided a rich source of data which helped to give an insight into the young people’s lived experiences. Some of the drawings conveyed strong emotions and experiences especially those that dealt with powerlessness or gangster life in Trinidad and Tobago. Some boys were disenchanted with the world.
Chapter 7: Cluster Analysis and Crosstabs

‘God will make the way of escape, that we may be able to bear it’ 1 Corinthians 10:13

7.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings for a cluster analysis which complements the findings from the factor analysis. A cluster analysis was undertaken to bring together the data from the statements in the questionnaire and the imaginary letter to fathers.

7.2 Theoretical considerations relating to cluster analysis

A cluster analysis looks for similarities in data and allocates respondents into a particular group (Bartholomew et al., 2002). Cluster analysis techniques allow the exploration of data to see if they can be summarised into smaller clusters or groups. This is done by grouping members that are similar in one group but yet dissimilar or different to other groups or clusters (Everitt, Landau and Leese, 2001). Cluster analysis complements factor analysis. The main objective of a factor analysis is to try and explain most of the variability among a number of observable random variables in terms of a smaller number of unobservable random variables called factors. A cluster analysis aims at grouping homogenous cases or people into clusters.

The first stage of a cluster analysis includes the generation of a similarity or distance matrix. A decision on the number of clusters and their interpretation is then conducted. The efficiency of the cluster solution can be tested using discriminant analysis to predict the membership of the clusters (Bradfield and Orloci, 1975; Green and Vascotto, 1978). The validation procedure involves applying discriminant analysis to the same data used for the cluster analysis to see how well the cluster membership is predicted.
Clustering analysis techniques can be divided into hierarchical and optimisation techniques (Everitt et al., 2001). Hierarchical clustering techniques are divided into agglomerative and divisive methods. In such methods, the classification is not conducted in a single step, but consists of a series of partitions that may run from a single cluster containing all the individuals to ‘n’ clusters each containing a single individual (Everitt et al., 2001). Hierarchical classifications are represented by a two-dimensional diagram known as a ‘dendrogram’. The dendrogram illustrates the fusions (agglomerative methods) or divisions (divisive methods) made at each stage of the analysis. Hierarchical cluster methods suffer from the fact that once individuals have been joined or split by the algorithm, the clustering process cannot be reversed and so cannot be repaired (Everitt et al., 2001). This method is better suited for smaller samples (<250). K-Means cluster analysis assumes a reasonably large sample, this research had a sample size of N =317 which was considered adequate. This included the entire sample.

7.2.1 The cluster analysis

The cluster analysis focused on the 38 questions in the questionnaire. A K-Means cluster analysis was performed. In order to determine the number of clusters needed a hierarchical cluster analysis using Ward’s method applying squared Euclidean Distance was undertaken. An agglomeration schedule was generated which indicates all possible permutations of clusters from 1 to 316 (number of cases). From this, taking the coefficients and reforming the agglomeration taking into consideration the changes enabled the determination of the optimum number of clusters (see Table 7.1). Three clusters were chosen since it was believed that any number beyond three added no value in distinguishing between the cases. Table 7.1 sets out why three clusters were chosen. This step makes it possible to see the changes in the coefficients as the number of clusters increases in order to determine the optimum number of clusters. In this case it
is possible to see that three clusters were optimum since any succeeding clustering added very little to distinguishing between cases.

Table 7.1 Re-formed agglomeration table

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No of clusters</th>
<th>Agglomeration last step</th>
<th>Coefficients this step</th>
<th>Change</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>17,363.558</td>
<td>16,500.711</td>
<td>862.847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>16,500.711</td>
<td>15,942.604</td>
<td>558.107</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>15,942.604</td>
<td>15,528.975</td>
<td>413.629</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>15,528.975</td>
<td>15,184.292</td>
<td>344.683</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>15,184.292</td>
<td>14,866.397</td>
<td>317.895</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In summary, cluster solutions of four and five were rejected in favour of a three cluster solution. This was chosen because it was thought that it was effective in distinguishing between the different types of boys. The three Cluster solution produced clusters broadly containing a similar number of students for clusters one and three, with a smaller number of boys in Cluster two. The number of students in each Cluster can be seen in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2 Number of students in each cluster

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>No of boys</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Looking at the solution of the K-Means Cluster analysis, it was important to identify the variables that mostly contributed to the separation of the three clusters. An F statistic was generated as part of the analysis to see which variables were significantly (<0.05)
different in the three clusters. The higher the F values of the variable, the higher the contribution. The results showed that all variables, with the exception of six, contributed significantly to the separation of the clusters. These were the variables ‘African Trinbagonians or Black British hold high status jobs’ (F = 2.502, p = 0.084); ‘If I disagree with members of my group I will behave independently of them’ (F = 1.030, p = 0.358); ‘It is important to be with my friends’ (F = 2.831, p = 0.60), ‘I have a regular girlfriend’ (F = 2.838, p = 0.60); ‘Everyone should be free to choose their sexual orientation’ (F = 2.270, p = 0.105) and ‘I seem to be capable of dealing with most problems that come up in life’ (F = 1.480, p = 0.229). The ten variables making the highest contribution were ‘A good education is important to success in life’ (F = 68.563, p < 0.0001); ‘I am likely to be stopped by police’ (F = 61.414, p < 0.0001); ‘I value education’ (F = 57.141, p < 0.0001); ‘The prospect of completing university motivates me’ (F = 44.202, p < 0.0001); ‘I value the support I receive from my church’ (F = 41.017, p < 0.0001); ‘My parents have high expectations of me’ (F = 35.040, p < 0.0001); ‘My parents expect me to go to university’ (F = 34.988, p < 0.0001); ‘I do not believe anything is intrinsically wrong with using weed or cannabis for recreational purpose’ (F = 33.459, p < 0.0001); ‘I like the clothes I wear to be identified with my friends’ (F = 31.702, p < 0.0001); and ‘It is important to me that I listen to the same music as my friends’ (F = 30.704, p = < 0.0001). Table 7.3 sets out the means for each cluster in relation to each variable.

Table 7.3: Means and standard deviation of each statement by cluster membership

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Mean and S.D Cluster 1</th>
<th>Mean and S.D Cluster 2</th>
<th>Mean and S.D Cluster 3</th>
<th>Overall Mean and S.D</th>
<th>Statistical Significance</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>My parents value education</td>
<td>4.75 (.62)</td>
<td>4.78 (.47)</td>
<td>4.52 (.69)</td>
<td>4.68 (.62)</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents helped me with my homework</td>
<td>3.78 (1.3)</td>
<td>3.34 (1.3)</td>
<td>3.17 (1.3)</td>
<td>3.46 (1.3)</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is very important to wear designer labels</td>
<td>2.74 (1.4)</td>
<td>2.41 (1.2)</td>
<td>3.03 (1.3)</td>
<td>2.75 (1.3)</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music is important in my life</td>
<td>3.88 (1.32)</td>
<td>4.24 (.97)</td>
<td>4.32 (0.98)</td>
<td>4.13 (1.1)</td>
<td>.0001</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Mean</td>
<td>SD</td>
<td>Mean</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>-----</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I admire my mother</td>
<td>4.62</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>4.5</td>
<td>.87</td>
<td>4.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I admire my father</td>
<td>4.48</td>
<td>1.03</td>
<td>4.22</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>2.86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Caribbean hold high status jobs</td>
<td>2.72</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.93</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>2.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents have high expectations of me</td>
<td>4.43</td>
<td>.97</td>
<td>4.44</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>4.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents expect me to go to university</td>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3.68</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If I disagree with members of my group I will behave independently of them</td>
<td>3.37</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.32</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other ethnics groups feel uncomfortable with my presence</td>
<td>2.25</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am likely to be stopped by the police</td>
<td>2.52</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.56</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.92</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value the support I receive from my church</td>
<td>3.38</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>3.95</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A good education is important to success in life</td>
<td>4.62</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>4.56</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>4.25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value education</td>
<td>4.62</td>
<td>.84</td>
<td>4.51</td>
<td>.78</td>
<td>4.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is more important to get a job as soon as possible than to continue in education</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>.98</td>
<td>2.1</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.34</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The prospect of completing university motivates me</td>
<td>4.03</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3.83</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not believe anything is intrinsically wrong with using cannabis for recreational purpose</td>
<td>2.16</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.27</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>2.69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>go to church regularly</td>
<td>3.54</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.27</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>2.96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to be with my friends</td>
<td>3.96</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>3.85</td>
<td>.88</td>
<td>3.71</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value being with my friends</td>
<td>4.23</td>
<td>.86</td>
<td>4.17</td>
<td>.77</td>
<td>4.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My friends are predominantly Afro-Trinbagonians or African Caribbean</td>
<td>3.13</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have a regular girlfriend</td>
<td>3.21</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.39</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like the clothes I wear to be identified with my friends</td>
<td>2.79</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>2.49</td>
<td>1.2</td>
<td>2.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to me that I listen to the same music as my friends</td>
<td>1.98</td>
<td>1.1</td>
<td>1.7</td>
<td>.9</td>
<td>2.23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How people walk at my age is important</td>
<td>2.26</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.29</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>2.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyone should be free to choose their sexual orientation</td>
<td>2.85</td>
<td>1.6</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>3.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel people stereotype me on the basis of my race</td>
<td>3.08</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.15</td>
<td>1.4</td>
<td>3.38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like myself</td>
<td>4.52</td>
<td>.94</td>
<td>4.76</td>
<td>.43</td>
<td>4.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I can achieve whatever I set out to be</td>
<td>4.62</td>
<td>.68</td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td>.46</td>
<td>4.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What happens to me is my own doing</td>
<td>3.92</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.78</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>3.83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Cluster 1 Valuing education and Church was distinctive in terms of parents having high expectations, expecting their son to attend university and helping with homework. The young people admired both their father and mother, valued education themselves and valued the support that they received from the church, in addition to attending church regularly. They felt it was important to spend time with friends, they were less likely to have a girlfriend, did not feel that they were stereotyped on the basis of their race and were less likely to agree that people should be able to choose their sexual orientation and were less likely to agree that it was acceptable to use cannabis.

The letters and drawings generated similar findings for example, love and affection for fathers (see Table 5.4), high expectation by fathers (see Table 5.7) and great admiration for fathers (see Table 5.11). Drawings showed boys who were high achievers (see Figure 6.38 and 6.40), believed in the family unit, had intentions of having a stable family, with a good job and being a good provider (see Figure 6.42). Some also had strong religious convictions (see Figure 6.44).

In comparison with the other clusters, those in Cluster 2 Self-belief and church were characterised by young people who had a greater sense of their own empowerment. They had high scores for liking themselves and believing that they could achieve whatever they wanted. They indicated a greater sense of being in control than those in the other clusters and being able to deal with problems. They scored lower in relation to
wondering if anything was worthwhile. They valued education and believed that it was important. They valued the support that they received from the church and felt it was important to be with friends. Average scores on the remaining variables largely fell between those of the other two clusters. The drawings supported the findings in this cluster. Self-belief and being in control is illustrated strongly with an example of a boy holding the world on his shoulder (see Figure 6.30).

Cluster 3 Anti-accepted social norms was particularly distinguished from the other two clusters by a lack of respect for the father, being stopped by the police, a belief that using cannabis was acceptable, a perception of being racially stereotyped, lower parental aspirations and support for homework. A lower value was attached to education, as it was not seen as being important for success and members of this cluster were not motivated by going to university. Cluster members were also more likely to indicate that their friends were mainly African-Trinbagonians or African Caribbean. Members of this cluster also seemed to be less confident that they could achieve anything that they wanted to achieve and that they could manage the challenges that they faced. This was illustrated both in the letters and drawings. Figure 6.33 illustrates a boy who puts his middle fingers up to the world. Some boys also saw success through other channels, for example music (see Figure 6.3). Some were caught up in gang life (see Figure 6.11). The letters illustrated that some boys had deep resentment towards their fathers for being poor role models (see Table 5.6)

7.2.3 Distances between clusters

Distances between final cluster centers (Table 7.3) were inspected to see which clusters were different from each other. Table 7.4 shows the Euclidean distances between the final cluster centers for the three clusters. The greatest difference was between Cluster 2 Self-belief and church and Cluster 3 Anti-accepted social norms.
Table 7.4: Euclidean distances between final cluster centers

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5.428</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.477</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.428</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.477</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.947</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

7.2.3.1 Validation of cluster solution – discriminant analysis

A discriminant analysis was carried out in order to explore the efficiency of the cluster output. Two discriminant functions were calculated. The two functions had a significant overall Wilk’s lambda (\(\lambda = .136, \chi^2 (72) = 591.604, p<.0001\)). After removal of the effects of the first function, the second discriminant function was also statistically significant (\(\lambda = .413, \chi^2 (35) = 262.431, p<.0001\)). The discriminant function showed that there was a clear distinction between the three clusters. There was a canonical (\(\eta\)) correlation of .819 for function 1 which suggested that the model explained 67.1\% \([\eta^2 = .670761 (.819)^2]\) of the variation in the grouping variable. While function 2 had a canonical correlation of .766 which suggested that the model explained 58.7\% \([\eta^2 = .586756 (.766)^2]\) of the variation in the grouping variable. The first function had an eigenvalue of 2.35 while the second was 1.423. Table 7.5 sets out the group centroids. For further detail of the discriminant analysis see Appendix 4.

Table 7.5 Group Centroids for discriminant functions

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cluster number of case</th>
<th>Function 1</th>
<th>Function 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>-1.483</td>
<td>-.623</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.365</td>
<td>-1.674</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>.536</td>
<td>1.371</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Unstandardized canonical discriminant functions evaluated at group means
7.2.3.2 Cluster group membership prediction

Cluster group membership prediction was assessed. This indicated how well the boys' group membership could be predicted by using a classification function. Table 7.6 shows the results. 98.5% of the membership of Cluster 1, 83.6% of Cluster 2 and 97.7% of Cluster 3 were predicted correctly. Overall 95.6% of the sample was classified correctly.

Table 7.6 Classification of results

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Predicted Group Membership</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Count</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>98.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

95.6% of original grouped cases correctly classified.

7.2.3.4 Associations between nationality and cluster membership

A Pearson’s chi square test was used to assess the associations between nationality and cluster group membership (see table 7.7). The results showed that cluster membership had a statistically significant relationship with nationality ($\chi^2 = 27.63, p < .0001$). The percentage of boys in each cluster by nationality is shown in Table 7.7. Cluster 1 was dominated by boys from the Trinidad and Tobago sample (73.1%), whilst Cluster 3 was dominated by the United Kingdom sample (54.7%), both having a similar percentage size in each cluster. Cluster 2 had the smallest percentage of young people from each sample.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Nationality</th>
<th>Cluster Number of Case</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>U.K.</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Nationality</td>
<td>25.9%</td>
<td>23.7%</td>
<td>50.4%</td>
<td>100.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>% within Cluster</td>
<td>26.9%</td>
<td>60.0%</td>
<td>54.7%</td>
<td>43.8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trinidad and Tobago</td>
<td>Count</td>
<td>98</td>
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### 7.3 Chapter summary

It was not possible to undertake a cluster analysis which combined all of the different data sets. However, an analysis was undertaken in relation to the statements in the questionnaire. This revealed three clusters, the first of which was characterized by young men who had supportive families, engaged with the church and highly valued education. Members of Cluster 2 Self-belief and the church were distinguished by greater levels of personal autonomy and empowerment. Those in cluster three tended to believe that they were more frequently stopped by the police, believed that it was acceptable to use cannabis, had less family support with particular difficulties with their father, and did not value education. Cluster 1 Valuing education and church was dominated by the young people from Trinidad and Tobago and Cluster 3 Anti-accepted social norms by those from the United Kingdom.
Chapter 8: Discussion of Findings

“I will never forget your precepts, for by them you have given me life” Psalm 119:93

This thesis compared the identities and self-concepts of black male adolescents in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago taking account of their relationships with their fathers and adopting a mixed methods approach. In this chapter, I set out the contribution to knowledge of the research, discuss the findings in relation to the original research questions, discuss the relationships between the outcomes of the different methods, set out the limitations of the research, explore its implications and propose recommendations for policy and future research.

8.1 Contribution to knowledge

This research has contributed to knowledge by carrying out a comparison between African Caribbean boys in two different cultures, one where they are a minority group and the other where they are not. These comparisons revealed differences and similarities which are discussed in later sections. The key findings showed that:

— There were few differences in lifestyle, friends and social life, although the Trinidad and Tobago group tended to have more friends from other ethnic groups;

— There were differences in the emphasis on education between the two groups. The Trinidad and Tobago sample thought education was critical if you wanted to achieve success, while in the United Kingdom boys did not see education as the way to achieve success. They were more likely to emphasise music or sport. The Trinidad and Tobago sample had higher aspirations;

— Parents in the United Kingdom were more likely to help boys with their homework;
— Many African Caribbean boys in the United Kingdom had negative lived experiences in relation to racial prejudice and the police. The Trinidad and Tobago sample did not see this as an issue since they had no lived experiences of institutional racism by the police;

— Boys in the Trinidad and Tobago sample had a greater admiration for their fathers;

— Fathers’ absence was an issue for boys in both samples. Boys expressed extreme emotions, positive and negative, with regard to these relationships. Fathers were more available for the boys from Trinidad and Tobago;

— Some African Caribbean boys saw themselves as powerful and being able to cope, others as powerless and disillusioned with the world;

— Religious community was seen as a supportive structure for boys where they were able to find role models and encouragement to do well;

— In addition to the findings from the analysis of the data the research demonstrated clearly the power of using drawings and imaginary letters to elicit deeply held beliefs and feelings.
8.2 Discussion of findings

This section sets out the main findings arising from the study in relation to the research questions and existing literature. The three research questions that have been addressed in this study and which are discussed are:

1. What different identities do African Caribbean teenage boys have in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago? What are the differences in relation to how they perceive their lifestyle (dress, stylised walking, music, church)?
2. Are there differences between teenage boys in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago in relation to their perceived relationship to their fathers?
3. Are there any differences in how these two groups perceive themselves in the world and their lives?

8.2.1 The questionnaire data and the analysis of the drawings

Research questions 1 and 3 were answered by the responses to the questionnaire. These were supplemented by the analysis of the drawings. The drawings provided the boys and young men with an opportunity to express themselves more freely. The Likert scale statements in the questionnaire showed that there were few differences between the two groups in relation to lifestyle, friends and social life. In addition, on average, the boys had high self-perception scores (see Table 4.4). There were some differences. The friends of boys in the United Kingdom were predominantly black. Similarly, Ward (2000) highlighted that African Caribbean boys in the UK were most at ease when they were with others of African Caribbean descent. In contrast, boys in the Trinidad and Tobago sample had a mixture of friends from different ethnic groups. The findings also indicated that the United Kingdom sample felt it was important that they listened to the same music as their friends (see Table 4.3) supporting the work of Sullivan (1964), Rogers (1961) and Mead (1934) which argued that humans have a desire to identify
with people who they can relate to and who they believe suffer similar prejudices and characteristics and share a similar culture. Race seemed to be less of an issue in Trinidad and Tobago so friendships were more likely to cross racial boundaries.

There was also a different emphasis on education. The Trinidad and Tobago sample believed that education was critical if you wanted to achieve success while in the United Kingdom boys did not see education in this way. This may be linked to the concept of oppositional identity (Bisin et al, 2011). Young black men in the United Kingdom have limited role models who have achieved success through education and the kinds of educational routes available to their white counterparts. Researching in the USA, Mangino (2013) argued that oppositional identity exists only because of the low economic status of most African Americans. This is likely to be equally true of African Caribbeans in the United Kingdom. Despite this, parents in the United Kingdom were more likely to help boys with their homework, perhaps because they recognised the importance of education, even if their children did not and wanted to encourage them to do well academically. The boys in the United Kingdom placed emphasis on other ways of achieving success (sports, music). This may be because music and sport offer immediate rewards and many blacks are successful in these areas and provide visible role models who they can easily identify with in a way which is not possible in other professions (doctors; accountants; academics). There may also be issues in the practices that schools adopt that do not support higher attainment. Young people from ethnic minorities are typically placed in lower ability groups not based on their actual ability. This can lead them to being entered for lower tiered examinations (Strand, 2012). This means that the maximum grade achievable in the subject examined would be grade C. This impacts on life chances and progress into sixth form studies. Black students may also have less positive relationships with teachers because of what is perceived as their challenging behaviour. Several studies have highlighted the tensions that exist between White teachers and African Caribbean boys (Wright; 1985; Mac an Ghaill; 1988; Gillborn
and Gipps, 1996). In contrast, in schools, in Trinidad and Tobago, the teaching force has a mixture of the major ethnic groups, which reduces the likelihood of prejudice in the education system.

The Trinidad and Tobago sample had a higher conception of what they could achieve while the United Kingdom sample were more negative about possible achievements. Discrimination may have had an effect on the achievement of some African Caribbean boys who may not have had the resilience to rise above their negative experiences in school and society in general (Swanson, Cunningham and Spencer, 2003; Seaton et al., 2008, Rhamie 2012). Theories that relate to negative self-concept and poor self-image have been used to explain the educational underachievement of black boys and people of lower socio-economic status. Boudon (1974) argued that individuals may make choices according to how they see themselves in society. However, the current research data did not indicate that the participating African Caribbean boys had particularly low self-concepts.

Many African Caribbean boys in the United Kingdom have had negative lived experiences in relation to racial prejudice and the actions of the police. The development of oppositional identity may be reinforced by the attitude of police and the implementation of stop and search practices. This has been viewed by some as an indirect method of control and racial subjugation (Bisin et al., 2011). In the current research, the United Kingdom boys agreed more strongly, or were more likely to agree, that they would potentially be stopped by the police because of the colour of their skin (see Table 4.5). The Trinidad and Tobago sample did not see this as an issue since they had no lived experience of institutional racism in the police force. Indeed, in the data collection stage of the research, the Trinidad and Tobago sample were puzzled by the statement about being stopped by the police as random stop and search did not exist in Trinidad and Tobago at the time of data collection. More recently, because of the increase in murders
in Trinidad and Tobago, the police do randomly stop people in high crime areas or when people are acting suspiciously. However, these stops are not racially motivated, in part, because the police force is largely made up of African Caribbeans. The boys in the United Kingdom also felt that they were more likely to be stereotyped on the basis of their race than the boys from Trinidad and Tobago (see table 4.5). The Trinidad and Tobago sample did not perceive that they were being stereotyped based on race. This is particularly important as the perceptions of others play a crucial role in identity formation (Bandura, 1986; Breakwell, 1992). Taylor et al. (1994) postulated that ‘racial distrust’ against the police may explain the psychosocial disposition of African Caribbean adolescents in the United Kingdom to become deviant. African Caribbeans are faced with a triple social marginality. They are black, they speak patois and have cultural beliefs and behaviours which are not aligned with the dominant white culture and therefore they are an easy target for discrimination (Taylor, 1994). Although culture as a construct is vague and varies between ethnic groups (Triandis, 1989, 1994), several researchers have emphasised its importance in relation to the African man and his self-concept (Akbar, 1991; Markus and Kitayama, 1994).

The questionnaire revealed the importance of fathers by highlighting how some boys admired their fathers even though they were absent from the household. The responses showed that fathers taking part in boys’ lives was important for both groups (Table 4.1) supporting earlier research (Featherstone, 2003). The data showed that the Trinidad and Tobago boys had greater admiration for their fathers than the United Kingdom boys. This might be due to the fact that there was a higher likelihood that their father was either living with them or easily accessible. Although the data reported here suggested that fathers were more likely to be absent in the UK, not all the research supports this. For instance, Franklin (2010) found that many African Caribbean fathers were present in the family.
The extended family structure was not evident in the United Kingdom sample whereas in Trinidad and Tobago the boys were able to draw on this for support and role models. Again, not all of the research supports the lack of the extended family in the UK. For instance, Reynolds (2009) found that the extended family did play an important role in the lives of African Caribbeans. Further research is required to explore these differences in findings. For some of the participants, the religious community was seen as supportive and provided role models and encouragement to do well, with some people acting as surrogate fathers.

8.2.2 The factor analysis

Three factor analyses were undertaken, one for each sample and one for the two samples together. There were different outcomes for each analysis. The analysis of the United Kingdom data revealed four factors: family support and self-belief; valuing education, religious belief; peer group membership; and having a national identity. Family support and self-belief appear to be linked. Where families offer positive reinforcement and praise, resilience may develop which helps offset the stereotyping and continuous media biased representation of African Caribbean men (Byfield, 2008; Rhamie 2012). Valuing education and religious belief are also linked. Byfield (2008) showed that religious beliefs significantly influenced how young adults valued education and academic success. Peer groups have particularly important roles in the lives of adolescents, regardless of ethnicity or gender. Having an identity which involved being British first was most positively related to responses to accepting that there should be a free choice in relation to sexuality and having mixed friendship groups. This factor also indicated a lack of a need to be with friends suggesting a greater degree of independence in identity.
Six factors emerged from the Trinidad and Tobago sample: personal value attached to education; friends and parents as role models; lifestyle; religion and aspirations for higher education; group affiliation; and low self-belief and helplessness. When the data from both samples were combined three factors emerged: community and self; group affiliation; and anti-accepted social norms.

The factor analyses highlighted which areas were important to the two groups of boys as they explored and committed to an identity (Kroger and Marcia, 2011). The analysis across both samples revealed a more negative element in relation to anti accepted social norms. These can develop through learned helplessness leading to involvement in crime, drugs and gangs (Gunther, 2008). Schwartz et al. (2013) found that identity status was developed through content domains which in turn influenced identity development in adolescence and emerging adulthood. They highlighted the following content domains: political preference; religious affiliation; gender and sexuality; values and morality; and family relationships. Schwartz (2001) also argued that ethnicity formed part of the content domain dynamic. He stressed that this was due to the fact that it helped young people cope with dealing with discrimination and stereotyping since group affiliation could provide a sense of belonging and comfort. He argued that ethnic identity is especially important for people who are visibly different from the dominant culture. This is the lived experience for African Caribbean boys in the United Kingdom.

### 8.2.3 Cluster analysis

A cluster analysis based on both samples supported the findings from the factor analysis. The analysis was undertaken focusing on the responses to the statements in the questionnaire and the imaginary letters which the boys wrote to their fathers.
The analysis generated three clusters (see Table 7.2). Boys in cluster one were shown to have aspirations to do well academically and had strong religious commitment reflecting the research of Byfield (2008). They had supportive families, engaged in church activities and valued education highly (134 boys). This cluster was dominated by boys from the Trinidad and Tobago sample (see Table 7.7). Boys in this cluster had clear goals to achieve success and used education as the means to achieve this. They were highly motivated, had supportive parents, and God was important in their life. These findings fit well with the models for success developed by Rhamie and Hallam (2002), Home-School and Home-Community, the latter with strong religious connections. School or community alongside the family provided support for African Caribbeans helping them to combat negative life experiences.

Cluster 3 was dominated by boys from the United Kingdom sample (see Table 7.7) who were continuously stopped or felt harassed by the police reflecting the findings of the Lammy Review (2017). These young men believed that they had less family support (128 boys). They were opposed to accepted social norms, felt abandoned by their fathers and lacked a strong sense of purpose. This group represented those boys who Gunther (2008) suggested would move on to a life of crime and drugs. Their attitudes to church, drugs (cannabis), music, and sexual orientation choice reflected their overall rejection of accepted social norms.

Cluster 2, which had only 55 boys, was characterised by boys who felt that they were in control of their lives but were less motivated than the other boys educationally. This cluster was dominated by boys from the United Kingdom sample (see Table 7.7). Boys in this cluster valued education less than those in the other groups, were more negative about going to university and more positive about the importance of getting a job. They had great admiration for both parents and believed in themselves and what they could achieve. Most importantly, they were resilient (Rhamie 2012) and thought they were
able to deal with whatever problems that they faced in life. They also valued the support they received from their church which might have been instrumental in helping them develop coping strategies once again reflecting the findings of Rhamie and Hallam, 2002).

These findings suggest that for some boys in the United Kingdom, discrimination, which contributes to differences in poverty and employment rates, has a detrimental effect leading to boys to engage in anti-social life-styles as they search for alternative routes to achieve respect which they feel they cannot achieve through education. Eidelson (2009, p.3) highlighted the ‘dishonest’ and ‘untrustworthy’ beliefs about African Caribbeans and the mistrust of the police (Rich & Grey, 2005) which fuels the responses that African Caribbean boys sometimes demonstrate towards a society that has perpetuated certain stereotypes and feelings of distrust towards them. This has encouraged African Caribbean boys to develop certain behaviours, including their stylised way of dressing which can be seen as a defence mechanism (Wilson 2009).

8.2.4 The Drawings

The drawings were intended to supplement the data from the questionnaire allowing the boys and young men to express their perceptions of themselves in the world more freely, including their self-beliefs (Knoff and Prout, 1985), while also exploring their sub-conscious thoughts (Farokhi and Hashemi, 2011). The drawings proved to be a powerful means of demonstrating self-beliefs (Cherney et al., 2006; Rubin, 1984).

The drawings revealed that the church was important. This has been influential in African Caribbean lives dating back to the days of slavery (Sanger, 1995). It has helped African Caribbeans to achieve their potential by supporting them in overcoming stereotypical portrayal (Toldson and Anderson, 2010). Dress, music, sports and drama constituted
important aspects of the lives of many of the young people. A gangster lifestyle also emerged (Gunther, 2008), with some specific references to guns. In some drawings these were an object of fear, in others they indicated a sense of power. It was clear that for some of the young people this lifestyle was common in their neighbourhood and some wished to distance themselves from it. Some young African Caribbeans had adopted oppositional identities similar to those identified by Fordham and Ogbu (1986) in America, while some seemed to have developed resilience as identified by Rhamie (2012).

The drawings revealed the challenges that many faced in their lives and how they were aware that decisions that they made could have long term negative or positive outcomes. These decisions were perceived as difficult to make by some, and there was recognition of the difficulty of maintaining a life trajectory which did not involve drugs, gangs and crime. In contrast, some had high aspirations and had identified particular career routes, e.g. engineering, psychology, law, dance, that they wished to pursue. Others’ aspirations were more general in nature, for instance, being in employment, having a family and home, being independent, hardworking, determined and caring for others. For some success was perceived as being through fame or winning competitions. The findings showed that many of these young African Caribbeans had the same aspirations and ideals as other ethnic groups. However, they face greater challenges because of stereotyping and racism. They are more likely to be unemployed when compared to their white counterparts (Institute of Race Relation, 2017) and experience ongoing stigmatisation by the media, unnecessary stop and search procedures and unfair discrimination by the police and the criminal justice system (Lammy Review, 2017).

Many of the young people were finding their lives stressful. Some of the drawings depicted depression, sadness, a lack of control and feeling trapped. Having to make decisions was difficult and stressful for many and in some cases led to procrastination.
and indecision. Some drawings demonstrated that the young people felt that they were walking a tightrope between a positive life and one dominated by drugs, robbery, being on benefits or being in jail. For some this was completely overwhelming. While religion offered a positive pathway, this was perceived as an extremely hard choice. There were also perceived challenges in managing the competing demands of their everyday lives as they struggled to balance their time between education, work, family and friends. There was a perceived need to prioritise but uncertainty about what to do. Education tended to be represented by drawings of classrooms which suggested its importance but also indicated the challenges that accompanied it, particularly in relation to negative peer pressure.

An important finding was the emphasis on being powerful or powerless. Drawings variously depicted being a superhero, a sole authority, in charge of law and order or promoting fairness. These examples of power showed that some of the boys had strong positive beliefs about themselves. Black boys can take pride in themselves, overcoming the negative views that the dominant white society in the UK, slavery and stereotyping can communicate to them. These do not necessarily limit them from achieving their potential (Harris-Britt et al., 2007). Some develop resilience and coping strategies (Rhamie, 2012). However, the drawings also indicated that some young men felt powerless and insignificant. Anger, hate and sadness were the emotions most commonly depicted, although there were examples of happiness and love. Relationships were represented, in some cases positive, indicating how the self was perceived as a result of interactions with others, while in others the representations were of loneliness and isolation.

Using drawings as a method in the research was exploratory, but it yielded interesting insights into the young men’s feelings and experiences and helped in understanding how
African Caribbean young men made sense of their lived world. It allowed them to demonstrate hidden feelings that do not usually emerge in interviews.

8.2.5 Are there differences between teenage boys in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago in relation to the perceived relationship to their fathers?

This research question was mainly addressed through the imaginary letters that the young people were asked to write to their fathers. Some statements in the questionnaires also referred to relationships with their father.

The findings in relation to the nature of the relationship that the boys had with their fathers showed, in both samples, a high percentage of absent fathers, although the Trinidad and Tobago sample showed a higher number of fathers being actively present (see Table 5.1). This may have included fathers not present in the household but with whom the boys were still in contact regularly. What the boys wrote in relation to whether fathers were present or absent illustrated the extent to which this affected their well-being. In relation to his father’s presence one boy illustrated this by stating ‘Dad you’re the guy who’s there, thanks’ illustrating his appreciation of his father. A father’s presence is also important in providing a role model (Featherstone, 2003). One boy summarised his father’s absence: ‘You are not around to see me nor I am to see you but I definitely love you. Through my childhood I saw you just once which hurts my feelings. It is really affecting me now’. This statement reflects the kind of psychological impact that the presence or absence of fathers and their relationship with their sons could have. This may also have a direct impact on them when they become fathers. The high absence of African Caribbean fathers in households in the United Kingdom may result in the perpetuation of absence of fathers (Bowlby, 1980). Since the boys grow up with absent fathers they do not necessarily see the need to be present for their children, although for some this may have acted as a stimulus to behave differently (alternative-self). Ideally, fathers provide for their children a role model, quality time, supportive behaviour,
expressions of love and physical contact providing a balanced, complementary and stable relationship (Milligan and Dowie, 1998).

Although there are fathers who are absent or non-existent in their boy’s lives there are also fathers who may not be resident with the boy’s mother but are still involved in their lives through visitation (Reynolds, 2009). Research by Kiernan and Mensah (2010) found that four out of five African Caribbeans were in close relationship with their child at the time of their birth. It also noted that five years later the majority continued to have a good relationship with the child’s mother indicating that although they may not be resident they were still supportive and available.

In the United Kingdom, there are issues relating to many African Caribbean boys growing up in lone parent households (Featherstone 2003). There is considerable evidence that in order for boys to grow up to be confident young men they must have a father figure in or related in some way to the household since there are things that mothers cannot teach boys (Bush, 1999). Boys can grow up successfully in female headed households but, in this case, usually have other role models to emulate (Reynolds, 2009). Featherstone (2003) advocates that having relationships with both parents in the household allows children to be well adjusted psychologically. The findings from the current study indicated that, overall, the boys wanted a father figure in their life. This was supported by both the quantitative and qualitative data analyses. Overall it was found that all boys both in the UK or Trinidad and Tobago yearned for the presence of their father in their life. The letters were full of strong emotions, positive and negative. While this was an issue for boys from both samples (Table 5.1), it appeared to be a greater problem in the United Kingdom although as there was not a direct question in the questionnaire addressing this issue caution is needed in interpreting the findings. The findings may have been influenced by the UK sample being mainly drawn from inner city and economically deprived areas. The research was also unable to establish the age of the fathers when
they had their children which may be important (Franklin, 2010).

The findings from the questionnaire showed that the main differences between the two samples in relation to their perceived relationship to their fathers was that the boys in the Trinidad and Tobago sample had greater admiration for their fathers (Table 5.3) when compared to the United Kingdom who felt let down and abandoned by their fathers. This was the case even if the fathers were not physically present (resident) in the household. In the United Kingdom where fathers were present, the boys referred to them as having very high expectations. This implied that their fathers expected them to do well academically and go to good universities.

The theme, “emotional connection” (Tables 5.3 and 5.4) showed extremes of emotions in both samples. Some boys expressed ‘love and affection’ for their fathers. This was summarised by one boy: “You made me what I am today and I thank you”. Some boys expressed negative emotions. ‘Hate and anger’ was articulated by one boy saying: “fuck you dad I hate you, you’ve never really been there for me and I don’t need you”. However, this type of response was not common as in the questionnaire data under the heading “responses to statements about family” and the statement ‘I admire my father’, the means and standard deviations for both the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago were moderately high even though many of the boys lived in female headed household (Lammy Review, 2017). The boys had admiration for their fathers even though they were sometimes absent (non-resident). Further support for this came from the emergent theme from the drawings, “feelings for father” which highlighted the importance of the bond with their fathers (Table 5.10). The presence of a father figure in the household gave boys a sense of stability. They were not pressured into the belief that they had to grow up quickly because of the socio-economic problems which frequently occurred in lone parent households. The father served as a mentor and they learned from his routine, for example, going to work each day. The importance of fathers as mentors was
also highlighted under the theme “positive or negative role models” (Table 5.5). In both samples fathers, being positive role models was reflected in the emergent category referring to this. The following statement summarises this importance: “...I'll do my best to turn out to be a man like you.....”. The boys also wanted their fathers’ guidance as they thought that they would be better equipped to give advice as opposed to their mother in relation to some of the problems that they faced reflecting the findings of Milligan and Dowie (1998).

The evidence suggested that some of the boys had great admiration for their father since he was always there when he was needed. For some, this was also the case where the father was not present in the household but still played an important role (non-resident) (Trinidad and Tobago sample). Visitation and regular contact is accepted as normal in African Caribbean families (Reynolds, 2009). However, some boys showed great resentment since they wanted their father to be available to them and he was not. This was illustrated in the “theme 2 feelings to father” (Table 5.10), where some boys were highly critical of their father for not being part of their life and in response created an alternative self-based on reflection of the failings of their fathers. For instance, one boy said: ‘...My mind-set is not to treat my family as you have done. I'll make myself stronger better and more knowledgeable than any of you’. Whilst another was so critical in relation to the failings of his father that in order to demonstrate how strongly he felt, he wrote his letter in upper case and used punctuation to highlight his point (left in caps to illustrate the boy’s emphasis): ‘WHY? DO YOU think U CAN MAKE A DIFFERENCE IN MY LIFE? DO YOU WANT TO GET INVOLVED IN MY LIFE NOW? NOW DO U WANT TO BE PART OF THE FAMILY? I AM DOING FINE WITH MY LIFE, I DO NOT NEED U NOW OR EVER U CANNOT OFFER ME ANY FAMILY VALUES? WHAT R U 2 ME?’ (Table 5.1).

Overall, the letters made a major contribution to the study allowing the researcher to
understand the complexity of the emotional attachment (Bowlby, 1980) that the boys had for their fathers and the impact their absence had on them.

8.3 Relationships between the three data sources

The aim of having three data sources was to aid in providing a deeper and wider understanding of African Caribbean boys and the environment that they lived in and to provide a means of triangulating the findings. The initial intention had also been to carry out a cluster analysis using data from the questionnaire, the letters to fathers and the drawings. However, the quantitative data which could be derived from the drawings proved to be inadequate for this analysis to be undertaken. As a result, the relationships could only be explored through providing examples of the links between them, for example, in relation to the cluster analysis in Chapter 7.

The questionnaire provided a broad starting framework for the analysis of the drawings and the letters to fathers, although several additional themes emerged. Close links emerged between the questionnaire and the drawings in relation to a number of themes, including, lifestyle options (clothes, music and sport), education, religion, family and prejudice. The contribution of the drawings was to highlight more clearly the emotional responses of the boys, the challenges that they faced, the complexity of their identities and their feelings of power or powerlessness. The questionnaire only referred briefly to the relationships of the boys with their fathers. The letters, elucidated these responses and provided overwhelming evidence of the emotionally loaded nature of those relationships, both positive and negative in a way that would have been extremely difficult to establish in a Likert scale. Overall, the findings from the three data sources complemented each other and there was a high level of agreement between them.
8.4 Limitations of the research

This research was concerned with comparing black male adolescent identity and self-concept in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago. All research has limitations. Those relating to the current research are set out below. First, because the sample was based largely on snowballing mainly in the London area, the sample is not representative of all African Caribbean boys in the United Kingdom. Although London has a large African Caribbean population, the experiences of boys in London may not be identical to other parts of the United Kingdom. The Trinidad and Tobago sample was derived through contact with schools across the country through teachers who were known to me personally. No schools in Tobago were included.

It is possible that within the school context, some students might have been influenced by their friends’ responses to the questionnaire if they completed it in school during class time, although the assurance of confidentiality may have minimised this. The nature of the data in the imaginary letters to their fathers and the drawings suggested that the boys were prepared to honestly communicate their feelings. However, not everyone wrote a letter. In the United Kingdom sample one hundred (71%) were written from a total of one hundred and forty questionnaires while one hundred and forty (79%) letters were written from one hundred and seventy eight questionnaires from the Trinidad and Tobago sample. Ninety-six boys made a drawing from the United Kingdom sample and one hundred and forty-five from the Trinidad and Tobago sample.

There is the issue of the difficulty in interpreting the data from the letters and drawings. While every attempt was made to be systematic, inevitably there are elements of subjectivity since the analysis was based on my interpretation of the data, although this was corroborated by an independent reader.
The study was based on a mixed methodology - quantitative and qualitative. This was based on a three-pronged approach: a Likert scale type questionnaire; letter writing; and drawings. It was thought that the combination of these would generate sufficient data to undertake a detailed analysis and also provide triangulation. The study was not longitudinal and therefore can only provide a snapshot at one point in time. A longitudinal approach may have yielded richer data to better understand the issues but was not practical.

8.5 Implications

The research showed clearly that there were differences in attitudes towards the way success could be achieved in Trinidad and Tobago and the United Kingdom. This suggests that if education is to be used as a gateway for upward mobility, in the United Kingdom, ways have to be found to keep boys in the classroom and interested in education. If some African Caribbean boys continue to exist at the fringes of society and in gangs there are long term implications in terms of health and criminality. There is already a high proportion of African Caribbean males who are in prison (Institute of Race Relation, 2017). This presents a social and financial cost to society and also to families where children are denied a close relationship with a present father. This can perpetuate the current vicious cycle that exists.

Many African Caribbean boys have focused on achieving success which is societally acceptable in music and sport where role models are visible. This has implications for education in terms of the opportunities that are available for them to develop their skills in these areas. More importantly, it suggests that more needs to be done to showcase black males in other spheres who have achieved success. This might be achieved in part by having more black teachers in the classroom and highlighting the achievements of black males not only in history month.
During discussions with the boys in the pilot stage it was found that some boys were not aware of the necessary social skills required in relation to workplace etiquette and the soft skills required to be successful in the workplace environment or in the transition from the street to the office. While stylised dressing provides an outward expression of identity it is frequently not appropriate in the workplace or attending employment interviews. Programs need to be designed to educate African Caribbean boys in relation to the necessary soft skills that they will need, since some boys do not understand that presentation is important, for instance, in attending job interviews. These skills could be introduced into the core curriculum at an early age in schools. African Caribbean boys need to have an awareness of the cultures that exist in organisations in terms of the way people dress, how their hair is kept. The black community needs to understand that African Caribbeans need to adjust in order to succeed in a white dominated society whose norms are different to theirs. Overall, the education system needs to be responsive to give African Caribbean boys the necessary tools to allow them to thrive in society. Early childhood education is important and provides a start for upward mobility. Also important is educating parents about how they can better themselves and their children.

The evidence regarding the high levels of exclusions of African Caribbean boys (DfE SFR, 2016) has major implications for education. It is not a new phenomenon and yet little has changed since the issue was first raised. It would be beneficial to identify the underlying causes of these exclusions and take steps to address those causes.

Research has shown that African Caribbean underachievement is due to four main causes (Lambeth Research Project Brief, 2015): stereotyping; teachers’ low expectations; exclusions; and head teachers’ poor leadership and lack of attention to equality issues. Although there have been improvements in recent years, the problem of unconscious (implicit) bias continues to exist in the school system. Bias can take many
forms, race, gender, religion, class and disability. Unconscious bias is very difficult to assess since teachers are not aware of the biased decisions that they are making.

Gillborn, reported in the Times Educational Supplement (2016), pointed out that studies undertaken over many decades had shown that teachers in the UK have lower expectations of African Caribbean students than other students (p.30). He questioned the extent to which teacher training courses explored issues of unconscious racial bias and the extent to which schools routinely interrogate the ethnic make-up of their GCSE tiering decisions. Although the UK is argued to be a post racist society, black boys are still more likely to be excluded from schools than other boys (DfE SFR, 2016). This suggests that schools need to take positive action to avoid discrimination, whether conscious or unconscious. Teachers should treat every child equally and cater for all children regardless of ethnicity. Schools need to be seen as welcoming and warm and concerned about the development of every child. Parents need to be more vigilant and more critical when their sons or daughters are excluded ensuring the basis for the exclusion is justifiable and equivalent to that of other boys or girls. If issues of discrimination are not addressed some black young men will be lured into lives of crime while others will suffer with mental health problems (NHS, 2015).

Absent fathers are a major problem. This is not only an African Caribbean problem. Since family values have changed over the 20th and 21st centuries, single parent families have become more common in the United Kingdom. The breakdown of the home and family most often leads to the loss of a father figure in the household to help to guide boys and young men. Fathers are a boys’ first role model. The incidence of absent fathers is perhaps more in evidence in African Caribbean families because there is the tradition of families being broken up during the period of chattel slavery (Chapter 2, Hook, 1981). However, African Caribbean fathers’ absenteeism in comparison with other fathers, in
the UK, may have been over emphasised in the media and in some research as data has typically been collected from economically deprived areas. Research has also failed to take into consideration the age of the fathers (Franklin, 2010). While the extended family may be less in evidence in the UK than in the Caribbean, there is evidence of support from the wider family and surrogate fathers in some cases (Reynolds, 2009).

African Caribbean fathers need to be educated about the importance of their role. This could begin in schools, with children learning from a young age about the role of parents and how important this is. Programmes could also be set up in prisons where fathers who are incarcerated could learn how to create a bond with their sons and keep in contact with them. Fathers should also be actively engaged in their children’s education even though they may not be living in the same household. They should actively engage with schools and be encouraged to shoulder their responsibilities in relation to the upbringing of their child.

There was evidence that the church and the support network that it offered had a positive impact on the boys providing positive role models. This influence, of course, is restricted to those who attend church. In Trinidad and Tobago, where the church composition is mainly African Caribbean, this might be used as a means to re-educate parents and inform them of the problems that African Caribbean boys may face.

There are clear implications from this research regarding the stop and search policy in the United Kingdom (Lammy Review, 2017). Kojeve (1969) suggested that the stop and search policy that the Metropolitan Police have adopted, which is used to target black boys is a way of humiliating them and making them feel like criminals. This encourages the development of negative attitudes and mistrust towards the police (Rich & Grey, 2005) and highlights issues of discrimination which can influence the development of antisocial behaviour, lead to engagement with toxic environments (hustling, gangs) that
have a negative impact or perpetuate a self-fulfilling prophecy (Gunther, 2008). Some boys glorify being placed in young offender’s custody as a rite of passage since this proves to their peers that they are not afraid of being incarcerated. Lammy highlighted in his report how the criminal justice system is more likely to condemn African Caribbeans and send them to prison compared to their white counterparts. This highlights how stereotyping and racial prejudice is embedded in the criminal justice system. The racism which exists in education and employment (Institute of Race Relation, 2017) is likely to contribute to some African Caribbean boys turning to illegal ways of providing for themselves economically.

8.6 Recommendations

There is little data being collected on the achievement of African Caribbean boys in Trinidad and Tobago. Such data as is available suggests that African Trinbagonians do not achieve as highly as other ethnic groups (Deosaran, 2016). The Ministry of Education in Trinidad and Tobago should seriously consider the systematic collection of data relating to achievement and exclusions from school taking account of gender and ethnicity. This will enable issues to be identified and addressed.

In the UK, there is a need for change in the education system. More African Caribbean teachers need to be recruited. Training needs to be provided for existing teachers about how to manage the behaviour of African Caribbean boys to reduce the number of exclusions. The curriculum needs to include the history of slavery and its abolition, also acknowledging African culture prior to slavery. The importance of the father in the family in providing a role model and support for his children should be included in PSHE lessons, as should issues relating to prejudice and discrimination. Alternative masculinity programmes might provide a model for this. In schools and colleges more attention
needs to be given to supporting young people in developing the soft skills they need to gain employment.

The church already plays a key role in supporting African Caribbean children and young people. Ways might be found to reach out within the community to support change within the community itself, empowering individuals to bring about change themselves. Other community groups might also address these issues. Pressure needs to be brought on government to change the stop and search laws and to embark on a program of re-education of the police force to reduce racial discrimination.

8.7 Suggestions for further research

While there has been considerable research on the African Caribbean community in the United Kingdom and African Americans in the USA much of this focuses on the negative aspects of their identity and how to address these. An exception is the work of Rhamie (2012) which focused on African Caribbean success. Wakefield and Hudley (2007) in their research on ethnic and racial identity and wellbeing highlighted the importance of a positive ethnic identity on adolescents’ motivation and achievement. Longitudinal research on how positive and negative identities are developed would be useful, as would making comparisons with white boys from low socio-economic families.

Research which focused on the role that the community can play in supporting African Caribbean boys and the ways in which this might operate is important. The work on alternative masculinities could usefully be replicated in the United Kingdom.

Research should also assess racial profiling and racial discrimination with regards to the metropolitan police force to assess the congruence between imaginary perceptions of discrimination and the real experience of discrimination experienced by African
Caribbean boys in the United Kingdom and the likelihood of links with the higher number of black males who are imprisoned. This is especially needed given the recent publication of The Lammy Review (2017).

8.8 Conclusions

This research highlighted differences and similarities in the lifestyles of African Caribbean boys in the United Kingdom and Trinidad and Tobago. Key differences related to the importance attached to education and the role of the police in discriminating against African Caribbean boys in the United Kingdom which generated high levels of resentment. There was huge variability in the identities that the boys developed and their self-concepts. Some had positive identities, clear ideas about their futures and support from families or other organisations including the church. In contrast, some had already developed identities which were anti-social. There were also differences in their relationships with their fathers, some being very supportive, while in other cases there was no relationship or a highly charged negative relationship. The research set out the way that slavery has impacted on African Caribbeans psychologically (Degruy, 2005), economically, and in relation to the breakdown of family structure and life through the absence of fathers. This psychological damage has continued through negative images in the media and racial discrimination. Prejudice presents considerable difficulties for African Caribbean boys as teenagers. The church has been pivotal in African Caribbean life since it has given African Caribbeans hope that things would one day be better and provided strength that one day challenges would be overcome. For some boys, it still plays an important role, although not for all.
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APPENDIX 1

Pilot study and questionnaire design
Ashan  This is my life

I don't want to be seen as better than you guys but if you need anything I am here to help I ain't perfect but....

IF we don't love ourselves why should anyone else.

Dance trophy

Friend and family

Friend or Annual Meeting

Me
DEAN

Write a letter to your dad telling him how you feel?

Hey dad its dean...i know we don't speak to each other that much so im writing a letter for you to read...i want to let you know that when were in each others company there is much silence, the odd joke here an there but not enough to look back on in the future...now im not complaining or asking you to change, im jus bringing it to your attention that im not going to be at home forever so if you don't want to have any regrets, you should use this little time with me wisely...

Write a letter to your mother telling her how you feel?

Hey mum....i always thought that I had a close bond with you well closer then dads anyway...i know there is a lot of things that I do that stresses you out but also there's a lot if things that you do that stresses me out...i don't mean to do these things on purpose to tic you off its jus me being me....i feel if we carry on like this we'll bridge a gap in our bond that wont be easily mended..
Why do you think it is so difficult to get a job?
I think it's difficult to find a job because in England there are more people than there are jobs, apart from this stereotyping is a major issue. Being an ethnic minority doesn't really help matters especially a minority that has the highest crime rate, regardless what is printed on your CV.

What are your three priorities in life?
Making money
Having fun
Looking after friends and family

How do black young men see themselves in society?
I can't really speak on the behalf of young black men but for myself I can. I see myself as an equal to everybody else even though in some situations this is not always the case.

In what situations is this not the case?
Situations such as dealing with higher authorities e.g. the police.
What sort of people do you like? Why?
I like people that are outgoing and straightforward because I find it really easy to read what these people are thinking which in turn helps me get along with these people.

Imagine you had the opportunity to do it all again, what would you do differently? Why?
I wouldn’t change anything because I like my life.

Sentence completion

Some day I would like to … travel the world

What I liked most about home … the atmosphere. Priceless!!!

Do you ever feel sad? If yes then, Why? no

Name the people who are significant in your life?
Friends and family

What do you like about them?
They’re there for me when I need them and they make me happy

How do you see yourself?
I see myself as the life of the party… someone who is caring and reliable

People usually say black people have it hard in life is this true? Why?
I don’t know… I haven’t lived my life yet

Tell me about your life during your teenage years?
For most of my teenaged years I was made to stay in the house but from 17-19 I get a job and moved out from my parents.
Final questionnaire

All answers are confidential

Ethnic origin: Age:

This questionnaire aims to explore identity and self-concept. The answers that you give will be confidential. They will contribute to a research project about African-Caribbean identity and achievement issues.

Please answer every question but do not spend too long thinking about the questions; there are no right or wrong answers. It will take you about 30 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

For each of the questions please circle the number that most represents your response to each statement.

5 Strongly agree
4 Agree
2 Disagree
1 Strongly disagree

3 Use this if you find it impossible to give an answer or you feel that the question does not apply to you.

All answers are confidential but will provide useful information for the project.

Thank you for your help.

If you wish to be considered to be interviewed for this study you can contact me either by email shinds@waes.ac.uk or on my mobile 07932386685. You would be given a voucher for your time.

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Write a short letter to your father – expressing your feelings towards him

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Drawings

Draw the way you see yourself in the world

Draw a snapshot of your life
APPENDIX 2

Sample of completed questionnaire

Drawings

Draw the way you see yourself in the world

[Diagram of a tree with words like "danger," "learning," "independent."]

Draw a snapshot of your life

[Diagram with a stick figure and objects like "crime," "money," "drug." ]
IF we don’t love ourselves why should anyone else.

We don’t do better when we care, but if you need anything I am here to help you before but...

Friend or Friend forever, forever.

Dance trophy 12 1 3

Life
Ethnic origin: African Caribbean
Age: 18

This questionnaire aims to explore identity and self-concept. The answers that you give will be confidential. They will contribute to a research project about African-Caribbean identity and achievement issues.

Please answer every question but do not spend too long thinking about the questions; there are no right or wrong answers. It will take you about 30 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

For each of the questions please circle the number that most represents your response to each statement.

5  Strongly agree
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All answers are confidential but will provide useful information for the project.

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</tr>
<tr>
<td>34</td>
<td>I seem to be capable of dealing with most problems that come up in life</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>35</td>
<td>I sometimes cannot help but wonder if anything is worthwhile</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>36</td>
<td>I am more concerned about how I feel about myself than about how other people think about me</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>37</td>
<td>People like me have no say in what the Government does</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>38</td>
<td>Men and women should do the same jobs around the house</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Write a short letter to your father — expressing your feelings towards him:

Their nothing I would say
APPENDIX 3
Interpretation of letters and drawings

Letter to father Trinidad and Tobago

Dear Dad

I hate you, by the way F@ck you

Your son
Thomas (14yo - Laventille)

Dear Daddy

I admire you a lot, Daddy without you I wouldn’t be alive and I wouldn’t even dream of having so many friends, family and an education to fall back on when I grow older. I love you with all my heart, I like the way you treat my sisters, my brothers, my aunts and my mother.

I deserve you but I am only a kid so I have to take my time and appreciate the things you have done for me and the things you have done for me and the things you are going to do for me.

Your Son

Chris

Dear Dad

I have nothing to say but Hello

Your son

Joshua (14yo – Laventille)

There DAD I love this is ojaly your loving son oj

Dear Daddy,

I am writing to you expressing my feelings to what you did to my mom. I know what you did and I know that it was very hard for you. I found out what happened with you and mom and you never stayed in touch but I am here and alive and please try to stay in contact 966-1486

Your Son always

Aleem Ellis (Laventille)

blank
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sample no</th>
<th>Statement</th>
<th>Analysis</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Hi dad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>First of all I have to say I miss you a lot. Ever since you died nothing has been the same, sometimes I wish you was here so you could make everything ok. You have been dead for six years (was 33 years when father died) now and I remember you like it was yesterday.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bye dad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Samuel</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Dear Dad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I admire the inspiration you have given me is infinite. You have showed me how to lyre with a state of mind that is free and ambitious how to be a gentleman and have pride in my race and family. I have always admired you and I cannot say I have any reasons to criticise you at all you have been quite honestly a perfect father to me, and I wish that my life is fulfilled in the way I have planned so that you may see your principles in me manifest in the fruits of my efforts. (father a judge)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I have nothing to say!</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I have no father as far as I am concerned</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>To Dad</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>I am disappointed in you for the way you’ve treated me in the last 10 years you never call me not even a text I would love it for you to be with mum so we could be a proper family remember I’ll always love you</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Love</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Andre</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Dad you can be ever protective and set out extremely high goals for me but this is just because you know the sky is the limit and want me to succeed plus you know I work better under pressure thanks 4 always being supportive Alex (mother died of cancer)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hi daddy how are you I am doing fine im at uni now where im staying is fine. I have finally made it and I hope your proud of me. Even though I find my self confident +</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
## Chapter 6

### The story pictures tell: Trinidad and Tobago

Boys were given the opportunity to provide a visual representation of the way they saw themselves in the world and a snapshot of their lives. It was thought that some boys might be better able to articulate their perceptions of their lives through drawings than with text, and that the pictures might be able to help triangulate and add depth to the quantitative analysis.

145 boys provided drawings, which included realistic representations of their perception of their lives and where it was heading. The symbolic images depicted related to power, isolation, aspirations, success, educational, confused confidence and emotions.

### Picture categories, by boys' ages

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Age 13-16</th>
<th>Age 17-20</th>
<th>Age 21-25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power on top of the world/boss</td>
<td>111(NA)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspiration (PM, superstar)</td>
<td>1111111</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loneliness (alone in the world)</td>
<td></td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Success/inclusive of wife n kids/happiness/money/job</td>
<td>11111111</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studying/education</td>
<td>11111(NA)</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>11(NA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confused/friends/study/direction</td>
<td></td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotions/happiness</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powerless (small in the world)</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>1111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vague</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11(NA)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facing everyday life (school, church, home, stress)</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>1111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress/style</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>1111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangsta/drugs/girls/sex</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>1111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Struggle/life</td>
<td></td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>1111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Drawings

Draw the way you see yourself in the world

Draw a snap shot of your life
Drawings

Draw the way you see yourself in the world

STRESS, DEPRESSION, RELATIONSHIPS, HEALTH...

MY LIFE

DRAWN BY MR. TERRY L. S

Draw a snap shot of your life

PASS??

(1050)
The story pictures tell: United Kingdom

96 boys provided drawings, which included realistic representations of their perception of their lives and where it was heading. The symbolic images depicted related to power, isolation, aspirations, success, educational, confused confidence and emotions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Categories</th>
<th>Age 13-16</th>
<th>Age 17-20</th>
<th>Age 21-25</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Power (on top of the world/boss)</td>
<td>1111111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aspiration(PM, superstar/role model)</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loneliness (alone in the world)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Success/inclusive of wife n kids/happiness/money/job</td>
<td>111111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Studying/education</td>
<td>1111111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confused/friends/study/direction</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Confidence</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emotions/happiness/sad</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Powerless (small in the world)</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vague</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Church</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Facing everyday life (school, church, home, stress)</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dress/style/friends</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gangsta/drugs/girls/sex</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Struggle/life/making money</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music/sports/cars/material</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fun/drama/acting</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helpless</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooper</td>
<td>11111</td>
<td>1111</td>
<td>11111</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

280
Drawings

Draw the way you see yourself in the world

Facing Life

Draw a snapshot of your life

Confused
APPENDIX 4
Results for cluster analysis

Table 7.4 Wilks’ Lambda

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Test of Function(s)</th>
<th>Wilks’ Lambda</th>
<th>Chi-square</th>
<th>df</th>
<th>Sig.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 through 2</td>
<td>.136</td>
<td>591.60</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>.413</td>
<td>262.431</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>.000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 7.5 Eigenvalues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Eigenvalue</th>
<th>% of Variance</th>
<th>Cumulative %</th>
<th>Canonical Correlation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.035a</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>58.8</td>
<td>.819</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>1.423a</td>
<td>41.2</td>
<td>100.0</td>
<td>.766</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

a. First 2 canonical discriminant functions were used in the analysis.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>I am likely to be stopped by the police</td>
<td>.401*</td>
<td>.211</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value education</td>
<td>-.327*</td>
<td>.321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I do not believe anything is intrinsically wrong with using weed for recreational purpose</td>
<td>.321*</td>
<td>-.049</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to me that I listen to the same music as my friends</td>
<td>.292*</td>
<td>.124</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value the support I receive from my church</td>
<td>-.277*</td>
<td>.271</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I can achieve whatever i set out to be</td>
<td>-.255*</td>
<td>.210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like myself</td>
<td>-.224*</td>
<td>.099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I feel people stereotype me on the basis of my race</td>
<td>.223*</td>
<td>.200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My friends are predominantly Afro-Trinbagonians’</td>
<td>.220*</td>
<td>.162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I admire my father</td>
<td>-.215*</td>
<td>.149</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>How people walk at my age is important</td>
<td>.211*</td>
<td>.102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to get a job as soon as possible than to continue education</td>
<td>.203*</td>
<td>.102</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>other ethnic groups feel uncomfortable with my presence</td>
<td>.203*</td>
<td>-.046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it is very important to wear designer labels</td>
<td>.202*</td>
<td>.186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>People like me have no say in what Government does</td>
<td>.134*</td>
<td>.099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I seem to be capable of dealing with most problems that come up in life</td>
<td>-.064*</td>
<td>.026</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The prospect of completing university motivates me</td>
<td>-.203</td>
<td>.373*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A good education is important to success in life</td>
<td>-.350</td>
<td>.363*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents expect me to go to university</td>
<td>-.163</td>
<td>.345*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I admire my mother</td>
<td>-.189</td>
<td>.283*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I like the clothes I wear to be identified with my friends</td>
<td>.212</td>
<td>.278*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>My parents have high expectations of me</td>
<td>-.236</td>
<td>.278*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my parents value education</td>
<td>-.142</td>
<td>.253*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I go to church regularly</td>
<td>-.195</td>
<td>.251*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music is important in my life</td>
<td>-.073</td>
<td>.232*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>my parents helped me with homework</td>
<td>-.037</td>
<td>.203*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>What happens to me is my own doing</td>
<td>-.016</td>
<td>.175*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I sometimes cannot help but wonder if anything is worthwhile</td>
<td>.035</td>
<td>.171*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sometimes I do not feel in control</td>
<td>-.054</td>
<td>.155*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I am concerned about how i feel about myself than about how other people think about me</td>
<td>-.047</td>
<td>.150*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I value being with my friends</td>
<td>-.076</td>
<td>.125*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>It is important to be with my friends</td>
<td>-.036</td>
<td>.104*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I have a regular girlfriend</td>
<td>.045</td>
<td>.099*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afro-Trinbagonians’ hold high status jobs</td>
<td>-.054</td>
<td>.084*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Everyone should be free to choose their sexual orientation</td>
<td>.049</td>
<td>.082*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If i disagree with members of my group i will behave independently of them</td>
<td>.010</td>
<td>.067*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Pooled within-groups correlations between discriminating variables and standardized canonical discriminant functions. Variables ordered by absolute size of correlation within function.
*. Largest absolute correlation between each variable and any discriminant function