

**An ethnographic study of Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of
supporting their children's learning within their home environments**

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Abstract

This ethnographic study explored how Black Ugandan British parents support their children's learning in England. It is important to study this group because the parents in this study are Black migrants from Uganda and have an asylum seeking background, thus adding to our knowledge of asylum seeking and education. Moreover, little attention has been paid to this particular group before. The study comprises ten Black Ugandan British families with refugee and asylum-seeking backgrounds in two London boroughs. Adopting an ethnographic and an interpretive approach allowed me to explore how Black Ugandan British parents supported their children's education over time through data collected via long-term interactions, observations and semi-structured interviews with the ten families in their natural home environment settings.

I adopted Yosso's concept of community cultural wealth to analyse data from my study and the data was theorised using Critical Race Theory. Through this theoretical framework, I challenge the traditional interpretations of cultural capital, particularly in relation to educational support or provision, by highlighting various and different forms of capital Black Ugandan British parents use to support their children's learning, which are unknown. This thesis contributes to knowledge by highlighting the different nature of parental educational support, educational strategies and the underlying factors that inform Black Ugandan British parents' nature of parental educational support and educational strategies. I argue that Black Ugandan British parents' culturalistic approach towards their children's education within their homes and communities and additionally, the contribution they make towards their children's learning are unrecognised in English schools and English education policy.

Further, this thesis highlights class complexities and contributes to debates on class. The study found that Black Ugandan British parents with middle class backgrounds from

Uganda, but positioned as working class parents in the UK, bring their Ugandan middle class backgrounds to supporting their children's education in the UK, which calls for the need to understand Black Ugandan British parents' middle class backgrounds and the influence they have on their ways of supporting their children's education. My study shows that Black Ugandan British parents' cultural, employment, educational and class backgrounds have a huge influence on how they support their children's education. My study illuminates how class, ethnicity and culture shape Black British Ugandan children's learning, and makes an original and important contribution to knowledge in this field.

Contents

Chapter one: Setting the scene, research contextual overview and a review of the literature around migration/asylum seeking, parental support/engagement/involvement in children's learning and literature concerning the attainment of Black children.....	14
1.1 Introduction.....	14
1.2 Defining the terms 'Black', 'achievement' and 'underachievement', racism and institutional racism.....	15
1.2.1 Black.....	15
1.2.2 Achievement and underachievement.....	16
1.2.3 Racism and institutional racism.....	17
1.3 Rationale/why I carried out this research.....	17
1.3.1 The need to focus on researching Black Ugandan British parents and the role they play in supporting their children's education.....	18
1.3.2 The academic attainment of Black African heritage children in England.....	21
1.3.3 My background	29
1.3.4 Deficit discourses that blame Black parents for the underachievement of Black children in England.....	34
1.4 Literature Review.....	36
1.4.1 Migration/asylum seeking/refugee experience in England.....	36
1.4.2 Black migrant people and their subsequent employment experiences in the UK.....	49

1.5 Deficit discourse around migrant Black parents and their children's education.....	52
1.5.1 Black parents' perceived lack of interest in their children's education/low value on education/low aspirations of their children's education	54
1.5.2 Language deficiency and educational attainment.....	57
1.5.3 Cultural capital/Social capital.....	61
1.6 What we know about the educational attainment of Black children in England.....	66
1.6.1 Deprivation/ Social-economic status (SES)/Social class and education attainment.....	67
1.6.2 Racism in the English education system/Low teacher expectations of Black children's education.....	73
1.6.3 Ethnicity and educational achievement, policy context.....	81
1.7 Parental support/engagement/involvement in children's learning/education...82	
1.7.1 Parental support of, parental engagement and parental involvement in children's learning definitions.....	83
1.7.2 Social class and parental involvement.....	87
1.7.3 Concerted cultivation/Accomplishment of Natural Growth.....	89
1.7.4 Black middle class and parental involvement in England.....	93
1.7.5 The concept of 'funds of knowledge'	94
1.8 Children's career aspirations.....	97
1.9 How this study fills the gap in knowledge.....	98
1.9.1 Academic attainment of Black African children in England.....	98

1.9.2 Researching families in their home environments.....	100
1.9.3 Parental support of children’s learning.....	100
1.10 Thesis outline.....	101
1.11 Summary.....	104
 Chapter Two: Methodology.....	 105
2.1 Introduction.....	105
2.2 Ethnography justification.....	105
2.3 Sample.....	111
2.3.1 Sample selection.....	111
2.3.2 Research participants.....	111
2.4 Methods	114
2.4.1 Observations.....	115
2.4.2 Interviews.....	116
2.5 Ethics.....	117
2.5.1 Access.....	117
2.5.2 Not causing harm to the participants.....	118
2.5.3 Gaining consent.....	118
2.5. 4 Insider researcher/ sharing ethnicity.....	120
2.5.5 Negating/addressing challenges in data collection.....	122

2.5.6 Confidentiality and Anonymity.....	125.
2.5.7 Tape recording/Recording data/ Trustworthiness.....	129
2.6 How my background influenced data collection and analysis.....	131
2.6.1 Reflexivity and data-analysis.....	132
2.6.2 Reflexivity, epistemological position and data analysis.....	134
2.6.3 Data analysis/Handling data.....	136
2.7 How data from my study was analysed.....	137
2.7.1 Theoretical analysis.....	139
2.7.2 Patterns.....	140
2.8 Framework for analysing ethnographic research data/ Conceptual theoretical approach.....	141
2.8.1 Critical Race Theory (CRT).....	141
2.9 Summary.....	143
Chapter Three: Culture and education.....	146
3.1 Introduction.....	146
3.2 A definition of culture.....	146
3.3 Language.....	147
3.3.1 Language definition.....	147
3.3.2 Languages in Uganda.....	147
3.3.3 Ethnic divisions and language inequalities during the colonial rule in Uganda.....	148

3.3.4 English language, transmission of western knowledge and the curriculum.....	150
3.4 Customs.....	153
3.5 Religion.....	158
3.5.1 Religions in Uganda.....	158
3.5.2 Religious beliefs	159
3.6 Leisure.....	160
3.6.1 Popular culture.....	160
3.7 Food.....	162
3.8 Clothes.....	164
3.9 Art	166
3.10 Summary	166
Chapter Four: Class and education/Class and employment.....	167
4.1 Introduction.....	167
4.2 Social class in Uganda.....	168
4.2.1 History of social class in Uganda.....	168
4.2.2 Social class in Uganda during pre-colonial period.....	168
4.2.3 Buganda Kingdom.....	168
4.2.4 Ankole Kingdom.....	169

4.2.5 Bunyoro Kitare Kingdom.....	170
4.2.6 Social class in Uganda during the colonial period.....	170
4.2.7 Social class in Uganda during the postcolonial period.....	172
4.2.8 Middle-classness	173
4.3 The meanings of class in England.....	176
4.3.1 Social class overview in England.....	176
4.3.2 Upper class.....	177
4.3.3 Traditional middleclass in England	178
4.3.4 Working class.....	179
4.3.5 Black Middle Class complexity in Uganda and England.....	180
4.4 The participants' employment experiences in Uganda and England, and their changed class position.....	183
4.4.1 Black Ugandan British parents' employment status in Uganda.....	183
4.4.2 The benefits attached to working in the public service sector /making their parents proud and fulfilling the education and cultural expectations of their parents/financial security.....	186
4.4.3 Social mobility.....	191
4.4.4 Black Ugandan British parents' employment patterns in England.....	193
4.4.5 Exploitation.....	203
4.5 Class and education in Uganda.....	206
4.5.1 Definition of schools in Uganda	207
4.5.2 Establishment of middle class schools in Uganda.....	207
4.5.3 Why attend middle class Ugandan schools?	209

4.5.4 Contemporary class differentiation in Ugandan schools.....	210
4.5.5 Black Ugandan British parents' middle class identities and education.....	211
4.5.6 Black Ugandan British parents and school choices.....	214
4.5.7 Community Cultural Wealth	218
4.6 Summary.....	226
Chapter five: Parental support of children's learning and deployment of educational strategies.....	230
5.1 Introduction.....	230
5.2 Factors that influence the way Black Ugandan British parents support their children's learning and how they inform Black Ugandan British parents' educational strategies.....	231
5.2.1 Value for education.....	232
5.2.2 Black Ugandan British parents' high aspirations and expectations of their children's education.....	241
5.2.3 Gender/marriage related issues.....	243
5.2.4 Seeing their children underachieving.....	248
5.2.5 British/Ugandan children's experiences in English schools.....	249
5.2.6 Teacher low expectations of British/Ugandan children's education achievement.....	254
5.2.7 Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of interacting with British schools.....	257

5.2.8 Lack of proper implementation of Education Policies.....	264
5.3 Educational strategies.....	270
5.3.1 Private education.....	270
5.3.2 Private tutoring.....	279
5.3.3 Supplementary schools/support networks.....	283
5.3.4 Supplementary schools and raising attainment.....	285
5.3.5 Supplementary schools and promoting Ugandan culture/linguistic heritage....	292
5.3.6 Supplementary schools and promoting cultural religious beliefs.....	303
5.4 Conclusion.....	316
Chapter six: Conclusions.....	321
6.1 Introduction.....	321
6.2 Contribution to knowledge.....	322
6.3 Black Ugandan British parents' interest in and commitment to education....	324
6.3.1 Black Ugandan double class identities and parental interest/commitment to education.....	324
6.3.2 Black Ugandan British parents' cultural capital/social capital and parental interest in education.....	327
6.4 Black Ugandan British parental educational strategies.....	329
6.4.1 Networking.....	330
6.4.2 Supplementary schools.....	331
6.4.3 Private education.....	333
6.4.4 Private tutoring.....	335
6.4.5 Visits to/interactions with English schools.....	336

6.5 Concerted cultivation/accomplishment of natural growth/Black middle classed educational strategies in England.....	340
6.6 Ugandan culture/parental aspirations of children’s education.....	347
6.7 Parental support of children’s learning/parental involvement in children’s education definitions.....	348
6.8 Government policy on parental involvement/parental support of children’s learning.....	349
6.9 Language and educational support provision/language and family structure.....	351
6.10 Strength and limitations of the study.....	352
6.11 Areas for further study.....	356
6.12 Recommendations.....	357
References and bibliography.....	364
Appendices.....	403
Appendix A Letter of consent for participants/ informed consent form.....	403
Appendix B Interview schedule questions.....	405
Appendix C Examples of interview notes.....	407
Appendix D A list of the themes that emerged from the analysed data.....	418

**Chapter one: Setting the scene, research contextual overview and a review of the
literature around migration/asylum seeking, parental
support/engagement/involvement in children's learning and literature concerning
the attainment of Black children**

1.1 Introduction

The two main purposes of this chapter are to i) introduce the study and set out the study rationale and, ii) to review literature concerning the attainment of Black children, parental support/engagement/involvement in children's education and literature on migration/asylum seeking/refugees in England. It is important to review the literature in these areas because my study is located within them. This chapter sets the scene by providing an understanding of why I carried out this research, who my participants are, the importance of this research and how it contributes to knowledge in the field of education.

I undertook this research in order to understand how Black Ugandan British parents who migrated from Uganda to England and who have an asylum seeking background support their children's learning in England. This is an important group to study because they are neglected in the research literature and because as asylum seekers they contribute to our understanding of the educational issues facing migrants.

The overall focus of the study was to explore how Black Ugandan British parents support their children's learning. The study has 3 key questions.

1. What issues do Black Ugandan British parents face as they support their children's education?
2. What parental strategies do Black Ugandan British parents use to promote learning and academic success amongst British/Ugandan children?
3. What are Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of interacting with English schools in reference to supporting their children's education?

Before I discuss how I addressed the above questions, it is important to define the terms Black, achievement and underachievement and, racism and institutional racism as they play a central role in this thesis.

1.2 Defining the terms 'Black', 'achievement' and 'underachievement', racism and institutional racism

1.2.1 Black

While the main focus of the study is Black Ugandan British parents repeated reference is made in the thesis to Black, Black African and Black Caribbean children, parents and/or groups. Therefore it is important to understand how these terms have been defined and how they are used in this thesis. The "generic term 'Black' is used to refer to the composite group of children from Black African, Black Caribbean, Black other, Mixed White and Black African, and Mixed White and Black Caribbean heritage" (Maylor et al., 2009, p.13). That said, when the government's education department analyses education attainment statistics (e.g. DfE, 2012) it tends to present the data differentiating between Black African, Black Caribbean and Black students. Some research studies also differentiate between these groups. Therefore in this thesis when specific reference is made to Black African, Black Caribbean or Black children these respective terms are used, and the group(s) being referred to is made clear. Notwithstanding, as the thesis pertains to the experiences of British Ugandan parents

and their children, it is salient to state that the broad category Black African is insufficient as it encompasses a range of African heritages and does not differentiate Black Ugandan British children. In addition to use of the term Black British Ugandan, when other African groups are being referred to reference is made to the group concerned for example, Nigerian, Somali, Ghanaian and so forth.

1.2.2 Achievement and underachievement

The terms ‘achievement’ and ‘underachievement’ are problematic to define as some researchers differ in the ways that they define them. Maylor, et al., state that:

The concept of ‘underachievement’ ... is usually described in terms of ‘achievement falling below what would be forecast from our most informed and accurate prediction, based on a team of predictor variables’. The phrase ‘achieving below’ in this definition is fundamental because it denotes a particular set of standards; performing below suggests failure or underachievement (2009, p.13).

While Gorard and Smith (2004) suggest that the term ‘underachievement’ refers to achievement relative to another group, Gillborn and Gripps (1996, p.1) suggest it is a “relatively crude term relating to differences in group averages”. According to Gillborn and Mirza, (2000, p.7), “the concept of underachievement is often used in educational discourses to differentiate educational outcomes among different ethnic groups”. Graham, (2013, p.39) states that:

when a child ‘underachieves’ in school it means that he/she is not achieving at the level that is expected of children at a particular age. This means that the child has not met the standards in Cognitive Abilities Tests (CATs), Standard Assessment Techniques (SATs), GCSEs or A-level assessments as measured by these test scores (QCDA, 2010 and DfE, 2010)

Therefore, as stipulated by the Qualifications and Curriculum Authority and Department for Education for their age or stage of learning “children are classified as failing because they have not achieved the desired scores” (Graham, 2013, p.39).

1.2.3 Racism and institutional racism

Racism is "a form of prejudice, based on an individual's ignorance of, and hostility towards, a racial group seen as alien [and racism] as a societal, rather than an individual, phenomenon" (Tizard and Phoenix, 2002 p.140). According to Graham, “the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (2011) defines racism as the unfair treatment of people who belong to a different race [and] if racist consequences accrue to institutional laws, customs or practices, that institution is racist whether or not the individuals maintaining those practices have racial intentions” (Graham, 2013p.58). The Macpherson Report, (1999p.28) defined institutional racism as:

The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can also be seen or detected in processes, attitudes, behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.

Having defined key terms, in the next section I discuss the main reasons that influenced me to carry out this research.

1.3 Rationale/why I carried out this research

There are four major reasons that influenced me to carry out this research and to focus on Black Ugandan British parents. The first reason relates to the need to focus on researching Black Ugandan British parents, the role they play in supporting their

children's learning within their home and community environments and the contribution they make towards their children's education (see section 1.3.1 below). The second reason relates to the "concerns [that] persist [about the academic achievement of] Black African heritage students [in England]" (Demie, 2013, p.2) (see section 1.3.2 below). The third reason is associated with my background. As a Black Ugandan British parent with a migration background, middle class identity in Ugandan context (based on my private education schooling in Uganda, my employment experience in Uganda as a teacher and the lifestyle that I had) and a working class identity in a UK context (given the job that I do in England –Teaching assistant), I wanted to examine how Black Ugandan British parents with a migration/asylum seeking background support their children's education in England through exploring their experiences of supporting their children's learning (see section 1.3.3 below for a detailed understanding of my background). The fourth reason relates to the deficit discourses around Black migrant people and their children's education particularly how Black parents have been perceived to lack interest in their children's education, place a low value on education and to lack cultural capital to support their children's education (see section 1.3.4 below). I now move to discuss these influential reasons in detail.

1.3.1 The need to focus on researching Black Ugandan British parents and the role they play in supporting their children's education

Research on the education of Black children in England has focused heavily on Black African Caribbean children and how Black African Caribbean parents are involved in their children's education (Vincent et al., 2011, Reynolds, 2005) in search for ways to tackle the underachievement of Black African Caribbean children in English schools (Davidson and Alexis, 2012, Reynolds, 2005). We also now know much about Black Caribbean middle class families' educational strategies and how they deploy their social

and cultural resources to support their children's education in England (Vincent et al, 2011, Rollock et al, 2015, Gillborn et al, 2012). As well as knowing about the educational strategies employed by Black Caribbean middle class parents, we also we also know about their "interactions with their children's teachers and in particular, their experiences that teachers tend to have systematically lower academic expectations for Black children ...regardless of the students' social class background" (Gillborn et al., 2012p.121). Archer's study (2010a) also provides us with some understanding of the educational practices of minority ethnic, middle class families in the UK including Black middle class parents. Research studies in education have also focused heavily on White middle class parents and how they are involved in their children's education particularly, the ways in which they strategise, engage and deploy their cultural capital to their advantage in support of their children's education (Power et al., 2003, Ball, 2003a, Byrne, 2006, Crozier et al, 2008, Reay, Crozier and James, 2011).

While acknowledging the importance of these studies and the contribution they make in the field of education particularly in the area of parental engagement/involvement, I argue that there is now a need to focus on Black Ugandan British parents and the role they play in supporting their children's learning. It is important to focus on Black Ugandan British parents because their experiences of supporting their children's education and additionally, the contribution they make towards their children's learning/education is missing from the literature available on parental support/engagement/involvement in children's learning in England, and more specifically Black parental support/engagement/involvement. My study indicates that Black Ugandan British parents have double class identities and the class and education and class and employment chapter (chapter 4) in this thesis discusses the Black Ugandan British parents' double class identities, which are informed by:

- i) a middleclass identity from Uganda given the education (private education) the study parents' had and the jobs that they did in Uganda (such as accountancy), combined with the lifestyles they had, and
- ii) a working class identity in England owing to the jobs that they do in England (such as cleaning).

As well as examining Black Ugandan British parents' double class identities in informing the nature and level of educational support they provide to their children and the educational strategies they use to support their children's learning (see chapters 4 and 5), my study explores how the intersection of Black Ugandan British parents' double class identities influence the parents' interactions with English schools. My study shows class complexity by highlighting how Black Ugandan British parents in working class positions in England such as cleaning bring their middle class aspirations to supporting their children's learning in England. Secondly, my study examines the intersection of Black Ugandan British parents' double class identities and their cultural identities in not only influencing the nature and level of parental educational support as well as educational strategies, but also looks at how this intersection influences Black Ugandan British parental interactions with schools. It is also important to note that research on Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's education within their environments and communities is not available.

My focus on exploring Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's education within their community and environments was also influenced by McKenley's arguments about the need to research parental interactions with schools with research located within their homes and community environments (McKenley, 2005). In addition, research on the educational experiences of Black children in England has focused on schools (Rollock, 2015, Walters, 2012, Vincent et al., 2012). Therefore,

rather than focussing on schools and exploring Black Ugandan British children's educational experiences in school settings and exploring how schools interact with Black British Ugandan parents, I was interested in exploring Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's learning within their home environments, and as part of this seeking to understand what these parents did to support their children's education and how they interacted with schools in reference to supporting their children's learning. Dedicated examination of this group is also important because Black Ugandan British parents have backgrounds (migration/asylum seeking/refugees) which continue to dominate political debates in England (OECD, 2015). It is in my contention that due to their small number in the British population compared to Ugandan British Asians, Black British Ugandan parents experiences of supporting their children's education and the contribution they make towards their children's education have remained unheard of until now through this thesis. It is also important to mention that within the broader historical context of Black migrant people in England, Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's education and the contribution they make towards their children's education have not previously been documented.

1.3.2 The academic attainment of Black African heritage children in England

It is argued that "Black African students [in England] are underachieving within the education system and that they are less likely to achieve their full potential at school" (Demie, 2013, p.1; Demie, Mclean and Lewis 2006). Maylor, (2014, p.7) also argues that "an achievement gap is evident between Black African [students] and White British children". Over the years, many researchers have pointed out that Black African children underachieve compared to their white British counterparts (Gillborn, 2008, Gillborn and Gipps, 1996; Gillborn and Mirza, 2000; Blair, 2001; Demie; 2001; Ofsted,

2002). Gillborn adds that “White...students-of both sexes –are more likely to succeed than their peers from Pakistani, Bangladeshi, Black Caribbean, Black African, Black other, and Dual Heritage (White/Black Caribbean) backgrounds” (2008p.56). This suggests that the under-attainment of Black African children is a long-standing problem. In 2007 when I started my PhD, the statistics for Black African attainment for that year and the years before that for example, 2004/05 showed that Black African children were underachieving as seen below. Therefore, I was concerned about the academic attainment of Black African children. This concern also influenced me to explore Black Ugandan British parents’ experiences of supporting their children’s learning to identify what is happening and what parents were doing to support their children’s learning in order to enhance their attainment. I would like to concentrate on the statistics that raised concern about the educational attainment of Black African children and in the following statistics, I look closely at the education attainment of Black African children as my study explores the experiences of Black Ugandan British parents from an African continent and their children born in England who have an African background. In examining GCSE (General Certificate of Secondary Education) attainment, I focus specifically on the period 2004-2014.

In 2004, Black Caribbean and Black African pupils were least successful academically with only 36% of Black Caribbean and 43% of Black African pupils achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C. In contrast around 76% of Chinese, 63% of Indian and 52% of White British pupils achieved 5 or more A* to C grades at GCSE. Bangladeshi and Pakistani pupils also achieved better than African and Black Caribbean pupils (Demie, Mclean and Lewis, 2006 p.8).

The 2004 DfES (Department for Education and Skills, 2005a), GCSE results, statistics (also referenced by Demie, Maclean and Lewis, 2006 above) showed that 43% of Black African students attained 5 GCSE's or more at A*-C grades compared with 36% of Black Caribbean students. The Black African attainment represented a 7 percentage point difference between that of Black Caribbean students; thus Black African students performed better than Black Caribbean students. However, the data showed that in 2004 Black African students remained behind students from other ethnic groups (Richardson, 2005) and when compared with the attainment of White British students (the majority student population) the attainment of Black African students represented a 9 percentage point gap difference, with that of White British students, with Black African students underperforming vis-à-vis White British students (DfES, 2005a). The Runnymede Trust (2012) compared GCSE school attainment statistics in 2006-7 (DfE, 2012) and these statistics showed that while the GCSE attainment of all ethnic groups had fallen when compared with the 2004-5 attainment, Black African students continued to fall behind their White British counterparts as seen in table 1.

Table 1: Attainment GCSEs (5A*-C grade including maths and English)

Ethnicity	2006/7
White British	45%
Chinese	70%
Bangladeshi	40%
Black African	Just over 40%
Pakistani	35%
Black Caribbean	34%

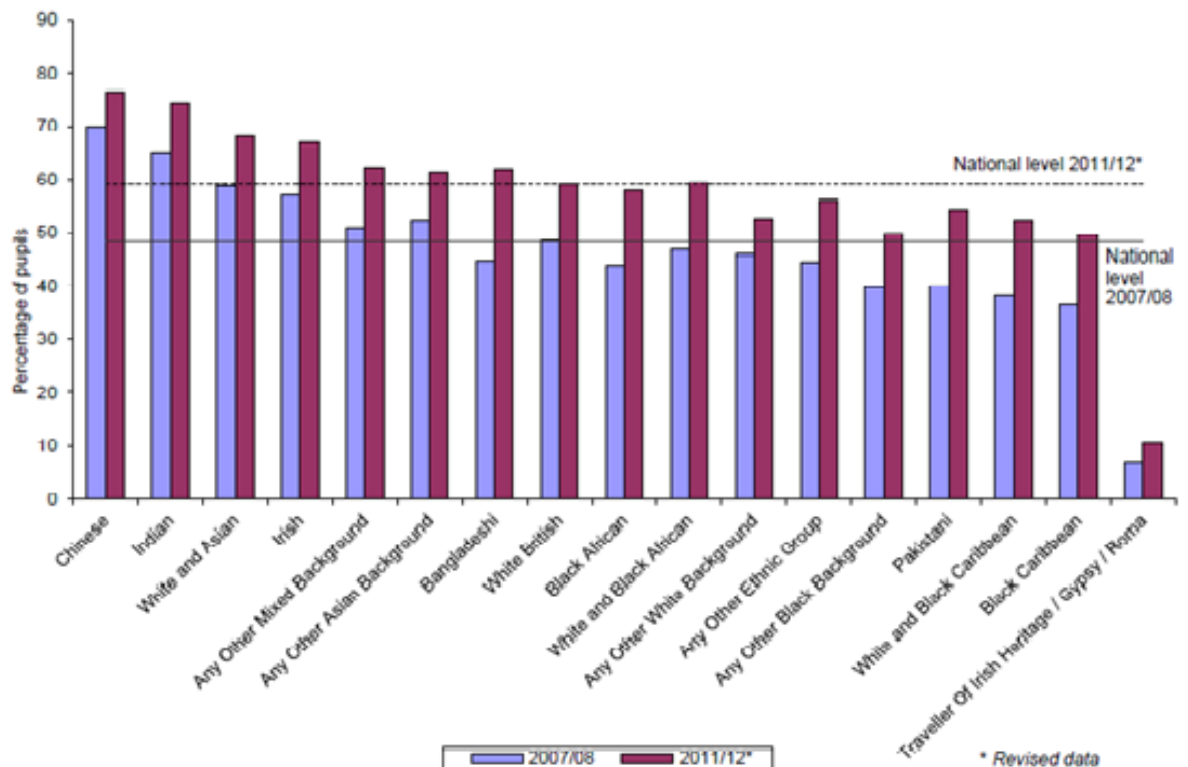
Source: Runnymede trust, (2012)

The table above refers to the numbers attaining GCSEs in 2006/7 with just over 40% of Black African students attaining GCSEs (5A*-C grade including maths and English) compared to 45% of White British children. The figures reveal an increase in Black

African attainment and suggest the gap between White British and Black African attainment had decreased from 9 to 5 percentage points.

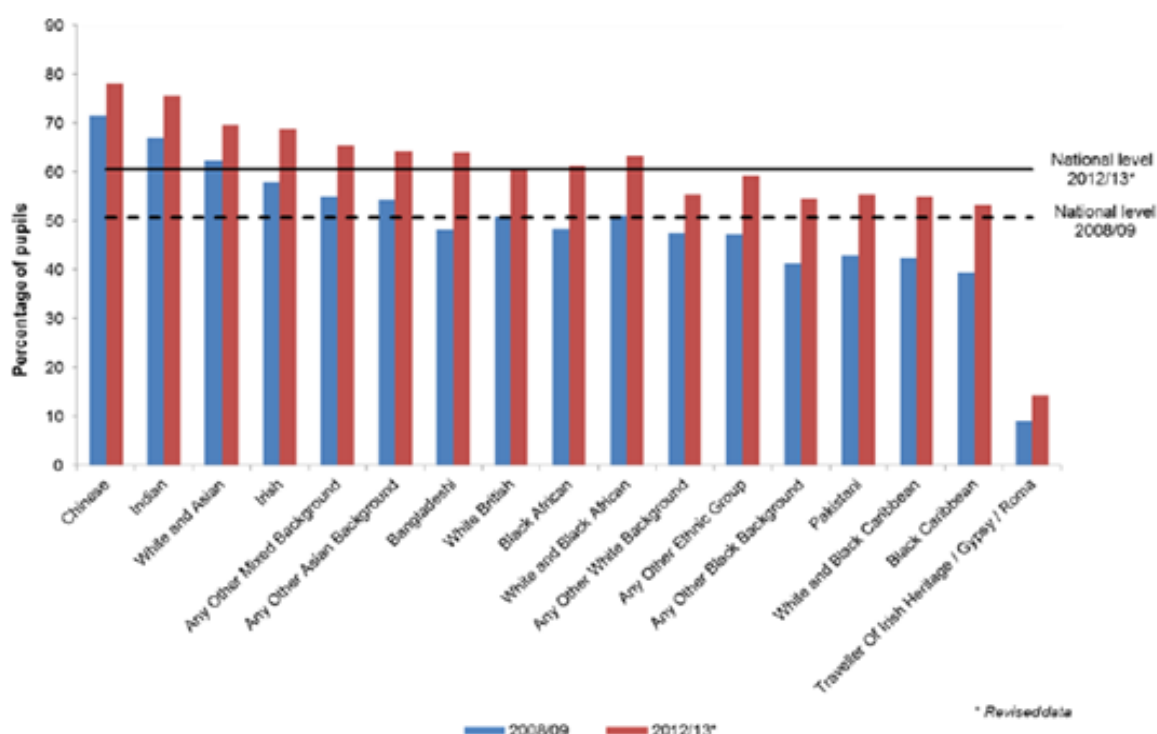
According to the “Department for Education statistical First Release 2007/08 Black African students fell behind children from other ethnic backgrounds such as Chinese, Indian, White and Asian, Irish and White British” (DfE, 2013). Figure 2 below compares GCSE attainment in 2007/08 with attainment in 2011-12 and for each year the national attainment level is shown. In 2007/08 Black African students not only had a lower attainment (47%) than White British students (50%), but the attainment of Black African students was below the national level whereas the White British attainment was in line with the national level (48%). Interestingly, in 2011/12 although the GCSE attainment of Black African students had risen dramatically (59%) and was closer to that of White British students (60%) it was still below the national level of 60%.

Figure 2: Percentage of pupils achieving 5 or more GCSEs by ethnic group, 2007/08 and 2011/12*



It is also clear from the above national statistics provided by the Department for Education (2014) that in 2011/2012, Black African students remained behind Chinese, Indian White and Asian, Irish and Bangladeshi students and according to the “Department for education statistical First Release 2012/13 Black African students continue to academically attain lower than these groups”

Figure 3: Percentage of pupils achieving 5 or more GCSEs at grade A* to C or equivalent including English and mathematics GCSEs by ethnic group, 2008/09 and 2012/13*



The bar chart in figure 3 above shows that in 2008-2009, Black African students fell behind Chinese, Indian, White and Asian, Irish and White British children. However, it is important to note that the attainment of Black African students in 2012-2013 was slightly higher than that of White British students and slightly above the national level, whereas White British attainment was in line with the national level. While the attainment of Black African students was comparable with White British students in 2012/13 it is unclear which African groups this increased attainment pertains to. Previous analysis of GSCE attainment data undertaken for example by Demie (2006) and Maylor et al (2009) would however, seem to suggest that this increased Black African attainment relates to students of Nigerian and Ghanaian heritage. The tendency to combine attainment scores from different Black African groups appears to mask the attainment of Black African students who are doing less well, such as Somali students which is the group Demie, McLean and Lewis (2006) has found underachieve.

Furthermore, the “DfES (2005a) ... use the extended codes for Black African [and attainment and analysis by these codes suggests] that within the Black African category there is significant variation in attainment at age 16” (Demie, Mclean and Lewis, 2006, p.42). Maylor et al (2009,p.13) also suggest that “the use of the extended ethnic background categories reveals differences within the Black African category with Black Ghanaian and Black Nigerian children having higher attainment than Black Somali children [which] suggests that the generic term ‘Black’ might mask differences between different Black groups”. They state that “the evidence on Minority Ethnic pupils aged 5-16 in London, notes that some Black African groups, particularly Nigerians, (54% achiev[ed] 5+A*-C GCSEs in 2003 and 56% in 2005) and the Ghanaians (46% achiev[ed] 5+A*-C in 2003 and 53% in 2005) are likely to do well in GCSE examinations. Contrastingly, during a similar period only 22% and 29% of Somali children achieved 5A*-C” (Maylor et al., 2009, p.16). Therefore, just as the Black African category conceals differences between African groups, the inclusive Black category also hides differences.

Fulcher and Scott also suggest that “there are major gender variations” (2007, p.341) within the Black group for example, Black girls have higher achievement levels than Black boys (Fulcher and Scott, 2007, Maylor et al., 2009) which suggests that the “relationship between ethnicity and achievement is particularly complex” (Fulcher and Scott, 2007, p.341). This complexity led Maylor et al., (2009,p.13) to argue that “as there is a danger that the inclusive term ‘Black’ could lead to simplistic and at the same time the wrong conclusions being drawn about Black children’s achievement, it is important that any attainment differentials within the Black group are identified and explored in greater detail”. This is another reason for the need to examine Black African children’s academic attainment.

More debates and concerns about Black African children and their education in England are located within the wider debates about the educational attainment of Black children in England in general which are discussed in the literature review section below but before that, it is important to note that although some London boroughs such as Lambeth and Camden have commissioned reports on the achievement of some Black African children in Lambeth such as Nigerian and Ghanaian children (Demie, Mclean and Lewis, 2006 also see Demie, 2013) and Somali children in Camden (Ali and Jones, 2000), it is argued that “African students have...been [the] subject of relatively little research” (Cassen and Kingdon, 2007,p.9). Roubeni et al, (2015, p.279) also argue that “little information is available regarding the academic performance of African students” and argues that “African immigrants have received much less attention in the empirical literature”. In addition, there is a need to tackle the continuing underachievement of Black African children in England (Demie, 2003, 2006, 2013). It is also important to note that “research has tended to view Black Africans as a homogenous group” (Mitton and Aspinall, 2011, p.1). This doctoral study takes a different approach by focussing on Black Ugandan British parents, who were born, raised and educated in Uganda, who have an asylum seeking background, who are in working class positions in England , but who nevertheless, bring their middle class aspirations, educational and employment experiences from Uganda to supporting their children’s learning in England. Research that specifically focuses on Black Ugandan British parents’ experiences of supporting their children’s education within their home environments is not available. Additionally, examining the Lambeth and Camden reports discussed above as well as the literature on the education attainment of Black children (including Black African) in England in general, the educational attainment of Black Ugandan British children is missing from the literature. This absence influenced me to concentrate on British Ugandan children’s

education through exploring their parents' experiences of supporting their children's learning.

Having discussed the second reason that influenced me to focus on Black Ugandan British parents, I now move on to discuss my background [as a teacher in Uganda and a teaching assistant since residing in England] the third influential factor in my undertaking this particular study. As a Black Ugandan British parent with experience of migration (discussed in section 1.4.1), I undertook this research in order to understand how Black Ugandan British parents who migrated from Uganda to England, who have an asylum seeking background and middle class identities support their children's learning in England.

1.3.3 *My background*

My thesis, which explores the issues Black Ugandan British parents face as they support their children's education in England, has a beginning that originates from my background (for example, middle class, education and employment experiences). I am a Black African, Ugandan, Muganda, Black Muslim woman who migrated from Uganda and now lives in England. In regard to my citizenship status in England, I am a British citizen. My professional identity is complex as I have two professional identities. I trained as a teacher in Uganda and was a teacher in Uganda for six years but I am now a Teaching Assistant in England. The following section discusses the complexity of my professional identity in England, how it was a huge driving force behind my decision to undertake this research and focusing on Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's learning in England. Before discussing the complexity of my professional identity and how it shaped the focus of my study, I recall my father's statement that "a teaching profession is a very good profession because teachers do a wonderful job, they are role models, they are well respected all over the world and can

teach anywhere in the world” (Musoke, 1978). This is the view I held during my teacher training and throughout my teaching years in Uganda. As a qualified teacher from Uganda who arrived in England in the 1980s, my expectations were that my teaching qualification from Uganda and my teaching experience were enough for me to teach in England. Certainly, this was not the case, as I discuss below.

As I searched for teaching jobs in England, I was advised to send my teaching qualification to the “UK NARIC- the National Agency responsible for information, advice, data and informed opinion on qualifications from outside England” (NARIC online). This informed opinion on qualifications from overseas countries seems to suggest that UK qualifications are of more worth and of more value than qualifications from overseas. I got confused about this informed opinion as I tried to search for some answers about what made a UK teaching qualification valued while an opinion had to be sought on my teaching qualification from Uganda. I was also puzzled with the idea that I had to get advice from NARIC about my teaching qualification. As I tried to contemplate and ponder upon this issue, my search for ways into teaching in England continued. Other options included the “Overseas Trained Teachers Programme (OTTP) [that] gives Overseas Trained Teachers (OTTs) the opportunity to gain QTS (qualified teacher status) while they work in a school” (OTTP 2014). This option was not an easy option, as I had to find the school myself.

My first point of call was the school, which my children attended. In this school, I was advised that the school was not in a position to help me because they were not looking for ‘staff’ and was further advised that training again would be an easier option than finding a school to work in to gain QTS. I did not give up. I continued on my journey of finding a school that would give me the opportunity to gain QTS, but in vain. So I decided to go back to education and retrained to teach in England. Before I continue to

discuss my experience after retraining as a teacher in England, it is salient to discuss Uganda's approach to overseas trained teachers in reference to teaching in Uganda.

It is stated on the International School of Uganda (ISU)'s website that "ISU has 62 full-time experienced teachers, most of whom are certified in the United Kingdom, the United States or Canada. Others are qualified teachers from Australia, France Spain...Ireland, Belgium, Germany, New Zealand [and] Venezuela" (ISU website). This seems to suggest that qualifications gained from countries outside Uganda are valued in Uganda and the teachers from the countries above can use their qualifications to teach in Uganda. However, there are differences between how England and Uganda operate in relation to the valuing of educational qualifications and the teacher recruitment process. While Uganda appears to value qualifications from abroad including qualifications "certified in the United Kingdom", England seems to devalue qualifications from Uganda given my experience in England.

Continuing with my journey into teaching in England, it is important to mention that when I graduated, the struggles of finding a permanent teaching job began. I worked tirelessly to be positioned in a permanent teaching post but in vain. I worked with a teaching agency as a supply teacher with hope that I could get a school to employ me on a permanent basis. Interestingly, some schools informed the Teaching Agency I worked for that they needed me to cover classes while teachers did their planning and covered teachers' absences. Two of the schools I worked for through the Teaching Agency telephoned the Teaching Agency and specifically requested the Teaching Agency to send me to their schools as a supply teacher on a regular basis and complemented that I was a very 'good' teacher. This raised some questions within me as I tried to understand why these schools perceived me as a 'good' supply teacher but could not offer me the opportunity to become a permanent teacher.

I kept on working as a supply teacher while studying for a Masters degree in education, I finished the Masters degree in education, graduated but still could not find a permanent teaching job, nor could I find a job worthy of my qualifications. This led to more confusion as I struggled to understand what led to my failure of securing a permanent teaching position despite all the qualifications that I have including qualifications gained in England. Unfortunately, the five-year period in which I had to gain QTS expired following completion of my teaching degree and that meant that I could no longer work as a teacher in England unless I trained again (DfE, 2012, 2014).

My employment experience in England raises some questions as to what is going on in the UK employment system that led me to struggle so much to find a job that matched my qualifications and previous teaching experiences. I now work as a Teaching Assistant in England. This has not only led to a drastic change in my professional identity but has also led to a change in my social class positioning (from middle class to working class) as well as a change in my economic situation as my wages dropped from a higher wage earned from teaching to a lower wage earned from a Teaching Assistant job. Sadly, this change has also led to more devaluation of my knowledge, skills and work experience, as I am considered for nursery work jobs, school dinner lady jobs and examination invigilation jobs, which I have had to do to earn a living and money to support my children's education and to pay for my own post-graduate education in England.

The complexity of my professional identity discussed above continues to raise some questions including questions from my own children such as "mum, why are you a Teaching Assistant when you are a trained teacher, have a Masters and you are doing a PhD? You should be a headteacher". As a parent from Uganda where qualifications are associated with employment, who has a Ugandan cultural view that the higher the

qualifications; the higher the job status and who supports my children to achieve academically so that they gain degrees at both undergraduate and post graduate levels to secure highly paid jobs and advance their careers, I find it challenging to provide my children with an answer to the above question. I realised the impact my job positioning in England may have on my children's education as they try to make sense of educational qualifications in relation to employment prospects. This experience pushed me to embark on a doctoral journey to be a role model for my children in terms of educational achievement or academic attainment and has been at the heart of my education. I did not only want to inspire my children but also wanted to teach them perseverance and to show them that negative or challenging experiences can be turned into positive experiences. The negative experiences, which I refer to here, relate to the change in my professional identity from being an outstanding, confident and well-respected teacher in Uganda to a Teaching Assistant in England. This is the background that influenced me to undertake this doctoral research and it is the background that led to the shift from the broad topic of underachievement of Black children in England to becoming interested in exploring Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's learning in England. As a Ugandan immigrant parent with a multiplicity of identities, I chose to focus on this topic in order to understand how Black Ugandan British parents who migrated from Uganda, who have an asylum seeking background support their children's education or learning in England and the contribution they make towards their children's education. My multiplicity of identities and the change in my professional identity have also led me to become interested in observing and exploring issues concerning changes in professional identities and the impact these changes have on professionals such as Black qualified teachers from Africa. I have seen and talked to Black qualified teachers from the African continent

including Ghana, Nigeria, Malawi, Gambia, Kenya, Tanzania, Sierra Leone and Uganda who work as Teaching Assistants (TA) and Learning Support Assistants (LSA) in England. Their employment experiences in England appear to be similar to my employment experiences in England, which again raises questions as to, what is going on in the British employment industry for overseas qualified Black teachers to do jobs that do not match their qualifications and work experiences? This is an area I would like to explore further and in detail in the future. However, in regard to my doctoral study, these observations, shared experiences and my employment experiences in England also shaped my thinking about what I wanted to research. In addition, as a Ugandan parent with a migration background who has gone back to education in England to inspire my children in terms of educational achievement or academic attainment, I wanted to explore what Black Ugandan British parents do to support their children's education in England. Consequently, my study aims to offer new insights into what Black Ugandan British parents do to support their children's education and contribute new knowledge in the education field.

This section has shown the connection between my background to this doctoral study. The next section focuses on deficit theories that have been used to explain the underachievement of Black children in England and how deficit models blame Black parents for the underachievement of Black children in England.

1.3.4 Deficit discourses that blame Black parents for the underachievement of Black children in England.

At the beginning I discussed that the fourth reason that influenced me to carry out this research and to focus on Black Ugandan British parents relates to the deficit discourses that blame Black parents for the underachievement of Black children in England. For example, Black parents have been perceived to lack cultural capital to support their

children's education and have been perceived to lack interest in their children's education. In addition, Black parents have been perceived to place a low value on education. I wanted to examine these arguments through exploring Black Ugandan parents' experiences of supporting their children's learning particularly exploring what parents do to support their children's learning. It is also important to note that in regard to the education attainment of Black children in England, over the years, there has been a shift from the notion of inherited intelligence to "cultural differences [such as language and Black] culture [which] places a low value on education" (Fulcher and Scott, 2007,p.341). More arguments have been put forward that "due to lack of familiarity with the English culture and language [coupled by] the authoritarian home background style of Black children's parents" (Davidson and Alexis, 2012, p.140), Black parents are part of the problem why Black children underachieve. This cultural deficit discourse "blame[s] and place[s] the responsibility on Black children's race, family and culture for their failure in the English educational system" (Davidson and Alexis, 2012,p.157). I would like to focus on the deficit theory or discourse around Black migrants particularly Gewirtz et al's arguments that irrespective of social class, migrants to Britain have cultural capital, which is in the wrong currency (Gewirtz et al., 1994a, 1994b). In addition, the Black "working class [are perceived to] lack institutionally valued forms of capital or have the wrong sort of capital" (Wright, Standen and Patel, 2010, p.31). These arguments coupled with arguments that immigrant minority groups such as Black immigrant families/parents lack cultural capital to support their children's education and "lack familiarity with social institutions, like schools" (Bamford, 2014,p.12) which puts them at a disadvantage in the education system led me to focus on Black Ugandan British parents. As Black Ugandan British parents are immigrants to Britain, my study sought to examine these

arguments through exploring Black Ugandan British parents' experiences and what they did to support their children's learning. Here I also highlight the cultural deficit discourse relating to cultural capital for example, in regard to "Black children's underachievement [in England, the] cultural deprivation theory [has been used to explain the gap between the academic attainment of White British and Black children]" (Davidson and Alexis, 2012, p.140). Maylor, (2009, 2014) also highlights how English schools blame Black families which are perceived to lack cultural capital and which are perceived not to value education for the underachievement of Black children in English schools.

Having discussed the importance of carrying out this research and the reasons that influenced me to focus on Black Ugandan British parents, in the next section, I concentrate on the literature within which my study is located. I begin with discussing literature on migration/asylum seeking/refugees in the UK as this literature helps to provide a contextual overview of Black Ugandan British parents' migration to the UK. After that, I will discuss the wider debates about the educational attainment of Black children in England within which concerns about the educational attainment of Black African heritage children are located. Lastly, I will discuss literature around parental support of children's learning/engagement/involvement. It is important to discuss this as my study is located within this literature.

1.4 Literature Review

1.4.1 Migration/asylum seeking/refugee experience in England

It is important to note that there have been different waves of Black migration involving different Black groups to the UK. It is important to discuss this because my thesis focuses on Black Ugandan British parents' experiences, which are informed by a

different migration experience as discussed below, but before that I would like to discuss the historical context of Black immigrants in the UK. According to Graham, “from 1945 onwards the principal migrants to the UK were Irish, Italians, Asians and West Indians [now known as Black people from the Caribbean]” (2013, p.51). Cole, (2011, p.49) states that:

the demand of an expanding post-war economy meant that Britain, like most other European countries, was faced with a major shortage of [labour and] the overwhelming majority of migrants who came to Britain were from the Indian subcontinent, the Caribbean, [also subject to centuries of colonisation and in the case of the Caribbean also slavery] and the Republic of Ireland (itself subject to British colonisation in parts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries). Those industries where the demand for [labour] was greatest actively recruited Asian, Black and other minority ethnic workers in their home countries.

Graham, (2013,p.50) argues that “since the arrival of the West Indian [now known as Black Caribbean] community in Britain, many other groups have settled in Britain from various parts of the globe” (2013,p.49). For example, in addition to migrants from other commonwealth countries such as India, Pakistan and Bangladesh who also settled in Britain in the 1950s and 1960s (Graham, 2013), “global incidents such as civil wars, economic problems, genocide ... have had a major impact on migration to Britain”. The global incidents associated with wars that led Black Ugandan British parents to come to England are discussed in the next section. It is important to discuss the global incidents associated with civil wars, issues around migration/refugees/asylum seeking in England to provide the background Black Ugandan British parents bring to supporting their children’s learning.

Before I continue, it is important to define the terms refugee and asylum seekers as they are frequently mentioned in my thesis and Black Ugandan British parents in my study have an asylum seeking background. Tomlinson describes “refugees [as] people fleeing persecution, war or human rights abuse, and have been granted status by the host country, asylum seekers are those still in the process and at risk of deportation if their asylum claim fails” (Tomlinson, 2008,p. 172). Continuing with the theme of migration, I would like to focus on Black African migrants in the UK as my sample of parents are Black migrants from Uganda an African country. It has been pointed out that migrants from Africa have increased and form a significant element in the British population (Fulcher and Scott, 2007). According to Mitton and Aspinall, (2011), the number of Black Africans in England is significant and is growing. According to the published data from the 2011 Census, “the African ethnic group has grown faster than any other minority group in the last two decades, doubling in each decade to reach 990,000 in 2011” (Jivraj, 2012,p.1). According to Mitton and Aspinall, there is little information on Black Africans in the literature and argues that this is “possibly because Black Africans have not, on the whole, been seen as posing challenging dilemmas for policy makers despite their experience of disadvantage [in the British education system and employment sector] (2011, pp.1-2).This suggests the importance of conducting detailed research on Black African communities in the UK. I now move on to discuss Black Ugandans in the UK as my sample of parents are part of the Ugandan community in the UK.

The Ugandan community in the UK is diverse because it consists of different types of migrants. While the first wave migrants from Uganda in the 1950s and 1960s were mainly elites with higher education, the second generation of Ugandan migrants in the 1970s were asylum seekers who left Uganda during Idi Amin’s regime and these also

include Ugandan Asians (Endo, Namaaji and Kulathunga, 2011). The migration of Black Ugandans to the UK also has a history originating from the unrest in Uganda in the 1970s and since then more Black Ugandans have moved and settled in the UK. The third wave of migrants from Uganda were asylum seekers from Uganda in the 1980s who account for about 30 percent of the total Ugandan population in the UK (Endo, Namaaji and Kulathunga, 2011). According to Rutter, “over 13,000 Ugandan refugees fled to England since the early 1980s, joining a larger Ugandan Asian community who arrived in 1972” (Rutter, 2001, p.273). She also observed that “Ugandan refugees in England fled for a range of reasons, some because they were associated with opposition parties; the many changes of government mean that Ugandan refugees have different political opinions” (Rutter, 2001, p.276). It is necessary to understand the political context in Uganda that led Black Ugandan British parents in my study to migrate from Uganda to England and the political context in England in regard to asylum seekers. Due to political conflicts in Uganda in the 1970s and 1980s the Black Ugandan British parents in my study fled to England as their lives were in danger and they also came to Britain because Britain was a former colonial power of Uganda. Therefore, these Black Ugandan British parents have an asylum seeking background, and their migration to England reflect the diverse nature of Ugandan immigration to England discussed above. In terms of family migration generational status the Black Ugandan British parents in my study were the first generation from their families to migrate to England (this is discussed further in chapter 4).

According to Elam and Chinouya, (2000), in the 1990s a substantial number of Ugandans also migrated to the UK. Nevertheless, it is important to note that the Black Ugandan migrant population in the UK is a relatively smaller migrant group (IOM,

2006) compared to Ugandan Asians in the UK. It is estimated that the number of Black Ugandans “in England [is] between 180,000 and 350,000[and] these figures include [Ugandan] people who came to England as students or as refugees or asylum seekers, and others that have come for varied reasons and ended up staying legally or illegally” (International Organization for Migration, 2006 p.17).

According to Rutter, “most Ugandan refugees have settled in Greater London, where they face many of the same problems as other refugees” (Rutter, 2001,p.276) such as “financial problems, language, culture shock, racism, unemployment, health problems” (Hamilton and Moore, 2004,p.21), housing (Macbeath 2001), poor housing, labour market participation (Bloch, 2006) and displacement (Hamilton and Moore, 2004). The effects of displacement on peoples’ psychological well-being have been highlighted by Hamilton and Moore who argue that “displacement involves a great deal of disruption to everyday life” (Hamilton and Moore, 2004, p.64). Hamilton and Moore argue that “a central feature of the refugee experience is migration; that is, movement from a familiar place, ‘home’, to a different place, usually a foreign country and culture” (Hamilton and Moore, 2004p.64). They state that “migration in itself is both a challenging and stressful experience. When this process co-exists with the often traumatic and violent pre-migration, trans-migration and post-migration experiences of refugees, the stress commonly surpasses an individual’s or family’s natural coping capacities” (Hamilton and Moore, 2004, p.12).

Before, I continue, I would like to briefly discuss Roubeni et al’s (2015) study which examined the migration narratives of West African immigrants from Sierra Leone, Guinea, Ivory Coast and Mauritania for the connections between experiences of loss and educational aspirations for their children in the United States of America. It is

important to discuss this because parents in Roubeni et al's study and the parents in my study are immigrant parents from Africa, and most parents in Roubeni et al's study and parents in my study share a similar migration background (forced migrants because they left their countries of origin to escape political persecution), therefore, Roubeni et al's study is relevant to my study. Roubeni et al., (2015,p.276) state that "the experience of migration has been characteri[s]ed as a twofold process of looking backward to what has been left behind while looking to new possibilities, hopes and expectations afforded by host countries". It is also argued that "migration is universally marked by a series of psychological stressors...including the difficulty of having to come to terms with the separation and loss associated with leaving a native country while simultaneously adapting to a new, unfamiliar environment of the host country" (Roubeni et al., 2015,p.276 see also Hollander, 2006, Mbanaso and Crewe, 2011). In their study, Roubeni et al., (2015, p.295) found that the losses include "material loss, status loss and loss of culture". They state that "for the nine families in [their] study who had fled conditions of war and ethnic persecution, the incidents of material, status and cultural losses were particularly abrupt and extreme" (Roubeni et al., 2015,p.296). They add that as well as mourning over the loss of their culture and regretting over cultural discontinuities, parents in their study also "voiced challenges with adapting their [child] rearing practices to that of the host culture" (Roubeni et al., 2015,p.287).

Continuing with the theme of migration/asylum seeking/refugee experience in England, it is important to mention that "the ending of asylum seekers' right to work...has forced some to work ...in conditions that can be dangerous (Anderson and Rogaly, 2005)" (Rutter, 2006, p.7). This coupled with a lack of clear understanding of how the asylum seeking process worked in England make it difficult for asylum seekers to seek

employment in England (Rutter, 2006). Tomlinson also highlights “anti-immigration themes that left low paid workers feeling threatened by asylum seekers and economic migrants” (Tomlinson, 2008, p.173).

Government policies which contribute to the underemployment of asylum seekers and government and societal reactions to asylum seekers need to be considered within a wider context of large numbers of asylum seekers arriving in the UK over the last four decades. Crawley argues that “the majority of asylum seekers in Europe [including England] come from countries in which there is well documented political oppression, conflict and human rights abuse” (Crawley, 2010p. 49). For example, in the 1980s, refugees arrived from Eastern European countries such as Romania and former Yugoslavia (Graham, 2013). In the 1990s refugees continued to arrive in Britain for example, refugees from Somalia in 1992, and refugees from Sri Lanka in 1999 and between 1992-1997, refugees from Bosnia also came to UK (Graham, 2013). Graham points out that “the 1990s saw refugees moving en masse to the UK” (2013, p.51). The current emergency situation about refugees/asylum seekers coming from Syria, Eritrea, Iraq, Guinea, Nigeria, Pakistan, Libya, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Sudan has raised concern and refugees/asylum seekers are at the heart of the political debates in European countries including England. Most European governments including England are resistant to take on refugees and argue that taking on refugees will not only be costly in terms of accommodating refugees, providing healthcare and education and so forth but there are also concerns about how successful asylum seekers will be integrated in their host countries (OECD, 2015). The negativity about refugees/asylum seekers highlighted in the media has led the public to be divided on this issue of recent migrants as there are public concerns about the impact on accommodation and employment. It appears that the situation on immigration has worsened and immigration seems to be currently seen

as the number one government concern in England. Political debates in England have intensified and the conservative government in England has put curbing migration at the heart of the UK government's proposed EU renegotiation, although the government's plan to restrict benefits to migrant workers may do little to prevent the migrants such as those in the camps of Calais (OECD, 2015). The response of the conservative government to the current migration and humanitarian crisis highlights a high level of resistance to migrants in the UK including refugees and asylum seekers. It is also important to note that although "Britain gives the impression that the country [is] overwhelmed by refugees and illegal immigrants, the majority of the world's 20 million refugees live in the developing world" (Tomlinson, 2008, p.173). Tomlinson's earlier findings are supported by the OECD (2015) who point out that in regard to the current refugee crisis, Jordan and Lebanon have taken in more refugees from Syria for example, than Britain.

The English government's opposition to asylum seekers/refugees is also highlighted by Crawley who argues that although while in England, asylum seekers "no longer have to worry about their physical safety and security...this does not mean that they do not have anxieties about the future...those who are waiting for a decision or have been refused asylum, continue to feel this way[-anxious]" (Crawley, 2010,p.50). According to Rutter (2006), the "Asylum determination process is managed by the Immigration and Nationality Directorate (IND) of the Home Office. An application for asylum can be made at the port of entry or 'in-country' after an asylum seeker has passed through UK immigration control" (Rutter, 2006,p.19). However, it becomes problematic when "it is assumed that [asylum seekers are] not genuinely in need of protection" (Crawley, 2010, p.49). Rutter points out that asylum seekers go through an asylum seeking application process and the time for decisions on asylum, seekers' cases vary. While some asylum

seekers hear the decision of their applications “within a month or so of arrival, other asylum seekers wait many months or years” (Rutter, 2006, p.19). This trend appears to continue for example, “3% of 2004 [asylum seekers’] applications remained unresolved or had unknown outcomes as of May 2012” (Migration observatory 13 Feb 2013).

More arguments have been put forward that the asylum seeking application and decision-making processes cause psychological distress to asylum seekers (Burnett and Peel, 2001b) and according to the Refugee Council, Britain’s asylum system is very stringent and many people’s claims are rejected. The rejection of asylum seekers claims appears to be a long-standing issue. According to Tomlinson, “in 2000 some 85,800 people applied for asylum [but] only 10 percent were granted refugee status, 24 percent given leave to remain and 66 percent refused asylum” (Tomlinson, 2008,p.173). In 2014, it was pointed out that 29,000 asylum applications dating back to 2007 remained resolved and “in 11,000 of these cases, people have not even received an initial decision of their claim” (Parliament online). This means that for at least seven years 11,000 asylum seekers have not been told whether they can stay in the UK or not. According to the Refugee Council (2014 online), 175,000 asylum seekers who have applied to stay in the UK have been rejected and are waiting to be removed from the UK (Refugee Council online).

According to Rutter, “migration, in particular asylum, has emerged as a political ‘problem’ throughout western Europe [including England] and an issue on which elections are fought” (Rutter, 2006,p.3 see also OECD, 2015). This suggests that asylum seeking in European countries including England has been an issue for a long time. Rutter further states that “from the mid-1980s onwards, European and British governance has viewed the asylum seeker as an inconvenient ‘problem’ and a challenge

to the powers of state. Europe and national asylum has converged and moved towards a course of action where greater and greater hurdles have been put in front of the would be asylum seeker” (Rutter, 2006, p.7). Fekete describes how from the 1990s “both centre –Right and Centre-Left parties began to implement laws that criminalised asylum seekers” (Fekete, 2009, p.8). Cole (2011p.58) argues that “institutional racism directed at asylum seekers by [European] governments ...is apparent throughout the [European] continent” and points out that “institutional racism exists also in the form of a separate prison complex for asylum seekers” (Cole, 2011, p.58). Fekete states that “the use of measures more germane to serious criminal investigation, such as the compulsory finger printing of all asylum seekers ...has become routine” (2009, p.39). According to Fekete asylum seekers can also be detained “with a view to removal” (2009, p.40) and the aim of detaining asylum seekers is to “to break down the will of detainees, so as to make them compliant to their own removal” (Fekete, 2009, p.15). According to Fekete, asylum seekers “who challenge their proposed deportation, may be asked to choose lengthy detention in the host country or return to torture in their country of origin” (2009, p.15). Cole, (2011, pp.58-59) add that:

Families with all legal rights exhausted are given two weeks to leave the UK voluntarily. If they do not, children and parents are forcibly removed from their homes and taken directly to the airport to board a plane. In the event of parents of the affected families resisting on the day, the family could be separated with children, possibly taken into care, while police/immigration officials deal with parents.

This further suggests Britain’s negative attitude to immigrants and rejection of asylum seekers who are in need of protection. Fekete goes further to describe the “psychological torture” (2009, p.15) asylum seekers experience and how routine

passenger flights detest dealing with violence when asylum seekers are deported which include:

Crying children frogmarched on to planes...violent control and restraint method against adult deportees, who may be bound head and foot, gagged (with special adhesive tape) or have their heads forced into the special deportation helmet (a chin strap prevents the deportee from moving [the] lower jaw, an additional strap covers the detainee's mouth. (Fekete, 2009, p.137)

This “brutal” (ibid) treatment of asylum seekers during deportation seems to contradict with one of the British values (respect and tolerance) which promotes respect for individual differences (DfE, 2011) and indeed respect for humanity. One would assume that Britain and its emphasis on human rights would not engage in this kind of brutal treatment towards human beings.

The refusal of asylum seekers claims followed by deportation orders (Rutter, 2006) has affected asylum seekers in various ways for example, the death of “Jimmy Mubenga, a 46 year old Angolan father [who] died on board a British Airways plane at Heathrow airport ...as three G4S guards heavily restrained him for more than half an hour” (Justice and peace Scotland on line). It is argued that the British “government expects people who are refused asylum here to return voluntarily, or be returned forcibly...those who stay are often forced into destitution and risk, as they are left unsupported and unprotected by [the British] government” (Justice and Peace Scotland online).

Moreover, it is argued that asylum seekers in England face “the effects of poverty [that] undermine both physical and mental health. Additionally, racial discrimination can result in inequalities in health and have an impact on opportunities in and quality of life” (Burnett and Peel, 2001b, p.544). This provides us with some understanding of

how asylum seekers are treated in England and the British government's approach to asylum seekers in England

According to Cole, (2011, p.59)

In October, 2010 [the Institute of Race relations] (IRR, 2010), racist-asylum seeker and immigration policies in the UK have led to the deaths of 77 asylum seekers and migrants [in] four years. Of these, seven [were] reported as dying after being denied health care for 'preventable medical problems', more than a third [were] suspected or known suicides after asylum claims [had] been turned down, seven [were] said to have died in prison custody, and fifteen to have died during 'highly risky' attempts to leave the country.

This shows how the British government through its racist policies chose to protect resources (health care resources) against saving the lives of asylum seekers who needed health care. It also shows the negative impact these policies have on asylum seekers.

Tomlinson also reminds us that in "2006 (August) Prime Minister Blair t[old] Cabinet that ...migration [was a] major public concern" (Tomlinson, 2008,p.155). This concern was earlier exemplified in a "White Paper (Home office 2002) [which] outline[d] new policies on citizenship and nationality, suggesting that future British citizens should pass an English Language test and a citizenship test. Also propose[d were] accommodation centres for asylum seekers with separate schooling for their children. A Nationality and Immigration Asylum Act 2002 implement[ed] some of this and further border controls [were] set up to prevent the arrival of asylum seekers, with an increase in detention facilities and deportation orders" (Tomlinson, 2008, p.130).

In the first quote below Rutter describes the media hostility towards asylum seekers which existed towards asylum seekers in England in the 1990s:

In 1991-3, during the passage of the asylum and immigration Appeals Act, (1993) newspaper articles labelled them [asylum seekers] as scroungers and benefit fraudsters...after the passage of the Asylum and Immigration Act, 1996 and the subsequent legal challenges that obliged local authorities to support asylum seekers, media discourses focused around cost to local people. The health service and education emerged as local focus of anti-asylum sentiment. (Rutter, 2006, p.7)

The second quote shows that little had changed in the mid 2000s when she argued that:

Politicians and interest groups perceive asylum seekers as unable to meet labour market requirements, as well as a threat to the state's control. They then mobilise the media to articulate their concerns about the legitimacy of asylum seekers, afterwards using the rise in racial tension as a means of justifying further restrictive asylum policy. (Rutter, 2006, p. 8)

In 2008 Tomlinson reported that “refugees and asylum seekers [are] persistently regarded as a burden on the economy and society” (Tomlinson, 2008, p.173). Yet this contrasts with international perception such as an OECD (2013) report which suggests that migrants [including refugees/asylum seekers] play a positive role in the economy for example, they work and pay taxes and social security contributions and European countries including England benefit economically from migrants (OECD (2015b)). Despite this, “there is evidence of increasing negative public attitudes towards both immigrants in general and asylum seekers and refugees in particular” (Crawley, 2010, p.51). There are also concerns about the effect current refugees/asylum seekers for example, refugees from Syria may cause to housing, education, health and welfare

services in the host countries in Europe for example, in the UK and “many governments in [Europe for example, the UK] are more concerned about the immediate strain on welfare services, perceived competition over jobs and the possible impact on social cohesion [and this has consequently led to] public opinion in Europe on international migration [to be] highly divided, affecting both government policies and integration prospects for refugees and other migrants” (Metcalf-Hough, 2015p.4).

This section has not only shown the label that may be attached to Black Ugandan British parents in my study given their asylum seeking backgrounds, the political situation in England Black Ugandan British parents in my study experience as they support their children’s education, but has also shown the background that asylum seeking parents bring to supporting their children’s education in England. It is also important to note that while my sample of parents came to England in the 1980s, views concerning asylum seekers have hardened over the years which continue to inform the Black Ugandan British parents’ individual and parenting experiences and strategies. In order to contextualise the migration effect on Black Ugandan British parents, it is important to understand the migration background of Black migrant people and their subsequent employment experiences in the UK which I concentrate in the next section.

1.4.2 Black migrant people and their subsequent employment experiences in the UK

Although Mocombe and Tomlin, (2013,pp.98-99) highlight the distinction between Black Caribbean and Black Africans by pointing out that “Black Caribbean people are from pre-slavery and post colonial backgrounds whereas many Black Africans though coming from colonial countries were not enslaved”, their employment experiences are similar because both communities experience racism in the British employment and education systems. Research also suggests that they have similar employment prospects (Berthoud, 2000). Mitton and Aspinall, (2011) also highlight that Black Africans for

example, Nigerians and Zimbabweans who have high levels of education and qualifications are in positions that do not commensurate their academic qualifications. In their research, Mitton and Aspinall, found out that “many [Black Africans] were working in low-paying sectors or over-qualified for the jobs [that] they were in” (2011, p.2). The devaluation of Black people’s educational qualifications in Britain is not a new issue. Mocombe and Tomlin, (2013,p.99) argue that “most Caribbean people in Britain [who] historically came from the upper colored (sic) people seeking an education...were employed in jobs traditionally assigned to White working class people [in Britain]”. This suggests that racism similarly affects both Black Caribbean and Black African people in the British employment system and this is a continuing problem. Mitton and Aspinall, (2011) points out that many Nigerians are not recent arrivals and therefore their disadvantage in the British employment system suggests long term racism affecting Black people in the British employment system.

Mocombe and Tomlin, (2013,p.99) state that Black “migrants in general often experience decreased mobility when they arrive to Britain” and Archer, (2009) adds that migrants often have to work their way up to middle class occupational status. What is even more disturbing is the continuing discrimination against Black people of all generations in the British employment system. For example, in their research Mitton and Aspinall found out that the first and “second generation Black Africans faced disadvantage [and] rates of unemployment were higher for UK born Black Africans than among White British people, both males and females” (Mitton and Aspinall, (2011,p.2). They also found out that “unemployment was especially acute for the 16-24 age group” (Mitton and Aspinall, 2011, p.2). Mitton and Aspinall’s findings are reflective of earlier research among second generation Black Caribbean males (Blackaby et al., 2005; Simpson, 2006) and the 16-24 year old Black British population

(Berthoud, 2009). Like Mitton and Aspinall (2011), Ball, Milmo and Ferguson, (2012) argue that Black men are over-represented in the British unemployment statistics. During their project, more than half of the young Black men were unemployed.

It is also important to mention that regardless of class background, Black people are disadvantaged in the British employment system. For example, Archer, (2009) argues that Black Caribbean people in middle class occupations (see Archer, 2011) also face racism in the British employment system experience, and research further suggests that Black people experience “decreased opportunities in accessing higher positions than their White peers [and] the gap in the earning potential between White and Black [is] even greater in professional and managerial occupations” (Mocombe and Tomlin, 2013, p.101; see also ECU 2015). Clark and Drinkwater, (2007) also report lower average earnings among the Black middle class than their White peers. Vincent et al. (2013) also suggest that the Black middle class of mainly the second generation who have achieved educational and labour market success in England also experience racism in the British employment and education systems. One of the Black middle class parents in Vincent et al. (2013,p.939) “Rachel, maintain[ed] that as a result of the social conditioning received by White people over hundreds of years, having other White professional colleagues is perceived as ‘natural’ whilst Black colleagues are somehow misplaced”.

Racism and its effect on Black people is a long standing issue and racism still continues to affect Black people in employment. Chapter 4 of this thesis provides a detailed understanding of how racism affects Black people including Black Africans in the British employment system and how it has contributed to the higher rates of unemployment amongst Black people regardless of gender. In addition, chapter 4 goes further to highlight how Black people occupy low status and low paid jobs in England.

Despite anti-discrimination laws in place in Britain, Black migrants and their descendants continue to experience racism in the labour market.

This section has discussed the asylum seeking experience in England which is partially the background parents in my study bring to supporting their children's learning. In the next section I move on to discuss the deficit discourse around Black migrant people in England and their children's education attainment; the second influential reason for carrying out this research and focusing on Black Ugandan British parents. It is important to discuss the deficit discourse because the cultural deficit theories have long been used to explain the educational underachievement of Black children in the UK particularly children of Black migrants in the UK. Particular attention is paid to the role of Black parents in supporting their children's education and the value they place on education.

1.5 Deficit discourse around migrant Black parents and their children's education

According to Fulcher and Scott, "variations in educational achievement have been linked to ethnicity [and] a growing concern with ethnic variations in educational achievement led to the Rampton (1981) and Swann (1985) reports, which showed that there were important ethnic differences in attainment" (2007,p.341). These "ethnic variations [were] explained by differences in inherited intelligence" (Herrnstein and Murray, 1994, cited by Fulcher and Scott, 2007, p.341) and racism in the English education system (Swann, 1985). This contention was earlier supported by Whiteley, (1969, p.87) who pointed out that "it is often commented by teachers that many of the West Indian children [now known as African-Caribbean children] are dense or slow at school work [and] they are generally slower than their white classmates". Davidson and Alexis, (2012, p.140) remind us of Eysenck, 1971 and Jensen's, 1969 arguments and how the "Black race is perceived as lazy, their families dysfunctional and having low

innate intelligence, thus their resulting educational disability” which has resulted into setting, streaming and placing Black children in low ability sets or groups in English schools (Gillborn and Youdell, 2000, Gillborn, 2008). Coard (1971) highlighted how African Caribbean children of Black migrants from the Caribbean were treated differently because of their race and culture in the English education system and how “Black children [were] made educationally subnormal in English schools” (Davidson and Alexis, 2012, p.140). Coard’s work clearly highlights how race had a bearing on the deficit discourse of Black parents and how it allowed the English education system to predetermine the education outcome of Black children based on their race. This shows the racial differentiation, negative labelling and judgements made about Black children in English schools. However, over the years there has been a shift from innate ability in explaining the underachievement of Black children in England to cultural factors such as Black culture which I concentrate on next.

Cultural deficit theories suggest that “Black people...suffer from a deficient culture” (Wright, Standen and Patel, 2010, p.37) and that Black children’s and their parents’ “culture is considered to be a ‘deficit culture’, [emphasis in original text because it is perceived to be], a culture that will only guarantee [educational] failure” (Davidson and Alexis, 2012, p.141). This negative perception of Black parents’ and their children’s culture is problematic because in “the UK, the Black family is stereotyped as lacking the values which are likely to achieve educational success” (Wright, Standen and Patel, 2010, p.14 see also Wright, 2013 and Reynolds, 2006) and this “deficit model [is] used to explain [the] underachievement [of Black children in England]” (Wright, Standen and Patel, 2010, p.15). In other words, “cultural deficiencies have been [perceived] to be hindering the educational success of [Black] pupils” (Downey and Kelly, 1979, p.264). I would like to focus on deficit theories that claim that Black parents have a culture

which leads to educational failure of Black children in England. For example, the stereotypical views around Black parents in England and the negative perceptions of Black parents that they lack values for educational success and “the stereotyped perception that Black children fail because their parents are uninterested in their schooling” (Rhamie, 2007,p.17 see also Crozier, 1996; Tizard et al, 1988; 1988;Wright, 1992).

1.5.1 Black parents’ perceived lack of interest in their children’s education/low value on education/low aspirations of their children’s education

There is “a common assumption that Black parents...have little interest in education or support their children while they are at school” (Davidson and Alexis, 2012, p.144). Black parents have also been perceived to be hard to reach (Crozier and Davies, 2007), perceived to place a low value on education (Davidson and Alexis, 2012, Andrews, 2013) and have been criticised for having low aspirations of their children’s education (Davidson and Alexis, 2012). These cultural deficit theories have led to Black parents to be perceived as part of the problem of the continuous underachievement of Black children in England in general (Archer and Francis, 2007). In contrast, research has shown that Black parents are interested in their children’s education and highly value their children’s education (Rollock et al, 2015, Crozier and Reay, 2005, Crozier and Davies, 2007, Crozier, 2005, Richardson, 2005, 2007, Gillborn, 2008, Mirza, 2009, Vincent et al. 2011, Demie, 2013; Maylor 2014). Black “parents want their children to excel in their schooling and their examinations [and] it is the aspirations of Black parents for their children to become qualified professionals, such as doctors and lawyers, and they see education as a way of gaining respect from the members of their own community and the dominant white culture” (Davidson and Alexis, 2012,p.144).

Ball et al., (2013, p.267) also points out that Black parents have high aspirations and expectations of their children's education and state that Black parents see "education as a means of 'getting on' and as an asset that [can] be used over and against racial discriminations". Ball et al., goes further to point out that "Black parents also have high aspirations and expectations of their children and are anxious to reproduce or improve their class position [and] education is again seen as a key asset in the labour market" (2013,p.267). Roubeni et al's work (2015) which examined West African immigrant parents' for connections between experiences of loss and educational aspirations for their children in the United States of America also suggest that Black African parents have high aspirations of their children's education. Roubeni et al (2015) found out that West African immigrant parents' losses (material, status and culture) shaped the West African immigrants parents' aspirations of their children's education in the United States of America. Parents in Roubeni et al's study believed in the "importance of formal schooling in guaranteeing their upward mobility" (2015, p.288) and believed in the "importance of their children's educational success to relieving their families from hardship" (Roubeni et al., 2015, p.289). They point out that West African immigrant parents compared their past losses to the hardships they were encountering in the United States of America and this comparison was a huge influential factor in "motivate[ing] their children toward greater educational success" (Roubeni et al., 2015, p.293).

In England, Rhamie (2007) also points out that Black parents value education, have a positive attitude towards their children's education, encourage and motivate their children to excel in their children. According to Rhamie, the Black "parents' desire for their children to have an education and to excel [in their education is] a message that [is] absorbed and internalised [by their children] (Rhamie, 2007, p.48). Rhamie's study also shows how Black parents gave "explicit verbal messages to their children about the

importance of education” (Rhamie, 2007,p.25), how these messages were clearly communicated to their children who wanted to do well to please their parents and how the children’s desire to please their parents developed into their determination to do well in school (Rhamie, 2007). Furthermore, Rhamie’s work demonstrates Black parents’ value for education and how parents employed a range of educational strategies to support their children’s education. These educational strategies included motivating their children, making good use of their communities for example, churches and church clubs (2007) which not only helped their children to “resist and overcome negative influences in school” (Rhamie, 2007,p.20) but also helped their children to feel “a sense of belonging-a theme which has featured [on] Black academic success” (Rhamie, 2007,p.21). Respondents in Rhamie’s study “felt that church involvement was a significant factor in their lives and helped develop characteristics that were beneficial to academic pursuit such as working towards the completion of tasks in clubs, teaching younger children and being involved with, participating, planning and running church programmes” (Rhamie, 2007,pp.53-54). Black parents’ value for education was further illustrated through the organised activities their children attended outside school such as music tuition, sports activities, visits to the museum, use of local libraries and additionally, Black parents helped their children with homework. These parents had high expectations of their children’s education, encouraged their children to do well and were actively involved in understanding school procedures (Rhamie, 2007). According to Rhamie, Black “parents contributed to their children’s resilience so that home and community combined with individual factors such as motivation, self-esteem, and having clear goals. The resilience thus developed enabled these pupils to cope with negative experiences of school in ways that did not prevent their pursuit of excellence” (Rhamie, 2007, p.118). This suggests that Black parents value education and are

interested in their children's education. It is also important to note that it is stated in the Lambeth Report that "African parents value education very highly [and] their support for the work and values of schools is one of the most important factors contributing to their children's achievement" (Demie, Mclean and Lewis, 2006, p.6). This evidence contradicts with assumptions that Black families lack the values which are likely to achieve educational success, lack interest in their children's education, place a low value on education, and negative perceptions that Black parents' culture will only guarantee failure.

The next section focuses on the deficit of language or language deficiency which has also been used to explain the underachievement of Black children in England (Mocombe and Tomlin, 2013).

1.5.2 Language deficiency and educational attainment

According to Graham, "Black people have been regarded as a problem to British society from the early days of immigration to present" (2013, p.56). Concerns about the "immigration of Black people to Britain" (Davidson and Alexis, 2012, p.143) and "concerns about Black children and their performance in school were voiced as early as the 1950s [and] there was some confusion, for instance, concerning their language needs" (Mocombe and Tomlin, (2013, pp.109-110). According to Mocombe and Tomlin (2013), in the 1950s, Black parents particularly Black African Caribbean parents, insisted that their children spoke English however, teachers in English schools experienced difficulty in understanding them. According to O Leary et al, (2001) poor command of the English language partly accounts for the underachievement of Black children and this idea is linked to "individuals primarily from Jamaica [who] spoke a variant form of Creole which [was perceived to be] unintelligible to White native speakers" (Mocombe and Tomlin, 2013,p.102).

Deficit discourses about English language deficiencies are not confined to Black children in the UK. Research in the United States of America, for example, also shows how “ethnic minority pupils [for example, pupils with Moroccan and Turkish backgrounds] are perceived to enter the schools with linguistic deficiencies [and] a lack of motivation” (Clycq, Nouwen and Vandenbroucke, 2014, p.812) and these factors have been used to explain the educational achievement gap between Moroccan and Turkish attainment and White American attainment in American schools. Therefore, the “meritocratic educational system itself is not to blame ...it is the individual (or specific groups) that does not succeed within the system” (Clycq, Nouwen and Vandenbroucke, 2014, p.798). According to Clycq, Nouwen and Vandenbroucke, (2014, pp.802-803), three factors are closely linked to the meritocratic discourse, [and associated] with deficit thinking.... The latent concepts linked to meritocratic thinking are ‘failure ascribed to a lack of effort’, failure attributed to a lack of competence and ‘success attributed to individual merit’”. It is argued that:

While in the US these ideas go back to the beginning of the twentieth century to explain the performances of African Americans (Valencia, 2010), in Europe the discussion more or less started in the 1960s and 1970s with Bourdieu and Passeron, (1977, originally published in 1970) who studied the explanations given to the underperformance of labour class pupils. In general, the pupil itself, but also its social and home environment, are blamed for their ‘underperformance’. The general idea was that the education received at home (e.g. with respect to language, values and norms) had to be ‘subtracted’ so that the school could add the ‘right’ language proficiency, attitudes, skills and so on (Clycq, Nouwen and Vandenbroucke, 2014, p.798).

From this is inferred that deficit theories have long been used to explain the differences in the academic achievement of different ethnic groups and appear to be used worldwide. However, it is important to note that “with respect to ethnicity or culture, only minorities are raciali[s]ed, ethnici[s]ed or culturali[s]ed while the cultural and ethnic bias inherent in the system remains implicit and unproblematici[s]ed” (Clycq, Nouwen and Vandenbroucke, 2014, pp.798-799). It is argued that in American mainstream schools, language deficiency discourse is “pervasive in the teacher narratives, especially, when they try to explain certain achievement differences.

As a consequence multiculturalism and a different home language are often put forward as problematic... especially when referring to Turkish and Moroccan/Berber as a mother tongue” (Clycq, Nouwen and Vandenbroucke, 2014,p.809). Furthermore, “the notion of a different home language is often linked to ... the idea of low parental involvement...consequently, this typically creates a complex picture of deficient minority families as the key factor explaining educational failure” (Clycq, Nouwen and Vandenbroucke, 2014,p.809). In their study, one of the participants (language teacher) narrated that “a lot of minority pupils are achieving less because of their language deficiency” (Clycq, Nouwen and Vandenbroucke, 2014,p.809) which suggest that cultural deficit theories including language deficiency theory continue to be used to explain the low academic attainment of ethnic minority pupils in American schools. Belfi, et al. (2014, p.20) also point out that in western countries, the underachievement of ethnic minority pupils has been a major concern for policy makers and practitioners [and] a primary reason that ethnic minority students underachieve compared to their ethnic majority counterparts is that they often have a lower level of proficiency in the language of instruction” (also see Driessen, Van Der Slik, and De Bot, 2002). In contrast, Droop and Verhoeven, (2003) argues that ethnic minority pupils from a low

social economic status (SES) background made more progress in both reading fluency and reading comprehension than their ethnic majority peers from the same SES background. Luyten, Schildkamp and Folmer, (2009) also found that minority pupils from low SES made more progress in spelling than their ethnic majority counterparts from the same SES background. Furthermore, “Strand, (2010) [also] found that ethnic minority pupils made more progress in overall language achievement in comparison to their ethnic majority counterparts with the same SES” (Belfi et al, 2014,p.824). It is important to note that the lack of fluency in English hypothesis that is used to explain the underachievement of Black children in England is rejected by Demireva (2009) as Black Caribbean children of the second and third generation born and educated in England and who have effective English skills still underachieve in the British education system (Strand, 2014a, Strand, 2014b). My study provides further challenge to the language deficit discourse concerning Black children and Black parents lacking effective English language skills (see chapter 3).

At the beginning, I discussed the deficit discourse around Black migrant parents and how they have been perceived to lack cultural capital to support their children’s education. Therefore, in the next section, I focus on the complexity of the term ‘cultural capital’ with particular attention paid to social class and cultural capital as they are often linked to parental involvement and children’s academic success or failure (Davidson and Alexis, 2012). I also frequently refer to these terms in this thesis therefore, it is important to provide a deeper understanding of these terms.

1.5.3 Cultural capital/Social capital

It is argued that:

White society, White educationalists, White racists still want to wrongfully maintain that children of migrants especially Black settlers, are considered to be culturally and socially defiant because [their] children come from backgrounds that are judged to be inferior and therefore not as civilised as the White English people, which makes them inherently intellectually lacking in ability [and] it is this type of belief that has a detrimental effect on Black children's performance.

(Davidson and Alexis, 2012, p.156)

The term cultural capital is often associated with the White middle class and has been used to explain the attainment differences between White British children and Black children in England (Richardson, 2005, 2007, Gillborn, 2008). Maylor points out that “in Western societies the default construction of ‘high achievement’ is the White middle classes who are argued to embody cultural capital, which is defined as competence, knowledge, qualifications, good manners, linguistic expression and ways of knowing and reasoning (Bourdieu, 1984, 2010; Bourdieu and Passeron, 1994)” (Maylor, 2014p.15 emphasis as in original text). Skeggs, (2004, p.16) states that cultural capital “exists in three forms: in an embodied state, i.e. in the form of long-lasting dispositions of the mind and the body; in the form of cultural goods; and in the institutionalised taste, resulting in such things as educational qualifications”. Archer, (2010b, p.1) suggests that cultural capital “refers to knowledge and cultural resources that people possess. It can exist in various forms, for instance in formal qualifications and credentials; as cultural knowledge and ‘taste’ and as the tacit (taken-for-granted) knowledge (and ability to operate strategically) within particular social institutions (the feel one has for the ‘rules of the game’)”. According to Wright (2013,p.91) however,

“cultural capital refers to an accumulation of cultural knowledge, skill and abilities possessed and inherited by privileged groups, credentials used by employers and elite groups as a way to unfairly and arbitrarily screen out some individuals and subordinate groups from privileged jobs and social positions”. In “essence, in the use of Bourdieu’s analysis attention has been brought to bear on how middle classes generate and defend their privileged positions thanks to their possessions and deployment of dominant, symbolically legitimised, forms of economic, cultural and social capital which they use to successfully negotiate the educational market (see Ball, 2008, p.26)” (Wright, 2013,p.91). As Bourdieu’s “concepts of capital to education has been formulated with reference to white communities” (Wright, 2013,p.91), Yosso, (2005) takes a different approach to extend these concepts to black communities thereby providing an understanding of cultural capital possessed by black parents for example, in their communities. This is discussed in detail below.

According to Yosso, Bourdieu’s term “cultural capital refers to an accumulation of cultural knowledges, skills and abilities possessed and inherited by privileged groups in society. Bourdieu asserts that cultural capital (i.e., education, language), social capital (i.e., social networks, connections) and economic capital (i.e. money and other material possessions) can be acquired two ways, from one’s family and/or through formal schooling” (Yosso, 2005,p.76 also see Yosso in Dixon and Rousseau, 2006,p.177). Bourdieu argued that “cultural capital is not simply a matter of what is transmitted in families, it is a statement about an unequal system in which what is transmitted in middle class families holds a correspondence with what is valued in society” (Irwin, 2009, p.1124). My study supports this statement and I sought to develop an understanding of Black Ugandan British parents’ cultural capital in my study particularly, the process of acquiring and transmission of cultural capital as the cultural

knowledge they instil in their children and the different forms of cultural capital they use to support their children's education is missing in the literature about cultural capital and educational support provision. Further an understanding of Black Ugandan British parents' cultural capital allows one to discern if such capital is the same or different from White middle class cultural knowledge and capital, and it provides an opportunity to examine if Black Ugandan British parental cultural capital is valued similarly to White middle class cultural capital in schools.

In regard to social capital, Wright, Standen and Patel, (2010,p.30) suggest that "social capital refers to forms of social participation and connections, such as memberships of networks, groups, communities, families and friends ...which provide an important type of resource" (also see Wright, 2013). It is argued that social capital "can enhance or limit achievement and ambition" (Wright, Standen and Patel, (2010, p.30) and those without social capital are subject to the greatest insecurities (Stephen and Squires, 2003) and in this regard Ball, (2003) suggests that the White middle classes are "adept at taking up and making the most of opportunities of advantage that policies present to them" (Ball, 2003, p.261). For example, arguments have been put forward that the White "middle class families are able to make 'the best' educational choices and access the most elite educational spaces (e.g. 'elite' schools and universities [due] to their differential possession of embodied forms of cultural capital" (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.36, also see Wright, Standen and Patel, 2010). According to Archer, (2010b,p.1) "Bourdieu argues that the middle classes possess more of the socially sanctioned/dominant forms of social capital and, as a result, are able to operate more 'naturally' and successfully within (for instance) the education system".

It is argued that White "middle class families invest considerable time and resources in producing a child's cultural capital through enriched CVs [and] are able to negotiate

access to privileged educational spaces and secure advantages for their children at school” (Archer and Francis, 2007,p.36). Archer and Francis state that “Bourdieu’s concept of capital to education has heightened how social class inequalities are produced within schooling and post-compulsory education. For example, ...the [white] middle classes generate and defend their privileged positions [due] to their possession and deployment of dominant (symbolically legitimated) forms of economic, cultural and social capital which they use to successfully negotiate educational markets” (Archer and Francis, 2007,p.36). Indeed “the ...middle class values, tastes and knowledge and dominant societal fields (such as education) is likened to their ability to move within such fields like ‘fish in water’ (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992) and this is seen as a key to the reproduction of class privilege within the education system” (Archer, 2010b,p.1). It is also argued that unlike the working classes, the White “middle classes are more willing than other social groups to defer gratification” (Moore et al., 2010, p.45) thus “putting off financial rewards or pleasure in pursuit of education or training” (Moore et al., 2010, p.47); in other words, “they are more willing to make sacrifices whilst qualifications are achieved” (Moore et al., 2010, p.45). This shows how Bourdieu’s concept of cultural capital has been perceived in the English education system as the cause of educational success for White middle class children.

Although Bourdieu’s work sought to provide a structural critique of social and cultural reproduction, his theory of cultural capital has also been used to assert that some communities are culturally wealthy (i.e. the White middle classes) while others are culturally poor (e.g. Black communities). As Yosso suggests:

Cultural capital has been used to assert that some communities are culturally wealthy while others are culturally poor. Those interpretations of Bourdieu espouse white, middle class standards and therefore all other forms and expressions of culture are judged in comparison to this norm, (Yosso, 2005, p.76 also see Yosso in Dixon and Rousseau, 2006, p.177).

This has led Yosso to ask ‘Whose culture has capital?’ and instead of narrowing social cultural capital to include only white middle class values, Yosso theorises the validity of “community cultural wealth [as] ‘an array of knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed and utilized by Communities of Color to survive and resist macro and micro forms of oppression’” (Yosso, 2005, p.77). Although Yosso’s (2005) theorising of community wealth/capital is within the Black American context, it has “some resonance in the historical tradition of the [British] Black Education Movement” (Cork, 2005, p.14). For example, the establishment of supplementary or Saturday schools (Mirza, 1997, Cork, 2005) which seek to provide opportunities for Black children to succeed academically, promote their cultural identities (Maylor et al. 2009) and “transforming the negative experiences of [Black children’s] schooling to a positive one” (Wright, Standen and Patel, 2010, p.34 also see Richardson, 2005, 2007 and Andrews, 2013).

Wright, Standen and Patel, (2010, p.33) highlight how Black parents provide “opportunities for Black children through the transformative pedagogy of ‘raising and lifting the race’. In this instance [Black parents use] networks [that] seek social transformation through educational change [and] ultimately, the struggle for educational inclusion is borne out by the desire to transform opportunities for themselves and their children”. Moreover, “these networks exemplify Black communities’ collective desire for self-knowledge and a belief in the power of schooling/education to militate against

racial barriers (Fordham, 1996, p.63). Furthermore, for Black children, the alternative spheres of community networks, the voluntary sector and family relationships encourage a positive identity and sense of community in the face of enduring structures of race and class inequalities (Alleyne, 2002). Perri, (1997, p.1) supports these suggestions and goes further to point out that “networks are [not] just something individuals can make and use for themselves [but] they are relationships with many others”.

Having discussed the deficit discourse around Black migrant people, a huge influential factor on carrying out this study and focusing on Black Ugandan British parents, the next section focuses on the wider debates about the education attainment of Black children in England within which concerns about the educational attainment of Black African children are located.

1.6 What we know about the educational attainment of Black children in England

This section provides us with an understanding of Black children’s academic attainment and discusses some of the factors that are associated with the low academic attainment of Black children in general in England. In regard to the term ‘attainment’, Maylor et al suggest that “attainment is another term used to describe the achievement of children. It usually refers to measured attainment as illustrated, for example, by key stage national assessment test results” (Maylor et al., 2009, p.14). I now move on to discuss literature around the continuous low academic attainment of Black children in England (Sewell, 1997; Blair, 2001; Richardson, 2005, 2007; Crozier, 2005; Gillborn, 2008; Terzi, 2008 and Peart, 2013). According to Davidson and Alexis, (2012,p.147), Black students “do not share equally in the increasing rate of educational achievement as their White counterparts [and] the gap ...has remained relatively unchanged irrespective of copious initiatives over the last few decades to narrow the gap”. Maylor et al’s work highlights

“the significance of ethnicity in Black children’s achievement” (2009, p.16) with Black children achieving lower than White British children (Richardson, 2005, 2007). The widening of the gap between White students and Black students in England raises concern (Gillborn, 2008; Mirza, 2009, Peart, 2013) and is a long-standing issue (Richardson, 2005, 2007; Fulcher and Scott, 2007). Many researchers have identified a series of different explanations for the continuous low level of educational attainment among Black children in general. These explanations include ethnicity, social class, gender and racism in English schools (Connolly, 1998, Gillborn and Mirza, 2000; Ali, 2003, Weiner, 1997; Modood, 1997; Wright, 1992; Gillborn and Youdell, 2000; Richardson, 2005, 2007; Gillborn, 2008; Mirza, 2009, Maylor et al., 2009 and Peart, 2013). Other explanations such as “teacher expectation, English as an additional language, school, curriculum, setting/streaming, institutional racism, school exclusion, pupil mobility [and] parental involvement” (Maylor et al., 2009,p.12) have also been used “to explain variations in children’s attainment” Maylor et al., 2009,p.15 (please see Maylor et al., 2009 for a detailed understanding of these factors).

1.6.1 Deprivation/ Social-economic status (SES)/Social class and education attainment

According to Maylor et al “deprivation [is] one of the main reasons that contributes to low attainment” (Maylor et al, 2009, p.17). It is also argued that “low achievement is strongly ...associated with disadvantage... [and] connected with poverty itself...poor housing, ... poor nutrition and health [and] social class” (Cassen and Kingdon, 2007,p.1). Research suggests that “children from low income families are more likely to underachieve in schools. Many indices of economic disadvantage indicate that a disproportionate number of Black and minority ethnic families are mostly likely to be economically disadvantaged” (Bhattacharyya, Ison and Blair 2003, p.21 cited in Maylor et al, 2009, p.17). It has also been pointed out that:

Levels of deprivation appear to be more acute among some Black groups than others such as children of Somali origin where between 80% and 90% of Somali children, claim [Free School Meals] FSM (Demie, Lewis and McLean, 2007). Low-income levels are compounded by inadequate housing accommodation with many Somali children living in overcrowded accommodation (Diriye, 2006). Thus for some children there is little privacy to study or do their homework. (Maylor et al., 2009, p.18)

Furthermore, it has been argued that “parents...of low socio-economic status...interact verbally with their children less than professional [middleclass] parents” (Cassen and Kingdon, 2007, p.1). More arguments have been put forward that “economic disadvantage has a very real impact on educational attainment...as minority families are more likely to live in areas of deprivation and come from lower social-economic groups, much of the low attainment of some of these groups can be attributed to social economic factors” (Bhattacharyya, Ison, and Blair, 2003,p.21). Bhattacharyya, Ison and Blair state that “social economic factors are paramount in affecting the educational attainment of certain minority ethnic groups [and argue that] poverty and/or low occupational status of parents...impact on children’s progress” (2003, p.21). According to Maylor et al., “children’s social class background [is] a significant determinant of achievement. For example, in 2007, GCSE results showed that 62.8% of children from high socio-economic backgrounds obtained five or more A* to C grade GCSEs, compared with 35.5% pupils from socially disadvantaged backgrounds” (Maylor et al., 2009, p.17). At the beginning of the chapter, I discussed how I was concerned about the educational attainment/achievement of Black African students given the statistics about

the educational attainment of Black African students compared to their White British peers in 2007 and the years before that. Therefore, I would like to mention that although the GCSE statistics in 2007 presented above seems dated, they were not dated in 2007 when I started my PhD. Continuing with the discussion of deprivation/social-economic status (SES)/social class and education attainment, Gillborn adds that “students from economically advantaged backgrounds achieve higher results than their peers from less advantaged homes” (Gillborn, 2008, p.51). According to Lupton (2005) social class is a key factor in accounting for the underachievement of children in schools and argues that children from low social economic areas underachieve compared to the White middle class children who have rich parents and who live in areas where schools have better resources. Lupton (2005) affirms that there is a relationship between children’s social class background, deprivation and underachievement. These arguments seem to indicate that it is the social economic factor that accounts for the underachievement of Black children from low social economic background but the underachievement of Black children in English schools is a much more complex issue which cannot only be explained in class terms. Rollock et al, (2015), Strand, (2014a, 2014b), Vincent et al, (2011), Gillborn, (2008), Mirza and Gillborn, (2000) like Maylor et al.,(2009) point out that “Black children’s attainment inequalities are less well explained in terms of social class background” (Maylor et al.,2009,p.17). Strand (2011,p.216) argues that “while social class and its correlates are important predictors of educational attainment, they have limited success in explaining the differences in attainment between White British and the Black Caribbean and Black African groups”. According to Maylor et al. (2009,p.17), “while Black children from low SES backgrounds make strong progress during Key Stage 4, Black African and Black Caribbean boys underachieve”. This not only shows how the underachievement of Black children is a much more complex issue

but also shows the problems of using social economic status background to analyse the academic attainment of children as there are differences in the academic attainment of children within the same social economic status group. Strand's work (2008) confirms this because his "analysis of minority ethnic attainment data from a longitudinal study found little class effect for Black African children or Black Caribbean girls" (Maylor et al., 2009, p.17). This confirms also Maylor et al's argument above that the low social economic status (SES) is not sufficient enough to explain the variations between the academic attainment of children from low social economic background as Black girls from low SES background academically achieve higher than Black African and Black Caribbean boys from the same SES background.

More class complexities of using SES background to analyse children's academic attainment are identified by Strand (2014b, p.131) who points out that when compared with White British boys from low SES backgrounds, "Black Caribbean boys (particularly the more able)" at age 11-16 from low SES backgrounds made "the least progress". This is interesting as it suggests that there are variations between the academic attainment of White British and Black Caribbean boys within the same SES group. These ethnic variations in the academic attainment of children within the same SES group further confirm that low SES background is not enough to explain the variations in the academic attainment of White and Black children and indeed the continuous low academic attainment of Black children in English schools. What is even more interesting when using low SES to analyse the children's academic attainment is that while Black African boys and Black Caribbean boys from low SES underachieve compared to White British boys from the same SES group, British Chinese children from the low SES background achieve in line with British Chinese children from the

higher SES background. Archer and Francis (2006) explored the educational attainment of British Chinese pupils and found out that British Chinese children including British Chinese children from lower social class background were also amongst the high achievers. This further suggests the complexity of using social class background to analyse children's attainment as this appears not to be the case across different ethnic groups. While the British Chinese pupils from low SES achieve in line with British Chinese pupils from a high status background, Strand's work (2014a, p.223) on primary school pupils aged 7-11 in 68 London primary schools suggest that "low and high [Social Economic Status] Black pupils made equally poor progress [in primary schools at] age 7-11". These ethnic variations in the academic attainment of children in English schools further suggest the complexity of analysing the children's academic attainment using the children's social economic status background. Strand's work discussed above further highlight more problems because higher social class background is often used to account for the higher attainment of White children with a middle class background while a working class background is often used to account for the lower academic attainment of Black children. One would assume that Black children from Black middle class families would not only achieve higher than children from low SES backgrounds but would also achieve in line with White children from White middle class families. However, Black children from middle class backgrounds do not achieve in line with White middle class children (Richardson, 2005, 2007; Gillborn, 2007, 2008) and this appears to be a continuing problem. Gillborn and Mirza, (2000p.20) point out that "inequalities of attainment are now evident for Black students regardless of their class background". This is further supported by Rollock et al, (2015) who argue that being Black and middle class offers little protection to children from Black middle class families from underachieving as Black children from a middle class background do not

achieve in line with their White middle class counterparts. Strand (2008p.3) also argues that Black Caribbean pupils “from middle class and high SEC homes” do not achieve in line with their White peers and he identified this as a concern. Vincent et al’s (2012, p.428) research with African Caribbean parents led them to also point out that despite the strong commitment of African Caribbean parents to their children’s educational success and engaging in extra-curricular activities (see also Vincent et al, 2011), “the [English] education system is one in which many middle class Black children experience lower levels of attainment than their peers [white peers and their peers] from other ethnic groups”. The fact that not all students from economically advantaged backgrounds achieve higher results (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000, Gillborn, 2007, 2008, Vincent et al., 2011) indicate that “social class factors do not override the influence of ethnic inequality: when comparing pupils with similar class backgrounds, there are still marked inequalities of attainment between ethnic groups” (Gillborn and Mirza, 2000, p.21 cited in Mirza, 2009, p.33). For example, Gillborn argues that although “Black children from more prosperous families achieve better results than Black children from poorer homes, they do not achieve average results as high as those of White children from similar social backgrounds” (Gillborn, 2007 in Richardson, 2007,p.103).

More arguments have been put forward that although Black middle class parents encourage their children to do well in school, their children do not on average do exceptionally well within the state sector as children from White middle class backgrounds (Richardson, 2005, 2007, Gillborn, 2008, Vincent et al., 2011). This argument confronts the explanation in the Swann Report (1985) that social economic factors partly contributed to the underachievement of West Indian children (now known as African Caribbean children). Gillborn argues that class “is not the whole story” (Gillborn, 2007 in Richardson, 2007, p.103) in explaining the educational achievement

gap between Black and White children in England (Gillborn, 2008, Mirza, 2009). Gillborn goes further to argue that “facts confirm that Black children have endless potential but the system is failing them, as it has for generations” (Gillborn, 2007 in Richardson, 2007, p.101). The “fact that educational inequalities are not reduced even for Black children from middle class backgrounds” (Maylor et al., 2009,p.17), has led Vincent et al (2011) to argue that race stands on its own to produce the educational disadvantage for Black children.

1.6.2 Racism in the English education system/low teacher expectations of Black children's education

In section 1.2.3 above I defined the terms racism and institutional racism. As this section makes reference to both terms, I would like to restate the definitions. Racism is “a form of prejudice, based on an individual’s ignorance of, and hostility towards, a racial group seen as alien [and racism] as a societal, rather than an individual, phenomenon” (Tizard and Phoenix, 2002 p.140). According to Graham, “the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (2011) defines racism as the unfair treatment of people who belong to a different race [and] if racist consequences accrue to institutional laws, customs or practices, that institution is racist whether or not the individuals maintaining those practices have racial intentions” (Graham, 2013p.58). The Macpherson Report, (1999p.28) defined institutional racism as:

The collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin. It can also be seen or detected in processes, attitudes, behaviour which amount to discrimination through unwitting prejudice, ignorance, thoughtlessness and racist stereotyping which disadvantage minority ethnic people.

These definitions appear to fit in well with the racial inequalities experienced by Black children in English schools which are well documented (Coard, 1971; Rampton, 1981; Swann, 1985; Gillborn and Gipps, 1996; Gillborn and Mirza, 2000; Gillborn, 2008; Wright, 2013; Wright, Standen and Patel, 2010; Gillborn et al, 2012; Vincent et al, 2012; Graham, 2013; and Rollock et al., 2015). These studies highlight institutional racism in the English school system that has been associated with the low academic attainment of Black children in England. Gillborn in particular, argues that “the race inequalities of achievement are more persistent than is imagined by most policy makers and commentators” (Gillborn, 2008, p.45). The persistence of racial educational inequality for Black children can be traced back to the 1970s when Bernard Coard (1971) argued that:

African Caribbean children were disproportionately failing in mainstream schooling because of the school system itself. Coard drew attention to the overwhelming excessive placement of Black children in schools for the ‘educationally subnormal’ (ESN). Students within these schools were deemed incapable of academic success, so expectations of them were low and their opportunities severely curtailed. Black children were being misidentified as ESN due to the cultural bias of the IQ tests used and the low expectations of them held by teachers. (Andrews, 2013, p.5)

Over a decade later, The Swann Report (1985) highlighted racism that led to the lower academic attainment of Black children in England notably African-Caribbean children. In the mid-2000s Foster and Mazey (2005) revealed that “racism in Britain is still very much an issue today and one that will have detrimental and far reaching effects on a pupil’s academic performance” (Foster and Mazey, 2005,p.29). Following this, Coard,

(2007) argued that Black children still continue to experience institutional racism in British schools and many are still labelled ESN just as they were labelled in the 1970s. This contention of the prevalence of institutional racism in English schools was supported by Gillborn who argued that “educational race inequality in England is a form of ‘locked-in inequality’ that is inevitable and permanent under current circumstances” (2008p.45), and also by Peart, (2013p.3) who argued that:

While there appears to be an acceptance of the principle of equality in education, not all groups are able to access education in the same way or enjoy similar experience of education. Some groups [including] Black students are systematically disadvantaged in the English education system and experience ...academic underachievement.

Racism in English schools appears to be a long standing issue for example, the Education Commission (2004) found that “many Black pupils...were experiencing racism in varying forms in school and were receiving little support [to] address [racism]. [The Education Commission further highlighted] pupils’ questionnaire comments, in response to being asked whether Black pupils had different experiences to white pupils, [which] indicated that racism was the most significant factor” (Education Commission, 2004,pp.7-8 cited in Foster and Mazey, 2005,p. 29) in their school experiences. The Children’s Commissioner, (2013) also highlights the racial inequalities in education that affect “Black children [to not only] remain less likely to achieve highly in education but [Black children are also] more likely to be permanently excluded than their white peers” (The Children’s Commissioner, 2013 cited in Vincent et al., 2013, p.932). Box et al’s work earlier highlighted racism as one of the factors influencing teachers’ “treatment of Black and minority children and their parents (Box et al 2001p.6 cited in Page and Whitting, 2007,p.12) with little respect for the concerns of Black

parents in particular” (Page and Whitting, 2007,p.12). Mirza (2007) also highlights the racial differentiation in the treatment of Black children and their parents in the English education system. Recent work on Black middle class parents in England and their deployment of educational strategies as they support their children’s education suggest that racism affects Black middle class parents and their children (Rollock et al, 2015, Vincent et al., 2011). Rollock et al, (2015) argue that to be White and middle class is not the same as being Black and middle class because to be Black and middle class does not mean having transcended racism (Rollock et al, 2015). They argue that being middle class might be differentially inflected by race and racism and their research shows how racism informs Black middle class parents’ educational strategies to protect their children from racism in English schools. Rollock et al’s work (2011) on the Black middle class parents also shows how Black middle class parents engaged in a range of outside activities and additionally how parents supported their children by advising their children to tackle racism and how to succeed in their education. Vincent et al’s work (2011) on Black middle classed educational strategies in England also highlights how racism affects Black middle class parents in English schools and how Black middle classed educational strategies are not acknowledged at the same level as White middle classed educational strategies. Ball et al., (2012, p.267) drew attention to “the educational strategies of the Black middle class [that] appear similar in some respects to those of the White middle class [and argues that they] are frequently deployed [by the Black middle class parents] to avoid or respond to racism in different forms encountered by their children at school”. Archer’s work (2010a) also shows how racism affects minority ethnic, middle class parents and their children in the UK. Archer (2010a) examined the educational practices of minority ethnic, middle class families in the UK and her sample included Black middle class parents. Archer’s sample “represented a

range of professional and managerial middle class occupational backgrounds spanning both the public and private sector and including some business owners/entrepreneurs” (Archer, 2010a,p.452). Archer’s work shows how racism affected parents in her study, how parents “felt that they had been treated [differently in English schools]” (Archer, 2010a, p.463). In Archer’s study “it was notable that six parents in [her] sample ...educated their children in the private sector” (Archer, 2010a, p.456). She argues that:

race plays a significant and complicating role. Indeed minority ethnic middle class children face greater risks than white middle class children (e.g. in terms of not achieving their ‘potential’ due to racisms, and that whilst their class resources may protect against failure *per se*, their racialised positions qualify and curtail key aspects of class advantage. Consequently minority ethnic families must work disproportionately ‘harder’ to achieve success. (Archer, 2010a, p.466)

Archer further points out that “minority ethnic ‘factions’ of the middle class may engage in similar practices (which produce advantage) and may, on the whole, be relatively successful in their efforts to produce success. But they are subject to racial inequalities that qualify the extent of their class advantage” (Archer, 2010a, p.466). Gillborn et al’s work (2012,p.121) also “demonstrate the continued significance of race inequality and social class inequalities in education[and] reveals that despite [Black Caribbean parents’] material and cultural capital, many middle class Black Caribbean parents find their high expectations and support for education thwarted by racist stereotyping and exclusion”. According to Gillborn et al. (2012, p.122), Black Caribbean parents experience racism “despite the parents’ professional success, knowledge of the system and support for high educational aspirations”. This suggests that unlike the white middle class status that offers protection to the white middle class

children against teacher low expectations of their education and enable white middle class children to excel and achieve academically within the education system, the Black Caribbean middle class status offers no protection to Black Caribbean middle class parents and their children. In their research, Gillborn et al concluded that:

Middle class Black parents are ambitious for their children and take a keen interest in their children's education, unfortunately, many encounter an education system that views their children as more likely to cause trouble than to excel academically. Teachers' lack of academic expectations, in tandem with a heightened degree of surveillance and racism, create powerful barriers. (Gillborn et al., 2012, p.137)

Casey argues that "in a racist society for a Black child to become educated is to contradict the whole system of racist signification...to succeed in studying White knowledge is to undo the system itself...to refute its reproduction of Black inferiority materially and symbolically (Casey, 1993:123 cited in Mirza, 2009, p.105). Vincent et al., (2012, p.428) points out that Black middle class "parental awareness and experience of racial discrimination means that they work particularly hard to try to strengthen their children against the effects of racial inequality, in both the education system and the labour market". According to Shain, the Campaign Against Racism and Fascism (CARF) argues that "Black people are systematically denied equal and fair treatment and are discriminated against in all areas of life" (CARF, 1991,p.8 cited in Shain, 2003,p.12) including "in the field of education" (Shain, 2003,p.12). More studies for example, Gillborn, 1990, Osler, 1989, Siraj-Blatchford, 1993; Wright 1986 and Youdell, 2003, also highlight how "minority ethnic children experience racism from White teachers and pupils" (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.41). My study examines how racism affects Black Ugandan British children's education in English schools and how

Black Ugandan British parents have developed educational strategies to support their children through their racialised experiences as they pursue their children's academic success.

According to Maylor et al, "most writers concur that one of the main issues that appears to impede Black children's performance is institutional racism which is revealed for example, in teachers' differential treatment of Black children [compared] to other groups" (2009,p.20). This different treatment can be located for example, in the high numbers of school exclusions of Black Caribbean and Black African children from English schools (Sewell, 1997, Office of the Children's Commission, 2012) and low teacher expectations of Black children and their educational attainment (Gillborn, 1995, 2008; Davidson and Alexis, 2012; Strand, 2012). Vincent et al., (2012, p.428) point out that "parents in [their] study spoke of their acute concern about the relatively low levels of expectation of their children by their teachers". Such findings support earlier work by John, (2006, p.12) who argued that "those who campaigned against government sanctioned practices such as bussing, banding and the placing of Caribbean heritage children in lower streams than whites because of their assumed language deficiency in the face of clear evidence of the impact of ...discriminatory practices upon [Black] children have seen patterns of low expectations, underachievement and the problematising of Black school students persist". The result of low teacher expectations is that while teachers believe setting to be based on ability, Black pupils are placed in "lower sets due to their behaviour rather than their ability" (Tikly et al, in DfES, 2006, p.22 see also Gillborn and Youdell, 2000, Gillborn, 2010, Ball, 2008). Thus low teacher expectations "have an overarching impact on the assessments made about the abilities of Black children" (Maylor et al., 2009, p.20). Low teacher expectations of Black students is also highlighted by Gillborn, (2008) and Strand, (2012) who argue that Black students

are under-represented in the higher tier examinations in English schools hence, Black children are placed in lower sets and consequently, Black students are entered for lower tiered examinations (also see Gillborn and Youdell, 2000). This appears to affect Black students in various ways. Firstly, if Black students are placed in lower sets, then they are not only denied the opportunity to do higher tier examinations but they are also denied the opportunity to gain higher levels which consequently deny them the opportunity to access the most prestigious universities such as Oxford and Cambridge. Secondly, as education is an experience for life, it can be disturbing to Black children who experience what it is like to be placed in lower sets (given low level work sheets and the stigma attached to children in lower sets) when they actually know and feel that they are able to do better and achieve higher levels if given the opportunity to be in higher tier sets and the opportunity to be entered for higher tier examinations.

A number of studies have examined the impact of low teacher expectations on the educational experiences and outcomes of Black children. Low teacher expectations of Black children and their education was highlighted by Mac an Ghail, (1988) and Alexander, (1992) which suggests that low teacher expectations of Black children and their education is a long standing issue. Furthermore, “school practices, particularly teachers’ expectations, have been cited by many researchers as contributing to low attainment amongst Black children” (e.g. Nehual, 1996; Gillborn and Youdell, 2000; Crozier, 2005; Maylor et al., 2006; Rhamie, 2007; Rutter, 2006; Archer and Francis, 2007; DCSF, 2008b)” in Maylor et al., (2009,p.21). Archer and Francis also argue that “teachers tend to both hold and convey lower expectations for Black pupils” (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.42). Teacher low expectations of Black pupils have also been highlighted by Parker-Jenkins et al. (1997). Teachers’ low aspirations and expectations

of Black children and girls in particular are also highlighted in Basit's work who argues that teachers have lower expectations of Black girls' abilities and do not expect Black girls to go to university (Basit, 1997). Archer, (2003) also point out that Black girls are dissuaded by their teachers from applying to university. Despite the findings of such studies, Strand (2014a) identified the need to further explore factors such as lower teacher expectations and racism within the education system that are associated with the underachievement of Black children in English schools (see Vincent et al., 2011 and Maylor, 2014).

The literature review above has shown some of the factors that have been used to explain the low academic attainment of Black children in England. These factors include social class, deprivation, racism and low teacher expectations of children's education. My study sought to examine these arguments and ascertain how parents in my study support their children's education when their children are faced with negative school experiences.

The next section briefly discusses the inequalities in the education system despite policies developed to raise the academic achievement of all children in England being in place.

1.6.3 Ethnicity and educational achievement, policy context

Although "the rationale underlying Government initiatives for raising achievement appears to be that by improving school standards overall, Black pupils' attainment levels would increase similarly" (John, 2006,p.4), evidence suggests that Black students in England do not on average achieve academically as their White counterparts (Richardson, 2005, 2007, Gillborn, 2008, Mirza, 2009, Peart, 2013; Strand 2014a). The

“Green paper: Schools-Building on success (also aimed at ensuring that...Black children are provided with quality educational opportunities for their self-development, for achieving academic success, and in preparation for the labour market (John, 2006,p.25). In 2011 the coalition government also emphasised the need for a first class education for every child (Cameron, 2011). This seems to suggest government consensus on providing all children with a good education as well as providing opportunities for all children to achieve academic success. However, as many of the studies referenced in this thesis suggest, the reality of academic success for many Black children is far from ideal.

Having provided the broader context within which debates about Black African academic attainment are located, the next section focuses on parental support and engagement/involvement in children’s learning or education.

1.7 Parental support/engagement/involvement in children’s learning/education

The process of conducting the literature review involved intensive reading around and searching educational sites about parental involvement/engagement/support in/of children’s education. There is a wealth of literature in the area of parental engagement both in the UK and internationally for example, Desforges and Abourchaar, (2003), Crozier, (2005), Crozier and Reay, (2005), Crozier and Davies (2007), Crozier,(2010, 2012), Vincent et al., (2011), Rollock et al., (2015), Wright, (2013), Moll, (1992), Rhamie, (2007), Hollingworth et al, (2009), Sammons et al, (2007), Feinstein and Symons, (1999), Harris and Goodall, (2007), Lall, Campbell and Gillborn, (2004), Reynolds, (2005), DfES, (2005), Archer and Francis, (2007), Lareau, (2002, 2003, 2011), Ogbu, (2003), but I decided to concentrate on a small number of studies namely Crozier and Reay, (2005), Harris and Goodall, (2007), Lall, Campbell and Gillborn, (2004), Rhamie, (2007) Sammons et al, (2007),Vincent et al., (2011), Archer and

Francis, (2007), DfES, (2005) and Lareau, (2002, 2003, 2011) because of not only their focus on parental involvement/engagement/support in/of children's education, but also because of their influence on parental involvement at a UK policy level (e.g. Harris and Goodall, 2007 and Deforges and Abouchaar, 2003), and research in the area of parental involvement internationally for example, Lareau's work on concerted cultivation in the United States of America, is a concept that offers insight into a different and high level of parental involvement in children's education given the parental involvement definition. Lareau's concept of concerted cultivation is discussed in detail in section (1.7.3) below.

The next section provides some understanding of the term parental support in children's learning given the overall focus of my study above. As well as defining the term parental support of children's learning, it defines parental engagement in children's learning and parental involvement in children's education, how parental involvement is understood from the government policy context and schools' perspective and how parental involvement in children's education is linked to children's academic success or failure in England (Feinstein and Symons, 1999, Sammons et al, 2007). Debates around parental involvement in children's education are also briefly discussed in this section.

1.7.1 Parental support of, parental engagement and parental involvement in children's learning definitions

It is suggested that parents' support of children's learning refers to how parents' support their children's learning for example, reading to their children (Sammons et al, 2007) or taking them to museums, theatre, art galleries or concerts (Arendell, 2001) or visiting schools to find out how their children are progressing in their learning. As the term parents' support of children's learning is linked to the terms parental engagement and

involvement (Desforbes and Abouchaar, 2003), it is important to define these terms as they are often used interchangeably (Hollingworth et al., 2009) and are not only associated with the level of educational support parents in general provide to their children, but are also often linked to the educational outcomes for example, the children's academic success or failure (Feinstein and Symons, 1999, Sammons et al, 2007). Although my study's focus is on parental support of children's learning as seen above, it is important to understand the terms parental engagement and parental involvement as the background literature within which my study is located links to parental engagement in children's learning and parental involvement in children's education. I now move on to define these terms.

Harris and Goodall, (2007) define parental engagement as parental engagement in children's learning and suggest that education settings play a major role in informing parents about their role in supporting their children in education settings and encourage parents' participation in education settings by developing strategies and programmes that aim at reinforcing parental engagement in educational settings. For example, by supporting their children's learning within schools, volunteering within their children's schools, becoming involved in governance and attending school events/meetings (Harris and Goodall, 2007, DCSF, 2009). It is argued that parental engagement aims at fostering involvement amongst hard to reach groups of parents (Desforbes and Abouchaar, 2003) whereas Davidson and Alexis, (2012, p.69) points out that:

parental engagement is about the interaction that takes place in the home where children are given strong support with their school work [and] this engagement has shown to have an effective impact on improving educational outcomes for children because these parents impart their knowledge, skills and understanding to help their children succeed with their school learning.

While Desforges and Abouchaar (2003) define parental involvement as parental involvement in schooling with for example, parents attending parents' evenings in schools, Davidson and Alexis, (2012, p.69) state that "parental involvement is more about such things as attending parents' meetings, checking and signing homework diaries, serving as a parent governor and being a member of the school's Parent Teacher Association (PTA). In other words parental involvement is more about parents' interests in their children's school community and environment" (Davidson and Alexis, 2012, p.69). However, it has been pointed out that the term parental involvement in education refers to both parental engagement and parental involvement (Desforges and Abouchaar, 2003) although Harris and Gooddall, (2007, p. 38) points out that "what makes a difference to student achievement is not parental involvement in schooling but parental engagement in learning in the home". A further difficulty relating to how parental involvement is defined is highlighted by Crozier and Reay who point out that "although parental involvement is frequently referred to in policy discourses and professional practice, few are explicit about what they actually mean" (Crozier and Reay, 2005,p.xi). Further, Lall, Campbell and Gillborn (2004, p.1), state that:

Parental involvement can be defined in many ways. It includes parents coming into schools informally; say for a coffee and biscuits, as well as more formally, such as meeting with teachers or taking part in their children's education through classroom participation. In some cases it includes parents' own learning, improved communication with the school through home-school liaison workers.

Hornby goes further to describe parental involvement from the schools' perspective, which includes "parents as recipients of information, clients and consultants, governors,

helpers, fund raisers, experts and co-educators” (Hornby, 2000,p.12 see Hornby, 2000 for a detailed explanation of these forms of parental involvement). Lall, Campbell and Gillborn, state that “government policy promotes the importance of parental involvement in a child’s education and schooling” (2004, p.3) and “British education policy has witnessed a heightened interest in parental involvement in schooling” (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.72). For example, In October 2005c, the New Labour Government published *The schools White Paper Higher Standards, Better Schools for All* (DfES, 2005c) which “seeks to increase parental choice, responsibility, power and involvement” (Reynolds, 2005, p.17 also see DfES, 2005c). This White paper empowered parents and puts emphasis on the need to “create a school system shaped by parents which delivers excellence and equity-developing the talents and potential of every child, regardless of their background...one that will empower parents and give schools the freedoms and incentives to focus on the individual needs of every child” (DfES, 2005c,p.19). However, Archer and Francis argue that “it is difficult to see how parents, who tend to be most interested in their own children’s progress, and among whom there are many inequalities impacting their ability to interact with the education system, are best placed to drive a more equitable system” (Archer and Francis, 2007,p.73).

Nevertheless, New Labour “government policy (DfES, 2007) strongly encourage[d] the involvement of parents in their children’s learning” (Maylor et al., 2009, p.25) and sought to address educational inequalities by putting on emphasis on “educational excellence and narrow[ing] achievement gaps” (Labour Party, 2010, p.3:2). When the coalition government took power in 2010, it “believe[d] that [there was a] need to reform our school system to tackle educational inequality, which has widened in recent years, and to give greater powers to parents and pupils to choose a good school”

(Cabinet Office, 2010p.28). This suggests there was political consensus on parental involvement in children's education between the New Labour and Coalition governments. The extent of consensus between both governments is further exemplified by The School's White Paper, Department of Education, (DfE 2010,p.3) which asserts that: "it is only through reform in education that we can allow each child the chance to take their full and equal share in citizenship, shaping their own destiny and becoming masters (sic) of their own lives" (Michael Gove), and DfE, (2011c) which emphasises the importance of having a highly educated society in which opportunity is equal for children and young people, no matter their background or family circumstances. However, despite such political consensus, educational opportunities for Black attainment and recognition of Black parental involvement remains unequal (Gillborn et al., 2012). I now move on to discuss social class and parental involvement as they are strongly associated with children's academic attainment.

1.7.2 Social class and parental involvement

It has been pointed out that the most involved parents tend to be from a higher social class and their involvement in their children's education has a significant positive effect on their children's academic achievement or attainment (Desforges et al., 2003). According to Archer and Francis, "research on... parents' engagement with their children's schools and learning ...has centred on the impact of social class on parental engagement [and] maintain[s] that the underachievement of working class pupils [can] be explained by their parents' lack of concern about, or engagement with, their education" (2007,p.69). Unlike working class parents, "[White] middle class parents are the most likely group of parents to come into schools and challenge teachers"

(Archer and Francis, 2007,p.71) about their children's education. Crozier points out that research into "parental involvement... has focused on 'how to do it'...and in advising parents on supporting their children's [education]" (Crozier, 2012p.4). Crozier argues that research into parental involvement in this perspective, "is based on an assumption that parents are not involved and should be" (Crozier, 2012, p.4) and negates difficulties some parents experience in trying to support their children's education. Crozier and Reay point out that from "the growing body of research [at the time] into home-school relations we know that parents who find it difficult to be involved in a relationship with their child's school and act on their child's behalf in relation to the school are white working class and black and minority ethnic group parents" (Crozier and Reay, 2005, pp.ix-x). According to Crozier and Reay (2005, pp.x), parents who experience involvement difficulties such as working class "parents are urged for example, to take parenting lessons" (Crozier and Reay 2005, pp.x). Their work also "show[s] the difficulties that [Black] parents face in trying ...to meet the demands of the or at least expectations of schools and trying to assert a voice on behalf of their children" (Crozier and Reay, 2005, pp.x). These difficulties include "resisting discriminatory practices and thus defending their children, rescuing their children and comforting them in the face of abuse and humiliation" (Crozier, 2005, p.43). However, "a Times Education Supplement article entitled, 'Get Involved, head tells black parents' (Bloom 15 March, 2002) [observed that] William, Atkinson, head of a London school said that lack of involvement by black parents in school life was often to blame for their children's academic problems and that 'parents should stop blaming schools and start taking responsibility for their children's progress'. Moreover, he said, 'part of the problem is that the children do not belong to a culture that supports success'". These comments clearly show how Black parents are at the heart of education discourses, how they have

been blamed for the low academic attainment of their children and how (as discussed in section 1.5) they are perceived to have a culture that does not support educational success. However, Crozier challenges these negative perceptions about Black parents and their children's education by highlighting that Black parents are highly involved in their children's education and invest heavily in their children's education "in trying to achieve for their children a fair, more positive and successful educational experiences" (Crozier, 2005 in Crozier and Reay, 2005,p.40). Additionally, "to ensure [that] their [children's] needs are met, compensating for the inadequacies of the education system and protecting or rescuing their children from a negative or educationally damning and damaging experience" (Crozier, 2005 in Crozier and Reay, 2005,p.54). Maylor et al (2009, p.25 and Maylor, 2014) also point out that "Black parents are greatly involved in supporting their children's learning" regardless of social class background. Such findings are further supported by Mirza and Reay (2000), Rhamie, (2007), Wright, Standen and Patel, (2010), Andrews (2013).

In the next section I discuss Lareau's concept of 'concerted cultivation/accomplishment of natural growth' (2002, 2003) as it is relevant to my study in terms of how parents' transmit cultural knowledge to their children through their teaching and organising of out of school activities including cultural and academic. It is further salient as the concept offers insight into a different and high level of parental involvement in children's education given the parental involvement definition for example, Lall, Campbell and Gillborn's (2004) definition.

1.7.3 Concerted cultivation/Accomplishment of Natural Growth

Lareau conducted a qualitative study in America involving 88 middle and working families. These parents included different ethnicities for example, White middle class parents and Black middle class parents in America. Lareau concluded that the way

middle class parents rear their children differs from the way working class and 'poor' families rear their children (2002, 2003). These ways are discussed below but before doing that, it is necessary to define the term 'concerted cultivation'. According to Lareau, concerted cultivation is a style of parenting where mainly American middle class and upper class parents foster their children's talents by incorporating organised activities such as leisure activities (music, theatre, sports) in their children's lives (2002, 2003). Carolan, (2015p.4) adds that "the structured leisure activities in which [the middle class] are engaged (e.g. sports, school-sponsored clubs, camps etc.) enable children to actively explore and develop a range of skills, interests, and behaviours" Lareau suggests that these middle class organised activities, established and controlled by middle class parents dominate the lives of middle class children. This thesis while supporting the concept of concerted cultivation however, challenges Lareau's contention that experience of such activities is confined to White middle class parents and children. The difference between my sample of parents and Lareau's parents is that the Black Ugandan British parents in this study exist between two class identities (middle class identity in Uganda given the jobs they did in Uganda and the lifestyle they lived and working class identity in England given their working class positioning in England –doing on to two low paid jobs – this is discussed in chapters 4 and 5). According to Lareau, concerted cultivation emphasises the importance of developing the children's reasoning skills and parents equip their children with skills that enable them to effectively interact with adults and people with authority in institutions such as schools. They also teach their children to transmit reasoning and negotiation skills needed when interacting with professionals such as teachers in schools and they not only become familiar to the ways of tailoring the conversations between them and the professionals to suit their needs and interests but also become confident when

interacting with parents (2002,2003). Lareau further points out that middle class parents who engage in concerted cultivation make sure that their children are not excluded from any opportunity that might eventually contribute to their advancement (2002, 2003). Carolan, (2015) supports this argument by pointing out that the middle class parents' "practices and attitudes cultivate a child's set of skills, knowledge, and dispositions that result in a feeling of entitlement among middle-class and upper middle class children". Carolan, (2015, pp.4:5) states that:

A by-product of this entitlement is that [middle class children] develop and internalise a sense that they are academically competent. Children whose parents practice concerted cultivation are more likely to acquire a vocabulary and customised orientation towards institutions, such as schools, that will be useful in the future when they come to extract advantages on their own behalf (Lareau, [2003] 2011). This then, results in children developing an academic identity that ultimately provides an additional advantage as they interact with educational institutions at different points in the life course.

According to Lareau, middle class parents also focus on developing their children's language use and abilities to interact with adults and social institutions and parents stress the importance reasoning with children and they teach their children to solve problems through negotiation hence, developing children's confidence to see adults as relative equals (2002, 2003 and 2011). With regard to developing their children's language use, Carolan adds that middle class "parents converse extensively with their children, requiring them to negotiate and analyse language on a higher level" (2015, p.4). As will be shown later in this thesis Black Ugandan British parents use different strategies with their children.

Lareau argues that unlike middleclass parents, working class parents do not consider concerted development of their children through organised leisure activities such as eliciting their children's feelings, opinions and thoughts because they see a clear boundary between adults and children and therefore, they tend to use directives, telling their children what to do rather than persuading them with reasoning (Lareau, 2002, 2003, 2011). For the working class parents in Lareau's study, accomplishment of natural growth was the focus and parents believed that providing food, shelter, love, keeping their children safe, reinforcing behaviour and attention to kinship (siblings, cousins and other family members) were key features in the process of child rearing amongst working class parents (Lareau, 2002, 2003, 2011). In addition, the language working class parents used was directive and parents expected their children to respond to their directives in a polite and respectful manner. Thus, unlike middle class parents, working class parents did not instil the concept of children seeing themselves as relative equals to adults and parents did not provide explanations for what they directed their children to do and there were no negotiations between parents and their children. Carolan, (2015,p.4) points out that "the foundation of Lareau's work can be found in a distinct research tradition which has argued that the intergenerational transmission of education advantage is largely due to how parents from different social classes practice different parenting styles" (see Durham et al., 2007). Although the concept of concerted cultivation is mainly used by the middle class (White and Black) in America, it has some relevance to the Black middle class in England in regard to the way they are involved in their children's education. Therefore, in the next section, I would like to discuss the educational strategies employed by the Black middle class in England to support their children's education.

1.7.4 Black middle class and parental involvement in England

Vincent et al., (2011) carried out research from June 2009 to June 2011 and interviewed 62 Black middle class parents of Black Caribbean heritage. They identified that the Black middle class in England employed a range educational strategies to support their children's education and these educational strategies included long term planning of a child's educational career, intensive focus on academic achievement, monitoring and surveillance of the child both at and outside school (Vincent et al 2011). They concluded that "the Black middle class in [their] study are also active in support of their children's education outside school [and] they draw on their social networks, often, other middle class professionals, in order to provide children with positive representations of Black people, and obtain practical help and advice" (Vincent et al., 2011,pp.6:7). In addition, the Black middle class engaged in "a range of extra-curricular activities/tutoring are standard. Activities include the traditional staples of music, sport, dance and drama, as well as in some cases, involvement in Black mentoring and youth organisations [for example,] (Junior Windsor Fellowship, 100 Black men)" (Vincent et al., 2011,p.7). According to Vincent et al., (2012,p.429) Black Caribbean middle class parents engaged in extracurricular activities such as youth group at church and swimming, "sport, performing arts (dance, drama, and singing mainly), instrumental lessons, Black led organisations, supplementary school or tutoring". It is important to note that supplementary schooling is not just a middle class educational strategy as evidenced by Mirza and Reay 2000, Maylor et al., 2013; Maylor 2014; Wright, Standen and Patel 2010, Andrews 2013 as Black working class parents make efforts to address their children's underachievement.

The Black middle class parents in Vincent et al. also engaged in other activities "(including youth groups such as Brownies/clubs or army cadets)". Black middle class

parents also “arm[ed] their children with not only education qualifications, but also certificates celebrating achievements, in music (particular types of music, such as the playing of orchestral instruments, sport and performing arts, as well as a whole range of other activities” (Vincent et al, 2012, p.428).

Rollock et al’s work (2015) which looked the Black middle class parents in managerial and professional positions and their deployment of educational strategies to support their children’s learning also shows how parents engage in extracurricular activities as they support their children’s education. These findings show some similarities between the middle class in America who use concerted cultivation particularly; fostering their children’s talents through organised leisure activities such as music and sports in their children’s lives (Lareau, 2002, 2003). The difference between parents in Rollock et al’s study and parents in my study is that my sample of parents were not positioned in professional and managerial jobs as parents in Rollock et al’s study. The next section focuses on Moll et al’s work on funds of knowledge as it is relevant to my study.

1.7.5 The concept of ‘funds of knowledge’

The concept of funds of knowledge is based on the idea that people have knowledge gained through their life experiences (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005). For example, “labour histories are very rich sources for the funds of knowledge that a household possesses” (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005, p.12) and children are exposed to these valuable funds of knowledges. In addition, “the knowledge of grandparents, aunts and uncles, and extended family relations are also resources [of funds of knowledge]” (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005, p.12) which children are exposed to. The funds of knowledge concept helps to understand that working class or poor communities have resources (funds of knowledge) which schools can draw on to when teaching to promote

the children's learning (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005). According to Moll et al, (1992) the term funds of knowledge refers to the home school connection within the cultural perspective. Moll et al's research (1992) looked into the lives of Latino students and their families in America and developed an understanding of Latino students' home lives, values, knowledges, practices and languages which were important to families and communities, but were not valued in mainstream American schools. Moll et al., (1992) suggests that teachers can draw on the students' background knowledges and experiences from their homes and communities to enhance their learning in schools. Moll et al's work suggests that the students' home/community based knowledges and experiences acquired through parents, family members and other people in the students' communities are not only valuable to students' lives but can also be valuable to schools as teachers can draw the students' knowledges and experiences to plan lessons in mainstream schools. The idea of incorporating this community based knowledge and experiences in the curriculum aims at broadening the children's understanding of what they learn in school and linking it to their lived experiences within their homes and communities.

The funds of knowledge concept emphasises the community or family unit as holders of historical and cultural knowledge and stresses that homes and communities are educational settings where knowledge is transmitted from elders to the young generation to enhance the survival of its dependants (Genzuck, 1999). Therefore, for schools/teachers to gain a deeper understanding of 'funds of knowledge' from their students' homes and communities, firstly, they need to visit their students' homes and communities to find out how people in the students' homes and communities live their lives, what people know, how they know things, and how they build relationships (Moll et al., 1992 see also Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005). Secondly, schools/teachers

need to study the culture or cultural practices within the students' homes and community environments to identify what is valued in the families and communities. Thirdly, schools/teachers need gather information about what resources are in the students' homes and communities and finally, schools/teachers not only need develop curricula that connect homes and schools but also need to plan lessons while taking into account the information about the knowledges gathered from the students' homes and communities (Moll et al., 1992). Moll et al., (1992), suggests that teachers who use the 'funds of knowledge' concept plan with focus on school learning objectives while incorporating information about the knowledge gathered from the children's homes and communities. According to Moll et al., (1992), this allows students to draw on the knowledge from their homes and communities to further their learning in classrooms (please see Moll et al, 1992 for a detailed understanding of the different types of 'funds of knowledge' and the 'funds of knowledge' from the Latino students' homes and communities). Olmedo (2009) adds incorporating the 'funds of knowledge' students bring from their homes and communities into the curriculum also helps in the building of relationships between teachers, parents and students. It not only shows that schools/teachers value the 'funds of knowledge' students bring from their homes and communities and teachers' willingness to learn from the students and parents but also helps in building good relationships and trust between parents' and schools which are crucial in enhancing the children's learning. Other studies on 'funds of knowledge' for example, Riojas-Cortez's work (2001) on bilingual pre-schoolers' play in a South Texas classroom built on Moll et al's concept of funds of knowledge and identified different categories of 'funds of knowledge' which included childcare, family, education, farming and construction which teachers should draw upon and incorporate in the school curriculum. According to Riojas-Cortez pre-schoolers drew on their culture and

language in their interactive play. Other studies on ‘funds of knowledge’ also show how schools/teacher draw on students’ ‘funds of knowledge’ to enhance the students’ learning (please also see Dworin, 2006, Tan and Barton, 2008 for a detailed understanding of how students ‘funds of knowledge’ were connected to classroom practice). My study supports Moll’s concept of ‘funds of knowledge’ particularly on the need to for schools to tap into home and community ‘funds of knowledge’ to enhance the children’s learning (see chapters 3 and 5).

In the next section, I focus on Archer’s work on young people’s aspirations as it is relevant to my study.

1.8 Children’s career aspirations

Archer’s work (2010c) on children’s career aspirations suggest that race, ethnicity, social class and gender all play a key role in shaping not only the nature and direction of young people’s aspirations but also the processes through which these aspirations are formed. Archer et al (2010) argue that the young people in their study rarely had a sense of the educational subject choices and routes that would help them to realise their career aspirations. Like the young people in Archer, Hutchings and Ross’s (2003) higher education and social class study, these young people also had little idea about what higher education is, what it might entail, how much it might cost and routes for getting there. My study adds to Archer’s findings by highlighting how Black Ugandan British parents’ double class identities intersect with their culture and gender to inform their children’s career aspirations, and desire for higher education study (see chapter 5).

1.9 How this study fills the gap in knowledge

1.9.1 Academic attainment of Black African children in England

The existing literature on the academic achievement of Black African students suggest that the experiences/achievement of British Ugandan children, Black Ugandan British parents' contributions towards their children's education, learning and attainment, and the educational support they provide to their children in England are not known. It is my contention that specific refugee or asylum seeking groups such as Ugandans who are perceived as unproblematic, and where the numbers are not large in England, appear to be under-researched. Therefore, in order to have a better understanding of Ugandan parental experiences and contributions to their children's education, there was a need to conduct research focusing on the Ugandan community in England in particular.

While the Lambeth and the Camden Reports have identified key issues, which may be of importance to Black African parents and education practitioners, research, which specifically focuses on the experiences of asylum seeking Black Ugandan British families and the middle class adaptive strategies they use to foster the academic progress of their children, is not available. It is also important to note that research on the role asylum seeking Black Ugandan British parents play in supporting their children's education within their homes, communities and the wider community is not available.

In section (1.3.2) above, I discussed how the statistics about the Black African children attainment in 2007 raised my concern about the educational attainment of Black African children in English schools and how this influenced me to become interested in Black Ugandan British children through exploring Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's learning. I also discussed that "as there is a danger that the inclusive term 'Black' could lead to simplistic and at the same time the wrong

conclusions being drawn about Black children's achievement" (Maylor, 2009,p.12), it is important that any attainment differentials within the Black group are identified and explored in greater detail. This is another reason for the need to examine Black African children's academic attainment and research that specifically focuses on Black Ugandan British academic attainment is not available. Exploring Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's learning provides us with some understanding of Black Ugandan British children's academic attainment (see chapter 5).

Furthermore, following evidence from Ofsted's report 'raising the attainment of minority ethnic pupils, it is clear that overall, when Black boys and girls start school at primary level, they achieve in line with national averages by the end of Key Stage 1 (Ofsted, 1999). In addition, McKenley (2005) suggests that by the end of Key Stage 1, Black boys and girls perform as well as their White peers in attainment tests. Despite the good start of Black pupils in primary schools, there is a decline in attainment of Black children notably boys at secondary level (Sewell, 1997, Ofsted, 1999, McKenley, 2005, Gillborn and Youdell, 2000). Abbot also argues that there is a decline in Black children's academic achievement at secondary level (Abbot, 2005 in Richardson, 2005). Focusing on Ugandan students is important as national GCSE and A level attainment data is not usually disaggregated to reveal their specific outcomes. Furthermore, numbers of Black British Ugandan students in schools or local authorities may be too small to discern differences hence there is need to bring attention to their experiences, and add to the literature. Therefore, seeking out Black Ugandan British parents with children aged 11-19, born in England, who have gone through education from foundation stage to secondary stage meets another need of the project. In addition, the number of families and, types of families involved in the study and gender differences amongst the respondents (see methodology chapter) do not only fit the purpose of my

study, but also allow both for in-depth studies and comparisons. According to an International Organization for Migration (IOM), “85% of the Ugandan community lives in London and the rest is widely dispersed across England...in ...Liverpool, Surrey, Sheffield, Manchester, Luton, Bradford, Leicester, Milton Keynes, Nottingham, Leeds, Oxford, Birmingham and Coventry” (IOM, 2006,p.17). Therefore, I chose to focus on two London boroughs (North London borough and South London borough) because most Ugandan refugees have settled in London and there is a high concentration of Ugandan refugees in the North London borough and South London borough; although within the two boroughs, there are a higher proportion of Ugandan refugees in North London borough than South London borough. My study adds to our understanding of how migrants engage with education and support their children’s education.

1.9.2 Researching families in their home environments

Furthermore, through reading the literature available on the achievement of Black children in England, I was able to identify the gap in literature that needs to be filled. McKenley, highlights the importance of researching community and home environments and argues that “research has tended to be located in schools and about how schools interact with parents as opposed to how parents interact with schools, with research located in their community and homes” (McKenley, 2005,p.161). Therefore, focusing on the Ugandan community particularly, asylum seeking Black Ugandan British families within their home environments originates from this argument and fills this gap in the literature.

1.9.3 Parental support of children’s learning

In regard to parental support of children’s learning, my study provides an insight into how Black Ugandan British parents support their children’s learning and discusses the factors that influence the nature and level of educational support they provide to their

children which include their culture. It reveals the different forms or ways in which asylum seeking Black Ugandan British parents support their children's learning with the Ugandan culture at the heart of the educational support Black Ugandan British parents provide to their children within their homes, Ugandan community and the wider community. I argue that Black Ugandan British parents' culturalistic approach to supporting their children's learning is not known and highlight the need to understand Black Ugandan British parents' ways of supporting their children's learning and the factors that influence the educational support they provide to their children.

One of the main issues to emerge from reviewing the UK literature in relation to Black middle class parental involvement is that studies such as Vincent et al (2011) and Rollock et al (2015) have focused on African-Caribbean parents educational strategies and their children, which adds to an existing literature about this group. This is another reason for examining Black Ugandan middle-class British parental support/engagement in facilitating their children's attainment. The next section is the thesis outline.

1.10 Thesis outline

There are six chapters in this thesis. This first chapter outlined the study rationale and discussed the background literature built on throughout the thesis. Chapter 2 is the methodology chapter and provides a detailed discussion of ethnography, justifies why it was the most appropriate method for my study, how it was developed, issues that arose from conducting ethnographic research and how I managed to overcome them. The chapter also discusses the data collection and analysis process including the theoretical framework employed in the data analysis. Chapter 3 is the culture and education chapter. It is the foundation of chapter 5 and discusses the elements of Ugandan culture (including language, religion, customs, music, art, food and education) and how it

shapes Black Ugandan British parents' thinking and informs their actions as they support their children's education in England.

Chapter 4 is the class and employment and class and education chapter. It discusses how Black Ugandan British parents have middleclass backgrounds, how they were educated in private boarding schools in Uganda and how their education backgrounds shape the educational support they offer to their children. The chapter highlights class complexities as Black Ugandan British parents positioned as working class parents in England, bring their Ugandan middleclass aspirations to supporting their children's education in England. It goes further to examine the existing literature around assumptions that Black "working class families are faced with a lack of both material and cultural capital" (Archer and Francis, 2007,p.70) to support their children's education and generalisations that Black migrants including asylum seekers or refugees have cultural capital in the wrong currency (Gewirtz, Bowe and Ball, 1994a; 1994b). The chapter reveals or uncovers the cultural capital Black Ugandan British parents use to support their children's education in England. Furthermore, the chapter discusses how class and employment shape the educational support Black Ugandan British parents provide to their children, highlights the importance of understanding the meaning of class from a Ugandan perspective or context and additionally, how Black Ugandan British parents perceive themselves in terms of class and how this influences the way they support their children's education. The chapter calls for the need to broaden the scope of understanding class from the traditionalist perspective to include the culturalistic approach. Furthermore, the chapter draws special attention to class complexities by highlighting how Black Ugandan British parents' double class identities (middle class identity from Uganda based on the jobs they did in Uganda and their lifestyles and working class identity in the UK based on the jobs they do in

England and the money they earn from their working class jobs in England) influence the educational support they give to their children.

Chapter 5 is the parental support of children's learning and educational strategies chapter. It builds on chapter 3 and demonstrates how Ugandan culture supports Black Ugandan British parents to support their children's learning and how it influences their ways of supporting their children's learning in England. It also focuses on Black Ugandan British parents' understanding of parental support of children's learning and highlights the overlooked nature or forms of parental educational support Black Ugandan British parents provide to their children and the underlying factors influencing the level of educational support they give to their children. The chapter also provides a detailed account of how Black Ugandan British parents support their children's learning and the educational strategies they employ to promote their children's learning.

This chapter highlights the importance of broadening the scope of understanding parental support of children's learning such as reading to children as described by Sammons et al. (2007) above or taking them to the museum, to include parental support of children's learning from Black Ugandan British parents' cultural perspective such as educating their children outside English mainstream schools, within their home environments, their Ugandan community and the wider community. This chapter challenges negative assumptions about Black parents' lack of cultural capital to support their children's education and negative assumptions that Black parents do not support their children's education and are not involved in their children's learning.

Chapter 6 the conclusion chapter, comes back to issues raised throughout the chapters bringing together the main themes and issues raised in relation to the key questions at the heart of this research presented at the beginning of this chapter in order to understand Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's

learning in England. As well as discussing the strengths and limitations of my study, this chapter also makes recommendations by highlighting what schools, education practitioners and policy makers need to do differently.

1.11 Summary

In summary, this chapter provided an overview of this study, highlighted the importance of this study and how it contributes to knowledge in the field of education. In sum, this chapter discussed Britain's approach towards migrant people, the effect of migration to Black immigrants, the racism Black immigrants encounter in the UK and the racism their descendants continue to encounter particularly, in the British employment system. This chapter also discussed the migration effect for example, lower/unskilled employment, poor housing, low educational attainment, deficit educational/cultural discourses, development of enhanced parental strategies and status differences. The following chapter is the methodology chapter.

Chapter Two: Methodology

2.1 Introduction

This chapter centres on a justification of ethnography as the most appropriate method for my study. It discusses how it was developed, carried out, issues that arose and how I managed to overcome them. As this chapter also discusses the methodological approach I used to answer my research questions, it is worth restating my research questions outlined in chapter 1.

This study has three key questions.

1. What issues do Black Ugandan British parents face as they support their children's education?
2. What parental strategies do Black Ugandan British parents use to promote learning and academic success amongst British/Ugandan children?
3. What are Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of interacting with schools in reference to supporting their children's education?

I now move on with a justification of ethnography for my study.

2.2 Ethnography justification

The first methodological decision I encountered was to consider which approach was best suited to achieve my research aims. My broad research aim was to explore Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's education within their home environments. Prior to going into the field, I conducted a literature review on ethnography conducted in families and how previous researchers for example, (Daly, 1997, Daly and Deinhart, 1998, Basit, 1997) used ethnography to answer their research questions. This methodological framework suggested that ethnography was the most appropriate method for me to adopt given the nature of my research and research

purposes. Ethnography has been defined as “the study of people in naturally occurring settings or ‘fields’ by methods of data collection which capture their social meanings and ordinary activities” (Brewer, 2000, p.6). Ethnography has been adopted within the qualitative approach to describe occasions where researchers spend time interacting with the participants in areas of their everyday lives (Fetterman, 2010, LeCompte and Schensul, 1999, Angrosino, 2007). I adopted this approach and chose ethnography because unlike quantitative methods, ethnography is carried out in a natural home setting where people live their lives (Hammersley, 1992, Hammersley and Atkinson 1995, 2007, Denzin and Lincoln, 2003, Bryman, 2001, Fetterman, 2010). As ethnography is a research method based on observing people in their natural environment, (Fetterman, 2010), and as an ethnographer trying to gain an understanding of the Black Ugandan British parents’ experiences of supporting their children’s learning at home, I went “in the field to observe things as they happen in their natural setting” (Woods, 1986,p.5). As ethnography is about gaining an insight or to understand the people under study (Angrosino, 2007, Fetterman, 1998), my focus was to build up a picture of the social world of Black Ugandan British parents in my study in relation to how they supported their children’s education. Therefore, I entered their world with a mission to experience their world, being in their world and conversations, ethnographic interviews and observations with them, led to “divergent opinions, values, beliefs, and behaviours” (Angrosino, 2007, p.12). I learned about their experiences from their point of view.

Ethnography allowed me to study the Black Ugandan British parents in their natural home setting and enabled me to collect data or gather information from the Black Ugandan British parents’ perspective of reality, sometimes called emic (Wolcott, 2008, Angrosino, 2007). The Ugandan perception of reality did not only facilitate the process

of understanding reality from their point of view but also helped me to describe their behaviour patterns leading to a greater understanding of what they do to support their children's education at home and the importance of engaging in what they do.

Ethnography provided an opportunity for me to engage in long-term regular close interactions with the Ugandan families. These interactions and face to face contact led to a closer understanding of what Ugandan families do to support their children's learning. Ethnography allowed me to search and describe the 'natural' behaviour of the Black Ugandan British parents under study in their natural environment, seeking to understand their perspectives from their point of view. Fetterman suggests that this naturalist approach "avoids the artificial response typical of controlled or laboratory conditions" (Fetterman, 2010, p.33) where the researcher plays a more dominant role in controlling the variables and where "people's behaviour is shaped by their awareness of the experimental situation and by the personal characteristics of the experimenter (or her/his assistants)" (Hammersley, 1992, p.164). Unlike this experimental approach, ethnography provided an opportunity for me to get closer to the participants allowing me to engage in natural conversations with the participants.

My choice of undertaking ethnography was also driven by the idea that ethnographic research "involves the holistic description of a people and their way of life" (Angrosino, 2007, p.17). As this description includes the history of the social group and the geography of location (Wolcott, 2008), it was appropriate for me to adopt ethnography in order to gather information about Black Ugandan British parents. As "a holistic orientation demands a great deal of time in the field to gather the many kinds of data" (Fetterman, 2010,p.18), it was necessary for me to use methods that would allow me to learn and discover how Black Ugandan British parents live their lives and what they do to support their children's education at home. Long-term close interactions with the

Black Ugandan British parents in the field enabled me to explore their experiences, gather information from the Black Ugandan British parents' point of view, cross check information, something I should not have achieved through quantitative methods.

Ethnography put me in a close position with the parents and provided an opportunity for me to observe how Black Ugandan British parents reacted and responded to my research questions during the interviews and discussions allowing me to gain an understanding of the Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's learning and their culture. In sum, ethnography allowed me to acquire a deeper understanding of the Black Ugandan British parents' way of life through long-term observations of family activities, which revealed several behaviour patterns that were crucial for answering the questions of my study (Fetterman, 2010, Davies, 2007, Wolcott, 2008). Ethnographic observations carried out in Black Ugandan British parents' home environments during the home visits enabled me to observe reality through checking that the parents' words matched their actions. Close field observations over time did not only allow me to gain an understanding of the Ugandan families' day-to-day activities and routines but also enabled me to learn and discover things of importance to the Black Ugandan British parents in my study including culture.

Ethnography enabled me to identify cultural patterns of Black Ugandan British parents through long-term interactions and observations. In addition, ethnography provided an opportunity for me to observe patterns of behaviour (O'Reilly, 2005) including cultural patterns of behaviour (Hatch, 2002) which, led to not only a deeper understanding of the Black Ugandan British parents' cultural practices and how Black Ugandan British parents incorporate these cultural practices in their daily lives, but also led to a broader understanding of how these Black Ugandan British parents' culture influences their way of supporting their children's education. Behaviour pattern recognitions and

detailed observations gained through the long-term visits to the Black Ugandan British parents' homes enabled me to internalise some of the beliefs and expectations of the Black Ugandan British parents allowing me to search out for their experiences as they came to my attention (McCall, 2006, O'Reilly, 2005). This ethnographic experience appears to match with Hatch's description of ethnography as a description of a cultural or social group (Hatch, 2002). It also appears to fit in with Bell's suggestions that "ethnographic researchers attempt to develop an understanding of how culture works" (Bell, 2010, p.14). Observations of the Black Ugandan British parents' way of life and their customs also contributed to a broader description of this cultural or social group through putting together all aspects learned about the Ugandan families during this ethnographic research (Miller and Salkind, 2002).

Therefore, as an ethnographer trying to gain an understanding of the parents' experiences of supporting their children at home, I argue that unlike quantitative methods, ethnography placed me closer to the Ugandan families allowing me to take account of the parents' behaviour(s) which led to a discovery of information that I needed to answer my research questions. Fetterman points out that typical conversations or behaviours of participants gained through long-term interactions and observations provide more depth and breadth than quantitative material (Fetterman, 2010).

Although I considered the qualitative approach and undertook ethnography to explore Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's learning, there are some advantages of quantitative methods (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). Amongst the advantages of quantitative methods is the use of numbers (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). The large sample, statistical representation of the population, numerical representation of data and statistical analysis are useful and help when making comparisons, testing and validating theories and hypotheses thereby

supporting reliability and validity (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). The numerical description of the phenomena and statistical analysis of precise, quantitative, numerical data from large samples can help in generalising research findings, thereby providing a broader view (Creswell, 2009).

However, some of the limitations of quantitative research include the heavy reliance upon structured reporting methods such as surveys (methods of gathering standardised data by interviewing a representative sample of the population) (Creswell, 2009). According to Creswell, surveys limit information obtainable from participants as they may only respond to the questions they are asked to respond to (Creswell, 2009). Responding to specific questions asked by the researcher means that the researcher may miss out on important detailed information from participants and occurrences because of the focus participants may put on answering the questions asked and the information given by participants may be too abstract and general (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011).

Scott and Usher, (2011, pp.93-94) point out that “[for] survey researchers, the emphasis is placed on the examination of a large number of ...participants and [state that] survey researchers typically use structured interviews, postal questionnaires and standardised performance or attitude inventories”. They argue that the use of structured interviews and postal questionnaires means that survey researchers miss out on the detailed information from the participants and highlight that for survey researchers there is “ a trade-off between detail and the ability to generalize” (Scott and Usher, 2011,p.94). Hammersley, (1992) suggests that survey researchers focus on the ability to generalize findings from larger samples rather than seeking for detailed information from the participants and detailed description of the participants and the phenomenon being studied. In doing so, “the survey researchers fail to capture the reality of life” (Scott

and Usher, 2011, p.95) or lived experiences of the participants in their locations or settings. It argued that “the need to standardize acts as a barrier to the adoption of reflective processes that allow authentic accounts to emerge” (Scott and Usher, 2011, p.95).

This is one of the reasons why rather than adopting the quantitative approach and using a survey as a data collection method, I adopted the qualitative approach and I undertook ethnography, which allowed me to explore Black Ugandan British parents’ experiences of supporting their children’s learning in detail over time.

2.3 Sample

2.3.1 Sample selection

In regard to purposive sampling, the researcher “deliberately seeks out those who meet the needs of the project” (Fulcher and Scott, 2007, p.95). I adopted this approach and went through the elimination and filtration processes to select the most appropriate people to study (Henry, 2009). This was necessary as the selection process was guided by my research problem and questions. Therefore, searching and seeking out only those who would answer my research questions was at the heart of the selection process. I selected a purposive sample of ten families (see table 2 below), who I had access to and could study in-depthly, families who share the characteristics of having migrated from Uganda to England, live in the North London borough and the South London borough, have asylum seeking backgrounds and who at the time of the data collection had children between the ages of 11 and 19 in formal schooling.

2.3.2 Research participants

In regard to the participants, it is important to mention that access to the sample was facilitated by my existing personal relationship with the parents. My study consisted of

10 families including 10 women, 5 men and 48 children. The Black Ugandan British parents in my study represented a range of family types including, nuclear and single parents with different backgrounds and a mixture of settlement patterns in terms of localities and household settings. While some families settled in the North London borough and live in council houses, housing association houses and private accommodation with their children, other families settled in the South London borough and live in council houses with their children as shown in table 2 below. It is also important to mention that for confidentiality purposes all the names in the tables are pseudonyms.

Table 2: Participants

Borough	Famil y	Type of family	Mothers	Fathers	Religion	No of Children	Boys	Girls	Type of accommodatio n
North London borough	1	Nuclear family	Everim	Sean	Protestants	5	3	2	Housing Association
	2	Nuclear family	Nikita	Dawud	Muslims	6	5	1	Housing Association
	3	Single parent	Sajeda	0	Muslim	5	2	3	Housing Association
	4	Nuclear family	Magna	Sadim	Muslims	4	2	2	Housing Association
	5	Single parent	Famisa	0	Muslim	4	2	2	Housing Association
	6	Single parent	Ragina	0	Catholic	6	3	3	Private Accommodati on
	7	Single parent	Susan	0	Protestant	4	3	1	North London borough Council housing
	8	Single parent	Samatha	0	Catholic	2	1	1	North London borough Council housing
South London borough	9	Nuclear family	Hajrah	Sagid	Muslim	7	3	4	South London borough Council housing
	10	Nuclear family	Sofiah	Mughra m	Muslim	5	3	2	South London borough Council housing
Total	10		10	5		48	27	21	

In addition, the number of families and, types of families involved in the study and gender differences amongst the respondents do not only fit the purpose of my study, but also allow both for in-depth studies and comparisons across family types. The diverse sample reflects the Ugandan community resident in England (as outlined in chapter one) and the range of families reflects nuclear and single parent families, Muslim, Protestant and Catholic families. Blundell, (2001, p.134) refers to a nuclear family as “one made up of an adult man, an adult woman and their dependent children”. According to Blundell, in a nuclear family “traditionally, the man was the ‘breadwinner’ responsible for providing what the family needed to survive and prosper, while the woman was responsible for [the] home and family” (Blundell, 2001,p. 134). A single parent family is a family with “one parent and his or her dependent children” (Blundell, 2001, p. 134). My parent sample includes nuclear and single parent families. The following section centres on the methods I used when conducting this ethnographic research.

2.4 Methods

These involved observations and interviews with eight families in the North London borough and two families in the South London borough. My visits to the families were on weekends when the children were likely not to be in school and evenings when the children were likely to be back from school. From May 2009-Jan 2010, I visited, observed and interviewed 8 families in the North London borough on a four family basis every other week. I made 1-2 visits to each family per week and the number of visits to each family depended on the participants’ availability. I spent between 1-3 hours with each family on each visit and the number of hours spent with each family also depended on the parents’ availability. From February 2010 – July 2010, I visited, observed and interviewed 2 families in the South London borough and this was done on

a one family basis every other week. The number of hours with each family depended on what the participants could offer me. I spent between 1-2 hours with each family on each visit. The interview times and hours changed from visit to visit depending on participants work/leisure schedules. I continued to visit, interview and observe these two families from September 2010- December 2010. The next section centres on the discussion of observation as a qualitative research method I used to collect data from my study.

2.4.1 Observations

As an ethnographer trying to gain an understanding of the parents' experiences of supporting their children's learning at home, I used observation as it is a qualitative research method used by interactionists and interpretivists focusing on small interactions (Cohen and Manion, 1994). For example, the type of interaction I was looking for was between parents and their children interacting in their home environments in regard to supporting their children's education. As people's actions and accounts are studied in everyday contexts during ethnography (Fulcher and Scott, 2007, Hammersley, 1998), the interactions between participants and I were also crucial as they provided much insight into the day to day lives of the families and routines in reference to supporting children's education in their home environments. These interactions did not only enable me to get into direct contact with the participants, but also facilitated my response to the behaviour of the participants during observations allowing me to search for depth and breadth of observation (Fetterman, 2010).

Observation as a method enabled me "to capture the range of facts, from mini-movement to the grand gestures of people under study" (Adler and Adler, 1994, p.38). Hammersley suggests that during ethnographic research "people's behaviour is studied" (Hammersley, 1998, p.2) and Cardwell points out that during observations "the

behaviour is observed and recorded” (Cardwell, Meldrum and Clark, 2008, p.32). I took this approach and I also adopted Angrosino’s suggestions that “good ethnographic observation involves taking field notes which may include descriptions of behaviours and interactions, records of conversations or other verbal interactions” (Angrosino 2007p.40) while taking into account that “the ethnographer also recognises patterns, behaviours or actions that seem to be repeated so that they can be said to be typical of the people being studied” (Angrosino, 2007,p.37) and that “field workers strive to ‘remember’ and to record things as ‘accurately’ as possible” (Atkinson, 1992,p.17). However, a “possibility of observer effect on the subjects observed” (Grills, 1998,p.127) might have had an impact on the data collected as peoples’ behaviour is likely to change with the awareness that they are being studied –the Hawthorne Effect (Blundell, 2001). As observation produces “especially great rigour when combined with other methods” (Adler and Adler, 1994, p.382), I used interviews as discussed below.

2.4.2 Interviews

It has been suggested that “Ethnographers use interviews to help classify and organise an individual’s perception of reality” (Fetterman 2010, p.42). Furthermore, according to Angrosino, “interviewing is a process of directing a conversation so as to collect information” (Angrosino, 2007,p. 42) and ethnographic interviewing relies on good interpersonal skills and involves a more deliberate use of conversation - a “conversation with a purpose” (Fulcher and Scott, 2007,p.87) which allows the interviewer to focus on matters to be explored. I adopted this approach and the flow of the conversation allowed me to explore matters more fully and allowed me to pursue relevant issues (Angrosino, 2007, Flick, 2007a, Flick, 2007b) relating to the 3 key questions I was investigating (see introductory chapter). Interviews (see Appendix B) carried out in a natural setting of home environments allowed me to extract simple factual information from parents, ask

about their attitudes to supporting their children's education, what they did in fulfilment of their educational expectations for their children as well as their own educational/cultural experiences, their present circumstances (e.g. employment) or future expectations (Bryman, 2001).

2.5 Ethics

2.5.1 Access

In some cultures, families are considered private and therefore it becomes a challenge for strangers to be welcome (Daly, 1997). One of the challenges Daly experienced during his ethnographic research was to enter family space as family members preserve and protect their traditions, habits and secrets (Daly, 1997). It is certainly true that some families find it uncomfortable to let strangers into their homes for fear of exposing their private lives to outsiders. Access to my sample was facilitated by my existing personal relationship with the participants developed from sharing a similar migration background, socialising with them through organised Ugandan community occasions and events in London such as weddings and independence celebrations. My experience of gaining access to the participants fits in well with the suggestion that one of the easiest ways to research is when you already have access (Hammersley and Atkinson 1995). Reflecting on the access process during this ethnographic research, it is clear that my personal relationship with the participants prior to the research made it easier for me to gain access to the families.

In addition, sharing the same ethnicity with the group under study made it a lot easier for me to gain access to the participants. However, sharing the same ethnicity with the participants and my personal relationship with the participants prior to the research, as I shall discuss, caused some anxiety to the vulnerable and powerless participants.

2.5.2 Not causing harm to the participants

Munro et al (2004) suggest that it is sensitive to research vulnerable and powerless people. Cohen, Manion and Morrison describe the “vulnerable people [as] those who are unable to protect their own interests and who may suffer from negative labelling, stigmatization, exclusion or discrimination [and] powerless people [as those] negatively stereotyped and stigmatized” (2011,p.175) in society. According to Cohen, Manion and Morrison, powerless people include “the poor, the unemployed, the homeless,...the psychologically disturbed [and] females (2011,p.175). They argue that vulnerable and powerless people may “feel resentful of the researcher even if the researcher’s intentions are honourable, or they may feel unable to disclose their true feelings and opinions for fear of bringing yet further negativity to their own situation” (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011,p.175). My introductory chapter discussed issues surrounding asylum seekers, the negative labelling and stigmatizing of asylum seekers in England and how Black Ugandan British parents in my study have an asylum seeking background. Black Ugandan British parents’ vulnerability and powerlessness is associated with this background. Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2011) emphasise the importance of not adding anxiety to vulnerable and powerless people when carrying out research. I took these suggestions into consideration as I had an obligation of not causing harm to the participants.

2.5.3 Gaining consent

As I explored the parents’ experiences in an education context, I followed the British Education Research Association (BERA, 1992, 2004, 2011) ethical guidelines as well as institutional ethical guidelines (the London Metropolitan University ethical guidelines). According to BERA, “participants in a research study have the right to be

informed about the aims, purposes and likely publication of findings involved in research and the potential consequences for participants and to give their informed consent before participating in research” (BERA,1992, p.2).

Although all participants welcomed me into their homes to explore their experiences of supporting their children’s learning within their homes, some ethical issues arose during the research process that appeared to have caused anxiety or tensions to the participants. The process of obtaining consent involved visiting the families to obtain consent prior to carrying out my research. I made two visits to each family to explain the research aims, purposes and their rights as participants. In addition, I presented myself to the participants as a PhD student who sought their help in the process of gaining an understanding of their experiences of supporting their children’s learning within their home environments and their experiences of interacting with schools in reference to supporting their children’s education. Grills suggests that a letter explaining the purposes of research may lessen the anxiety and concerns male participants have (Grills, 1998). I adopted this approach and the process of obtaining consent involved writing letters to all the participants (see Appendix A). Participants were reassured of confidentiality and anonymity in a letter, which they signed. Nevertheless, a number of issues arose despite going through this process. For example, some male participants appeared to have assumptions that they would be vulnerable to my criticism about the way they do things in relation to their children’s education since the idea of carrying out the research indicated a sense of professionalism on my part. Some of the male participants appeared to have concerns about the way they would be perceived especially, in circumstances where they experienced challenges in parenting.

The fact that I was aware of some of the parents/children issues within their homes (learnt through visits to their homes and discussions with them) prior to carrying out my

research appear to have caused anxiety to some parents. They appeared to be worried about these issues being exposed to outsiders. They had concerns about how they would be perceived in terms of bringing up their children in Britain given the cultural differences between Britain and Uganda (some of these differences are discussed in the findings chapters). This illustrates some of the difficulties I encountered despite written explanations and having informed consent.

In one of the nuclear families, the issue of consent became problematic when the wife sought her husband's approval of signing the consent letter even though she had previously agreed to sign the consent letter without considering her husband's decision. The husband approved and the wife signed the letter. Considering the power relations between husbands and wives in the Ugandan culture and the advantage husbands can take in power relations between husbands and wives in the Ugandan culture, I respected the wife's decision of signing the letter and participating in the research but remained confused as to whether the wife's decision of participating in the research was under the influence of her husband or was just her own individual decision. If the wife's participation in the research was influenced by her husband, what impact did this influence have on the wife's participation and the information she provided during the research? After discussing the process of gaining consent and the issues around consent that arose, I move on to discuss issues of being an insider researcher.

2.5. 4 Insider researcher/sharing ethnicity

Some researchers suggest that ethnographic research "is easier when the subjects of the research are ethnically similar to the researcher" (Fulcher and Scott, 2007, p.85). Reed and Procter, (1995) and Fielding, (1993a, 1993b) also suggest that 'insider' researchers with already established relationships with the participants find it easier to gain 'inside'

information than outsider researchers or researchers that are complete strangers to the people to be studied.

As an insider researcher, I argue that these suggestions remain debatable since my personal relationship with the participants prior to the research appears to have caused tensions and anxiety to the participants. My reflections suggest that it was more about how I engaged with the participants and how I was able to build trusting relationships with the participants that led to accessing information than being an insider researcher.

My research experience suggests that although sharing the same ethnicity with the participants or the group under study together with other identities such as gender and religion made it easier and put me in a good position to gain access to the participants, it certainly did not lead to achieving ‘complete acceptance’ by the participants. The issues discussed above under the access section about my personal relationship with the participants prior to the research and the anxiety it caused to the participants clearly indicate the implications of researching one’s own community. Therefore, when researching communities to which one belongs, it is important to note that gaining access to the participants is one thing and accessing the information from the participants is another. In fact, Maylor also argues that sharing the same ethnicity with the participants does not guarantee participants’ sufficient participation or engagement in research (Maylor, 2009).

Other implications of being an insider researcher seem to match with some researchers’ suggestions that participants can withhold information assuming that the insider researcher already knows the information related to the research (Daly, 1997, Angrosino, 2007). I took Daly’s approach of acknowledging that I knew something about the subject but was interested to hear more about the participants’ own

experiences (Daly, 1997). Other difficulties associated with being an insider researcher are discussed in the section concerned with confidentiality and anonymity.

2.5.5 Negating/addressing challenges in data collection

In regard to female researchers, it has been argued that accessing men's perspectives of family experiences can be a challenge as it is women who often explain family realities (Grills, 1998) rather than men. As an ethnographer on a mission to explore the parents' experiences, I needed the men's cooperation or engagement in order to accomplish this process. My personal values including the "value of honesty" (Hammersley, 1998, p.141) and respect combined with good communication skills enabled me to accomplish this.

I was aware that in interviews with men, male interviewees often try to control the situation in circumstances where the researcher is a woman (Grills, 1998). It has also been pointed out that the more powerful the male's position, the more difficult the interview (Grills, 1998). Although in the Ugandan culture men can exercise control over women in some households, I did not experience situations where male participants took full control of the interviews leaving me powerless during the interviews. My experience suggests that the approach I took during the first phases of the research appear to have played a major role in involving male participants in the research. I adopted an approach of being respectful, appreciative, a good listener as well as showing interest in hearing and learning about the males' experiences. Listening to them enabled me to become aware of their values and the concerns that they had. Ongoing reflections and being mindful of the ethical guidelines helped me to adopt strategies of responding appropriately to their concerns and engaging them without

causing harm. I also considered Wolcott's suggestion that the ethnographer should be sensitive to the impact of the researcher on the site and on the researched (Munro et al., 2004). As an ethnographer, I learnt to monitor the participants' tones of voices, body movement and response during the interactions. These were found to be important indicators of the participants' attitudes and feelings.

My research experience also indicates that being able to communicate in Luganda and Arabic languages with the participants contributed to the men's involvement in this research. For example, greeting words such as "Assalam alaikum" (peace be upon you) to the Muslim participants and "mulibulungi" (are you all in good condition?) to all participants led to a more welcoming and relaxing atmosphere. The dress code also appears to have led to men's engagement. My dress code kept on changing depending on which family I was visiting. For example, when visiting male Muslim participants, I strictly adhered to the Islamic dress code and using the greeting word of 'Assalam Alaikum'. When visiting participants for example, Catholic and Protestant male participants, I wore the Ugandan traditional women's clothing (Gomes and in some circumstances Kitengi). I also kept within the borders of the cultural norms including kneeling down when greeting men. Appreciating their time and valuing their contribution also seems to have played an important part in engaging male participants in the later stages of the research. In summary, my presentation through the different phases of my research appears to have led to a more relaxing atmosphere to access male perspectives. A reflective approach taken throughout all the stages of this ethnographic research enabled me to address the concerns participants had and overcome the challenges.

Experience from this research suggests that to a certain extent, shared gendered identities had a great impact on access to the families. Some female participants went

beyond the discussions concerning the research purposes to discuss issues relating to their personal private life. This indicates that to a certain level, they felt comfortable with a female researcher they could open up to. However, as a female researcher with a purpose of accessing information relating to my research, I used every opportunity that drew me closer to the participants in a very skilled manner to acquire research information. At the same time, I reminded myself that the researcher's job is not to only collect data but to also minimise the chances of causing harm to those under study (Elliott and Stern, 1997, Miller and Salkind, 2002, Fetterman, 2010). It should also be remembered that the Ugandan families welcomed or invited me in their homes to conduct research. Further, it is important to point out that as an ethnographer, I spent many hours in the private world of the Black Ugandan British parents under study. Therefore, at a human level, it would have been inappropriate and unethical to completely ignore the private narratives of the participants who not only welcomed me into their homes, but who also allowed me to have access to their lives. Therefore, my personal values guided me, while I reflected on issues of concern and acted appropriately.

I felt it was appropriate for me to listen to the participants' private narratives while pursuing the relevant information necessary for my research within such complex situations. I felt that it was not only about me collecting information from participants for my research, but I also had to give something back to the participants who not only allowed me to enter their homes, but who also allowed me to have access to how they lived their lives in their homes.

One of the strengths of this ethnographic research is the closeness to the natural conversations with my participants, which also enabled me to develop a great skill of 'taking and giving'. Although I sympathetically listened to their problems, I ensured

that I protected my mental health by not becoming a counsellor but rather striking a balance between being a human being and a professional researcher. Securing this neutral position was a challenge, as I did not find clear explicit ethical guidelines on this specific issue of researcher personal involvement in the private lives of the researched. The next section centres on confidentiality and anonymity.

2.5. 6 Confidentiality and Anonymity

It is suggested that “researchers must recognize the participants’ entitlement to privacy and must accord them their right to confidentiality and anonymity” (BERA, 2004, section 23). I followed this ethical guideline and additionally, Bell’s suggestions of preserving confidentiality by making all people and places anonymous and maintaining confidentiality (Bell, 1999). It is important to mention that I addressed the issue of anonymity by giving respondents and places pseudonyms. Reassuring confidentiality and anonymity to the participants while sustaining rapport that conveys respect and openness was crucial in obtaining the information necessary for my research (Daly, 1997). However, this does not mean that formal notions of confidentiality/anonymity are not problematic.

Bearing in mind the nature of my relationship with the participants prior to the research, this process indicated some sort of change from a personal/friendly relationship to researcher/participant relationship. The formal approach I took in the process of obtaining consent together with the change in our relationship seemed to have caused discomfort to some of the families as they worried about their individual sensitive information about their private lives that I knew prior to their involvement in the research. For example, some female participants developed anxiety and became concerned about what I was going to do with that information and who would have access to that information. My reflections suggest that at this point my professional and

researcher identities overtook the shared identities and led some of my participants to become cautious or vigilant about what I would do with the information I had. My participants appeared to have come out of the 'we' zone (shared ethnicity) and became concerned about how the information I knew about them prior to the research would be protected and eliminated from my research. These issues indicate that they did not fully appreciate my commitment to maintaining their confidentiality and anonymity. This experience led me to examine debates around insider researchers in terms of accessing information from research participants and the notion that insider researchers are more likely to be accepted by those they research than outsider researchers (Fulcher and Scott, 2007, please also see insider/sharing ethnicity section above).

Grills points out that reflective practices are important in managing the challenges of researching families in home settings (Grills, 1998). Therefore, I listened to their concerns, memorised what they said and I offered them more reassurance that the information I knew about them prior to the research including information around their migration/status would be protected and would not be exposed. I also adhered to the revised BERA ethical guidelines for educational research (2004). It is clearly stated that "researchers must recognise the right of any participants to withdraw from the research for any or no reason, and at any time, and they must inform them of this right" (BERA, 2004, section 13) (BERA online). As my research raised specific ethical issues in relation to the vulnerability of participants' positioning in England, I reminded them of their rights to withdraw from the research.

On some occasions, visitors came into some of the participants' homes and engaged in discussions with the participants during my presence. On other occasions, some participants received phone calls, engaged in private conversations over the phone during my presence and apologised for taking short breaks from the interviews

afterwards. On one occasion, in one of the families, the female participant discussed sensitive issues related to her private life with a visitor during my presence. On all these occasions it was clear that information not related to the research was overheard by me. It was also clear that the interviews were interrupted. However, it was not clear whether my presence inconvenienced the participants since they carried on their private conversations during my presence. Under these circumstances, I took the approach of maintaining a respectful stance to the participants' privacy by altering interview times to preserve confidentiality (Cardwell, Meldrum and Clark, 2008). However, the participants insisted that I should stay and carry on the interviews after their discussions. These situations appear to raise some issues about confidentiality.

The issue of confidentiality became problematic when researching families with children around their parents. I did not intend to involve children in my research and it is important to note that the children are not participants in my research. However, on some occasions, research information was overheard by some children during the interviews and this led to the children passing on verbal comments to me in the presence of their parents. Although children are not participants in this study, they somehow got involved in the subject or research (especially in areas that seemed to be of great interest to them). Since ethnographic interviews and observations were carried out in a home setting (see methods) which is also a personal family space for the participants and their children, it was a challenge for me to control the children who had the right to move freely within their homes. The concept of preserving privacy appeared to be complex when conducting research in home settings and around children. This complexity also appears to pose some questions. How should researchers deal with situations when children who are not participants choose to become involved in the subject or research through interacting with the researcher and their parents during the interview processes?

How should researchers preserve confidentiality and privacy under such circumstances? These ethical problems around confidentiality that arose from ethnographic research carried out in Black Ugandan British parents' homes show how each research project poses different ethical problems and highlight that ethnographic researchers need to be prepared to deal with unexpected or unanticipated ethical problems such as those discussed above when researching families with children in their homes. Bearing in mind that children were not participants in my study, I was faced with a dilemma of stopping them from getting involved in the research. As an ethnographic researcher invited into their homes by their parents, I realised that although my mission was to collect data through ethnographic interviews and observations, I had an ethical obligation of not causing harm and anxiety to the participants. Therefore, as I reflected on the children's actions of becoming involved in the research and their comments, I became aware that their choice to get involved and their comments would bring conflicts between the children and their parents. Therefore, one of the tactics, I used was a listening tactic. I became a silent listener and reserved my comments to children's conversations. Although to a certain extent this was interpreted by the children as being interested in their conversations, the tactic of not responding verbally to their conversations appeared to have minimised and limited their levels of conversations, the period of time of their involvement and the period of time I had to wait for them to finish with their conversations in order to resume my interviews with their parents. I also tried to minimise the chances of children accessing research information although it was a challenge for me to take control of the children in situations when they interrupted the interviews. However, despite such challenges, I ensured that the children did not get access to the notes taken during the interviews.

As a researcher I was reflexive, as I shall discuss in more detail later. The reflective reviews that I engaged in throughout my research process suggested that being on guard and alert to the children's movements and locations within their homes, using my tone of voice to the lowest level during the interviews, pausing between interviews after becoming aware of the children's movements were drawing nearer to the interview area or location helped to minimise research information being overheard by some children during the interviews. However, the implications of this process included interviews being interrupted, which meant that the time allocated for the interviews was also affected as it turned out to be longer. This suggests the need for ethnographic researchers researching families under such circumstances to be prepared for unanticipated situations such as those discussed above. Other implications arose when visitors came to visit and when participants engaged in private telephone conversations with their friends or relatives during my presence. Although there are guidelines in the literature on working with ethical issues, I did not find any literature to guide me on these different layers of ethics. The BERA ethical guidelines do not show the different layers of ethics such as those discussed above. Having discussed the methods I used to collect data from my study, the next section focuses on tape recording, recording data and issues concerning trustworthiness.

2.5.7 Tape recording/Recording data/ Trustworthiness

Another implication that arose during this ethnographic research relates to the data gathering process. Although it was clearly stated in the consent letter that the information related to the research would be recorded during the interviews for data analysis purposes and to ensure accuracy of the data collected and the participants agreed to be tape-recorded prior to the interviews, I encountered some problems during

the interviewing process. All participants involved in the research became nervous about being tape-recorded and did not want to be tape-recorded during the interviews.

Although tape-recording would lead to greater exploration of the data gathered in search for the best quality data during the analysis process, I had an ethical obligation to honour the participants' requests (Cardwell, Meldrum and Clark, 2008), to stop recording, erase the information from the recorder in the participants' presence so as to offer assurance that the data did not remain on the tape recorder. I then reverted to taking notes (Grills, 1998) which all participants appeared to be comfortable with. This happened at the first interview with each family.

My reflections suggested that when I reverted to taking notes during my first interview with the first participant I interviewed, I began to struggle to catch up with the speed at which the participant was speaking during the interview. This happened within the first three to five minutes of the interview. I realised the effect this struggle would have on the data I was noting down for analysis and I anticipated that if I continued with the interview in this state of struggle, the data I collected would not be as accurate as expected of tape-recorded data. I took the decision of interrupting the interview and politely requested the participant to speak as slowly as he could to allow time for me to record verbatim what he said. My aim of doing this was to ensure that I recorded accurate data from the participant. Acknowledging the difficulty I encountered in taking down verbatim what the participant had said during the first interview helped me to limit the chances of recording inaccurate data during the interviews I conducted with the families under study afterwards.

The opportunity I gave to my participants to read through the notes I recorded not only offered reassurance to the participants and understanding of the data I had recorded and kept for data analysis, but also provided the opportunity for me to double-check the

accuracy of the information my participants provided about themselves and how they went about supporting their children's education.

My experience in regard to my participants' refusal to be tape-recorded highlights the need for ethnographic researchers undertaking research with vulnerable people or groups to be better prepared to deal with the unanticipated issues such as those discussed above. As my participants signed the consent letter and agreed to be tape-recorded prior to the interviews, I did not anticipate that they would refuse to be tape-recorded. This was a big challenge for me and in order to overcome this challenge and issues discussed above about taking notes, I had to develop skills to deal with the unanticipated within a very short and limited time. I had to listen very carefully to what my participants were saying to ensure that I was noting down the accurate information they were saying. I paid extra attention to the exact words they used in the process of note taking.

Although none of my participants challenged the accuracy of the information they provided that I recorded during the interview and therefore, none of the information they provided was deleted, altered or corrected, my research experience seems to indicate the dilemmas an ethnographic researcher conducting interviews and recording information by taking notes may face if participants decide to take out important recorded information, which in the researcher's point of view may be relevant and crucial to answering his/her research questions. The next section reflects on how my background influenced my data collection and analysis.

2.6 How my background influenced data collection and analysis

My experience during this ethnographic research shows that research in family environments can be both interesting and challenging. At the heart of my research has

been following BERA's, (1992, 2004, 2011) ethical guidelines as they clearly state the researchers' responsibilities as well as the participants' rights. Exploring the existing literature on ethnography in families prior to my research did not only equip me with knowledge, skills and understanding of conducting ethnographic research in family settings but also enabled me to draw on a range of previous ethnographic researchers' suggestions to address some of the problems I experienced during this study. Some of the skills I have acquired during this ethnographic research include staying on guard against causing harm to the participants while taking account of emerging research information. Other skills include effective communication and listening, showing respect to the participants' valuing their time, cultural practices, norms, customs and their way of living, as well as taking a sensitive approach in communication, behaviour and presentation including observing and being sensitive to dressing codes (wearing appropriate clothes that suit the families values) have been similarly important in addressing some of the issues encountered during this research. My multiplicity of identities (discussed in 2.6.1) together with on-going reflections, being open, patient and flexible enabled me to overcome some of the challenges or problems that emerged during the research.

2.6.1 Reflexivity and data analysis

Fonow and Cook "defined reflexivity as the tendency of feminists to reflect on, examine critically, and explore analytically the nature of the research process" (Fonow and Cook 2005, p. 2218 cited in Thomson and Walker, 2010, p.273). Thomson and Walker state that "reflexivity- critical consciousness through a personal accounting of how the researcher's self-location (e.g. across gender, race, class sexuality, ethnicity, and nationality), position and interests influence all stages of the research process"

(Thomson and Walker, 2010, p.273). In Koshy's view, "reflexivity [is] the process in which a researcher reflect[s] on [his/her] values, biases, personal background and situations in shaping [his/her] interpretations" (Koshy, 2010, p.152). According to Koshy, "the issue of reflexivity needs to be considered when reporting findings, as [the researcher's] own social identity and background may impact on the research process....in such circumstances the researcher needs to reflect on the possible impact of being a practitioner researcher and acknowledge the possible influence this may have on the interpretations he or she makes and any bias which may influence the research process" (Koshy, 2010, p.114). Thomson and Walker add that "one of the most noticeable trends to come out of a use of reflexivity is increased attention to researcher subjectivity in the research process-a focus on how does who I am, who I have been, who I think I am and how I feel, affect data collection and analysis" (Thomson and Walker, 2010,p.273). Cohen, Manion and Morrison also point out that "the researcher's choice of which data and events to include inevitably involves a personal choice" (2011, p.540).

I acknowledge that my multiplicity of identities such as being a Black, African, Ugandan, Muganda, Muslim, female and a parent with a migration background combined with my professional identities such as teacher, teaching assistant and class identities such as middleclass and working class identities suggested a unique stand point in this research and may have inevitably have had an influence on my actions or decision of undertaking this research, the choice of my study topic or subject or title, focus of study and the choice of my theoretical approach. I also acknowledge that my positioning in this research may also have inevitably influenced the data selected for analysis and the interpretation of data from my research. The next section will discuss the data analysis process.

2.6.2 Reflexivity, epistemological position and data analysis

I would like to discuss my epistemological position. My epistemological position is interpretivist because I believe that knowledge of the world is constituted through a person's lived experience (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). The way we view the world is informed by the experiences we have had throughout our lives. Interpretivists believe that the way human beings understand the world is a central part of how they understand themselves, others and the world (Angen, 2000). Therefore, we cannot structure meanings independent of our interpretations (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). Here I would like to mention that as an interpretivist, I aimed at understanding and interpreting the meaning in human behaviour rather than to generalise and predict causes and effects (Neuman, 2000). This is because the "central endeavour in the context of the interpretive paradigm is to understand the subjective world of human experience" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p.16). From this perspective reality is constructed intersubjectively through meanings and understandings developed socially and through experience (Angen, 2000). In other words, to interpretivists, reality is socially constructed as people actively construct their social world and our knowledge is negotiated within our social environments and relationships with the people in those environments (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011). From this point of view, validity or truth cannot be grounded in an objective reality and interpretivists believe that reality and the individual who observes it cannot be separated (Angen, 2000) and reality is multiple and relative (Hudson and Ozanne, 1988). The "knowledge acquired is socially constructed rather than objectively determined" (Carson et al., 2001, p.5).

Therefore, as an interpretivist, I examined the parents' situations, experiences through their narratives and made sense of their experiences by interpreting what they said, their behaviour and interpreting their actions as to why they did what they did to support

their children's learning. As discussed above, my multiplicity of identities partly informed my interpretations of the parents' narratives (e.g. see Appendix C), my understanding and making sense of their world. They inevitably shaped my subjective experiences of life, which I acknowledge that they played a role about how I understood and made sense of their world and experiences. Their perception of reality facilitated the process of understanding reality from their point of view and interpreting their behaviour patterns led to a greater understanding of what they did to support their children's learning and the importance of engaging in what they did as I sought to understand how they supported their children's learning from within.

I also position myself as a feminist researcher because I am concerned about the injustices that affect women's lives, particularly married women in the Baganda culture. Coming from the Bagandan culture, I have seen that men expect women to take on domestic roles within the family such as cooking for their husbands. More so, women are expected to be submissive to and obedient to their husbands in order to ensure that they fulfil their roles as wives. This puts immense pressure on Baganda women because they are expected to fulfil multiple roles at one given time causing stress. Women find it difficult to balance both their employment and domestic lives, which consequently also mean that they are unable to put themselves first. They are not able to focus on the things that make them happy or follow their own dreams and ambitions because they are drained from trying to juggle the other roles expected of them. As a feminist researcher, I focus on the injustices that exist in society for example, the perceived superiority of men in the Baganda culture over women. I believe that Baganda women's cultural perspectives about men need to be known, understood and action for change is required to improve their social situations. I believe that feminist research can provide

possibilities for changing Baganda women's situations particularly, Baganda married women's situations.

As a feminist researcher, I acknowledge that this cultural background, my subjective experiences of life within the Baganda culture may have inevitably played a role in how I understood the experiences of the women I interviewed, how I interpreted their narratives and how I made sense of their world. As a feminist researcher, I focus on equity oriented change (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011) and the relationship that I developed with my female participants enabled me to conceive data from female participants through those relationships.

2.6.3 Data analysis/Handling data

I am aware of how my personal and intellectual positioning impacts on my work. Bearing this challenge in mind, it was very important for me to frequently return to my field notes and to repeatedly examine them to establish what my sample of parents said and what I observed. The observation notes and the many quotes from the Black Ugandan British parents' narratives presented throughout this thesis are intended to bring out the unheard voices of my sample of parents, thereby providing some understanding of Black Ugandan British parents' experiences and how they support their children's learning. As presentation of quotes alone would not be enough to provide a deeper understanding of what parents said and did, I interpreted data from their narratives to not only bring their voices to life (Angrosino, 2007) in relation to their experiences and what they did to support their children's learning, but to also go beyond simplistic interpretation of data to include a detailed description and explanation of what they said and did, why they said what they said and why they did what they did. Penetrating through their words and emotions by examining their narratives thoroughly combined with a thorough examination of my observation and my field notes aided the

process of seeking and gaining a deeper understanding of Black Ugandan British parents' experiences. The process of my interpretation of data was also guided by suggestions that the interpretive paradigm aims at understanding of the human experience and therefore, "efforts are made to get inside the person and to understand from within" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p.17).

However, I am aware that interpretivists "interpret events, contexts, and situations" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p.17) based on their understanding of those events and situations. Therefore, it is important to mention that "there [may be] multiple interpretations of, and perspectives on" (Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2011, p.17) Black Ugandan parents' narratives presented throughout this thesis. Thus, the reader may interpret the quotes from Black Ugandan British parents' narratives in this thesis differently (an evaluation that may lead them to disagree with my interpretation of the data from Black Ugandan British parents' narratives presented in this thesis). However, I have maximised the rigour and reliability of my analysis by combining interview data with field notes and observations. In the next section, I would like to discuss the approach I took to analyse data from my study. I begin by discussing the two forms of data analysis suggested by Angrosino.

2.7 How data from my study was analysed

According to Angrosino (2007, pp.67-68), "there are two forms of data analysis [which] are descriptive analysis [and] theoretical analysis". I adopted these approaches together with Yosso's concept of community cultural wealth to analyse data from my study and theorised using CRT. To begin with, descriptive analysis will be discussed and how I used it to analyse data from my study.

Angrosino states that “descriptive analysis is the process of taking the stream of data and breaking it down into its component parts; in other words, what patterns, regularities, or themes emerge from the data?” (2007, p.67). I followed this approach and below, I provide a series of contexts for the analysis and how data from my study was analysed. Firstly, I engaged in overview reading of my field notes, as “it is usually a good idea to read through the notes before proceeding with more formal analysis” (Angrosino, 2007, p.70). This process not only helped me to have an overview of the data that emerged from my study but also helped me to “begin asking questions about what [I] still want[ed] to understand” (Angrosino, 2007, p.70) given my research aim, objectives and research questions. Secondly, I approached data in “a systematic way” (Cohen, Manion and Morrison, 2011, p.554) as explained below for a detailed analysis and during data analysis, as an ethnographer, I considered what I had heard, observed, read and what emerged during the research (Angrosino, 2007). This enabled me to identify/notice meaningful groups of the data.

I examined data that emerged from my study and through reading and re-reading my observation descriptions and interview/field notes several times (Angrosino, 2007) as well as consistent revisiting of my research aims, objectives and research questions I was able to identify the themes that emerged from my study.

The identification and clarification of themes began with a description of what I had seen in my notes, comparing my field notes and taking apart the parents’ narratives. The themes identified (see Appendix D) were then examined at a greater depth in order to identify whether there were subthemes within the main themes which would also be examined in detail. For example, the theme of Black Ugandan British parents’ background was examined in detail and within that theme, there were subthemes such as Black Ugandan British parents’ educational backgrounds, Black Ugandan British

parents' cultural background, Black Ugandan British parents' employment background and Black Ugandan British parents' class background. These subthemes were also examined to identify whether there were sub subthemes within the subthemes for example, within the subtheme of Black Ugandan British parents' cultural background, there were subthemes such as value for education. Breaking apart the parents narratives and reading them several times also helped me to identify the similarities and differences in their narratives about their experiences of supporting their children's learning and the educational strategies they employed to support their children's learning. I now move on to discuss theoretical analysis and how I used it to analyse data from my study.

2.7.1 Theoretical analysis

Angrosino states that "theoretical analysis is the process of figuring out how those component parts fit together; in other words, how can we explain the existence of patterns in the data, or how do we account for the perceived regularities?" (Angrosino, 2007, p.68). Based on these questions, I made two considerations. First, I considered how data from my ethnographic research related to the evidence from previous researchers and whether it fitted the existing literature or differed. The second consideration was about how Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's learning related to the wider 'Black' parents' experiences of supporting their children's education and whether there were similarities and differences. Therefore, it was important to search for patterns from the data that emerged from my study to see whether they matched with or differed from the evidence from previous researchers about Black parents in general and their experiences of supporting their children's education in England. I systemised the recognition of patterns by going through a range of steps which I discuss in the next section.

2.7.2 Patterns

According to Angrosino , “a true pattern is one that is shared by members of the group (their actual behaviour) and/or one that is believed to be desirable, legitimate, or proper by the group (their ideal behaviour [and gives a detailed account of how] we can systematise the recognition of patterns” (2007,p.68). The process of systemising the recognition of patterns involved examining my sample of parents’ narratives to find out whether they had a relationship with evidence from previous researchers and whether they fitted the existing literature or differed. This process involved intensive ongoing reading about how parents in general support their children’s education in England and a thorough examination of my sample of parents’ narratives paying particular attention to what they said and a thorough examination of my observations and field notes.

Analysing data as I went along after observations and conducting interviews was useful because it was practical and more manageable than delaying to analyse lots of data at the end of the field work. It also informed “further data collection” (Leathwood, 2006, p.618). Analysing the parents’ narratives at an early stage of my research helped me to identify whether the parents understood my research objective given their responses and whether my questioning during the ethnographic interviews was clear and, if not, how my questioning techniques could be improved during future ethnographic interviews with parents.

These foundations of my data analysis were crucial and initial analysis of data from the North London borough which I concentrated on first to collect and analyse data revealed that ethnicity, education, culture, gender, employment, class and educational strategies were some of the major themes that emerged from my study. Data from my study suggested that some themes had greater significance than others and therefore, each theme was examined in detail before any firm conclusions were drawn. I was also

“aware of not wed[ding myself] to a single analytical framework before all the data [was] in hand” (Angrosino, 2007,p.69). Hence, the data required further analysis. I also adopted CRT as a framework and Yosso’s conceptual approach, to account for the similarities and differences in relation to the themes that emerged from my study (see below for a detailed justification of this framework).

The following section discusses the analytical approach that shaped my analysis of Black Ugandan British parents’ experiences of supporting their children’s learning in England and the educational strategies they employ to promote their children’s education or learning. It outlines and discusses my reasons for adopting CRT and drawing on Yosso’s concept of Community Cultural Wealth to analyse data from my study.

2.8 Framework for analysing ethnographic research data/Conceptual theoretical approach

2.8.1 Critical Race Theory (CRT)

According to Delgado,

Critical Race Theory began as a movement in [the] US... New approaches were necessary to cope with the more subtle forms of institutional and unconscious racism, that emerging and a public newly indifferent (‘colour blind’) to matters of race. After a gestation period in the law, Critical Race Theory took hold in a number of other fields, including sociology and education, where scholars used it ideas to analyse hierarchy in schools, high-stakes testing, school discipline, migrant and bilingual education. (Richard Delgado in Gillborn, 2008, pp.xv-xvi)

Ladson-Billings and Gillborn (2004) add that “one recurring theme that characterized the school/civil rights legal battles was “equal opportunity”. This notion of equal

opportunity was associated with the idea that students of color should have access to the same school opportunities that is curriculum, instruction, funding, facilities as White students. This emphasis on sameness was important because it helped boost the arguments for equal treatment” (Ladson–Billings and Gillborn 2004, pp.59-60). To begin with, this background of CRT particularly in relation to equal opportunity and ‘equal treatment’ influenced me to adopt CRT to analyse ethnographic data from my study as data from my study suggested some inequalities in the English education system that put Black Ugandan British parents and their children at a disadvantage. Secondly, I adopted CRT to analyse data from my study because “CRT shifts the centre of focus from notions of White middle class culture to the cultures of communities of color” (Dixon and Rousseau, 2006, p.177). Through this lens, I analysed data from my study.

Thirdly, “CRT’s approach to education involves a commitment to develop schools [to] acknowledge the multiple strengths of communities of color in order to serve a larger purpose of struggle toward social and racial justice” (Yosso, 2005, p.69). As one of the conceptual tools of CRT is “storytelling and counter stories” (Gillborn, 2008,p.40), I sought to utilise Black Ugandan British parents’ counter stories that emerged to challenge “assumption[s]...that people of color ‘lack’ the social and cultural capital required for social mobility (Yosso, 2005,p.70) because according to Yosso “schools most often work from this assumption in structuring ways to help ‘disadvantaged’ students whose race and class background has left them lacking the necessary knowledge, social skills, abilities and cultural capital”(Yosso, 2005,p.70).

Fourthly, I adopted CRT and used Black Ugandan British parents’ multiple counter stories (Yosso, 2005) to challenge racial and class injustices or inequalities in the English education system that put Black Ugandan British parents and their children at a

disadvantage. In regard to cultural capital, through the CRT framework and Yosso's Community Cultural Wealth lens, in the data analysis I aimed at identifying what Black Ugandan British parents do within their homes and communities to support their children's learning. My ultimate aim was to bring out the various forms of capital Black Ugandan British parents use to support their children's education and thereby challenge the traditional interpretations of cultural capital particularly in relation to educational support or provision. I also wanted to highlight Black Ugandan British parents' culturalistic approach towards education within their homes and communities, for example, their use of educational strategies such as supplementary schools and language centres.

Fifthly, as "some knowledges have been used to silence, marginalize and render people of Color invisible" (Yosso, 2005,p.70), then Black Ugandan British parents voices through their narratives and counter stories in my study "can re-envision the margins as places empowered by transformative resistance (Yosso, 2005,p.70). Finally, as "CRT is a framework that can be used to theorize, examine and challenge the ways race and racism implicitly and explicitly impact on social structures, practices and discourses" (Yosso, 2005, p.70), I interrogated data from my study to examine the ways race and racism implicitly and explicitly affect Black Ugandan British parents and their children in the English education system. My ultimate aim was "eliminating all forms of subordination" (Matsuda 1991, p.1331 cited in Yosso, 2005, p.71)

2.9 Summary

This chapter discussed why I adopted the ethnographic approach to answer my research questions and provided a detailed account of how it was developed, carried out, issues that arose and how I managed to overcome them. Spending a considerable time in the

field among the Ugandan families enabled me to understand how they perceive their social world, how they feel, experience social life and how they work in terms of supporting their children's learning at home. This naturalist approach was worthwhile as I sought to understand Black Ugandan British parents' perspectives and meaning underlying their behaviour (Hammersley, 1992). Although sharing the same ethnicity with the group under study together with other identities such as gender and religion put me in a good position to gain access to the participants, being an 'insider' researcher caused anxiety to some participants and raised issues surrounding confidentiality. A number of difficulties were encountered despite explanations of the research purposes to the participants and having informed consent for example, my sample of parents felt anxious about recording and refused to be recorded. This seems to suggest a shift from being perceived as an 'insider' (one of us) to being seen as an 'outsider' who vulnerable Black Ugandan British parents in my study (migrants from an Asylum seeking background) could not trust with recorded information.

Furthermore, this chapter provided a detailed account of ethical issues that arose during my ethnographic research for example, it has been seen that children who were not participants in my research chose to become involved in my research and how this raised tensions as I tried to search for ways within a limited time to deal with this unexpected or unanticipated situation. Despite experiencing this challenge, I ensured that children did not get access to my field notes. Overcoming this challenge relied heavily on being a human being. My personal values combined with my personal or individual skills of dealing with people guided me to act appropriately and influenced my decision of becoming a silent listener, which signalled a respectful ethnographer but with an ethical obligation to preserve Black Ugandan British parents' confidentiality. The chapter highlighted the importance of being reflective when conducting

ethnographic research in families' homes and being prepared to deal with emerging unexpected or unanticipated ethical issues as each project poses different ethical dilemmas, which may not have clear guidelines from BERA, institutional ethics guidelines or from current literature on research ethics. The chapter went further to discuss how reflective practices helped to minimise causing harm to my sample of parents who are vulnerable.

I adopted CRT as a methodological framework and in particular, Yosso's conceptual approach in analysing the data, looking for recurring themes' similarities and differences.

In sum this chapter highlighted that the methodological approach I undertook combined with analytical framework and conceptual approach I took to analyse data from my study was the most appropriate as it enabled me to identify the various forms of cultural capital and educational strategies Black Ugandan British parents use to support their children's education which are unknown.

Chapter Three: culture and education

3.1 Introduction

This chapter centres on Ugandan culture and its influence on Black Ugandan British parents' educational support provision. It sets out the foundation for the parental support of children's learning and educational strategies chapter. It explains how Ugandan culture is at the centre of the educational support Black Ugandan British parents provide to their children. It highlights Black Ugandan British parents' vision of education. This chapter is central to my thesis as it highlights the importance of understanding Ugandan culture, including how it shapes the support Black Ugandan British parents give to their children's education in England (also see chapter 5). What makes this chapter different from chapter 5 is that it provides an understanding of Ugandan culture and the core values that Black Ugandan British parents instil within their homes as they support their children's learning. It is important to put learning in its cultural context to see how Ugandan culture shaped the daily life and the interactions of Black Ugandan parents and their children. This is the role of this chapter. Before I embark on discussing Black Ugandan British parents' culture, I provide a definition of culture.

3.2 A definition of culture

The "term culture is loaded with expectations of group norms and often-static ideas of how people view the world and behave in it" (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005, p.10). Culture can also be defined as whole way of life including practices and norms of a particular society (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005 see also Becher, 2008).

My study suggests that culture is important to Black Ugandan British parents and because they value their culture, they strive to transmit it to their children, as I shall discuss. The elements of Ugandan culture explored in this chapter include education, language, customs, religion, leisure, food, clothes, art and education (Kwesiga, 1994).

3.3 Language

3.3.1 Language definition

Language can be defined as a body of words and the systems used by people of the same community, or nation, geographical area and cultural tradition (Ogbu, 2003). Banks suggests that “a language system in general and a dialect in particular, serves as a tool to categorise, interpret and share experiences” (Banks, 1994,p. 271). The following section focuses on the languages in Uganda which provide the linguistic background Black Ugandan British parents bring to supporting their children’s education in England.

3.3.2 Languages in Uganda

The idea of valuing and teaching the Luganda language to Black Ugandan British children in England stems from the Black Ugandan British parents’ cultural background. Uganda is linguistically diverse with 40 languages spoken including for example, Luganda (spoken by Baganda people from the Buganda Kingdom located in central Uganda or the Buganda region of Uganda). The Buganda Kingdom has been passed down from one generation to the next in order to protect the Bugandan culture including the Luganda language (Kwesiga, 1994). Other languages include Luo (spoken by the Langi people from the Lango region of Uganda and Acholi people from Gulu, Agago, Amira and Kitgum districts of Uganda), Ateso spoken by the Iteso people from eastern Uganda, (Tororo, Busia and Soroti districts of Uganda) and the Karamajong language spoken by the Karamajong people from north eastern Uganda (Moroto district). This reflects Uganda as a multi-ethnic, multicultural and multilingual society. Further, this not only shows the richness of Uganda’s diversity of cultures but also highlights that language is an important element of cultural identity in Uganda.

Ugandan people use language as a tool to trace their tribal origin. Language therefore plays an important role in the identification of people from different tribes in Uganda and serves as a tool through which Ugandan people learn about their culture to develop a sense of self. This is important because the daily lives and activities of Ugandan people are linked to and determined by their tribal affiliation and associated culture.

3.3.3 Ethnic divisions and language inequalities during the colonial rule in Uganda

In order to understand the significance of language for the Ugandan parents in my study, it is important to understand Uganda's history of colonization. During the colonial period in Uganda between 1890-1926, the British colonialists interrupted the lives of the Ugandans of different tribes by "forcing different linguistic groups with different histories and political aspirations into the reconstituted colonized state" (Malaquias, 2000, p.102). It is argued that "by forcibly binding different ethnic groups into one centrally administered territory, colonial rule inevitably led to the politicization of ethnicity as different ethnic groups retreated into primordial constructs for cultural, if not political, self-preservation (Malaquias, 2000, p.95). Rassool adds that "colonial rulers exploited ethnic differences ... allocating power, resources and access to education differentially (Rassool, 2007, p.38). According to Rassool, some ethnic groups including the Baganda people:

Were regarded as ethnically superior and were educated and incorporated into the colonial administration where they became instrumental in the system of rule instituted by the British. The people from the North on the other hand were regarded as having great physical strength and were recruited into the military and police force and also supplied labour and services under the British rule. (Rassool, 2007, pp.39-40)

Thus, “in Uganda, ethnic divisions were created” (Rassool, 2007, p.38) by colonial rulers. This clearly shows how colonial rulers interrupted the lives of Ugandans by not only creating divisions that led to ethnic inequalities amongst the different tribes in Uganda, but also created divisions that led to “language inequalities” (Rassool, 2007p.39) with some local languages such as Luganda being perceived as superior to other Ugandan local languages as the British colonialists pursued their interests in governing Uganda (Rassool, 2007). Bakwesegha also argues that “some ethnic groups were seen as more intelligent and more civilized than others” hence “ethnic elites were created” (Bakwesegha, 2000, p.10) by the British colonialists.

The long-term impact of the created divisions is also reflected in the lives of the Black Ugandan British parents in my study as they expect their children to live within their cultural boundaries. This will be discussed in detail under the section of customs below (also see chapter 5). Interestingly, in regard to the language inequalities discussed above, it is important to note that although the British colonialists considered the Luganda language superior for their own political interests, it is argued that during the colonial times, the Ugandan local languages were positioned to the lower end of the scale and were considered inferior to the language of the colonialists (English) as “colonial languages were seen as representing important cultural resources through which primitive African people could be civilized” (Rassool, 2007,p.39). This did not only weaken the Ugandan local languages but also undermined the Ugandan people and their cultures.

3.3.4 English language, transmission of western knowledge and the curriculum

According to Rassool, colonial languages facilitated the transmission of western knowledge to the perceived inferior society and states that “colonial languages and literature were suffused with Euro-superiority [which] played a significant role in engendering westernized ‘natives’” (Rassool, 2007, p.47). It is stated that “the substitution of local knowledge, and cultural ways of knowing with paradigms of European colonialism, to a significant extent, undermined local heritages, contributing thus, to the alienation of colonized peoples from their cultural base” (Rassool, 2007,p.48). Hall adds that “the ways in which Black people, Black experiences were positioned and subjected in the dominant regimes of representation were the effects of a critical exercise of cultural power and normalization” (Hall, 1993, p.394). This shows how the British colonialists perceived their cultural knowledge to be superior to that of Black people in Uganda and they achieved this by developing and using the colonial language in policies such as education, which served as a means through which they transmitted their cultural knowledge to the Ugandan people (Berman 1998).

Kwesiga points out that “by the turn of the 20th century, Uganda had been ‘invaded’ by European missionaries, the Arab traders and British colonialists” (Kwesiga, 1994, p.57). According to Kwesiga, Arabs, Europeans and British colonialists brought their own languages with them, for example, the British brought English whilst Swahili was brought by Arab traders, which they introduced into the Ugandan communities of different tribes. The result of this is that the British colonialists and missionaries promoted English and the Arabs Swahili within the Ugandan communities. However, out of the two foreign languages, Swahili was perceived as problematic as “the missionaries were worried that Swahili was too near Islam” (Kwesiga, 1994, p.57). Banks points out that speaking a language or dialect links to particular ethnic and

cultural groups that hold values and attitudes that may or may not conflict with the prevailing values and attitudes held by other people in the society (Banks, 1994). It appears that Swahili conflicted with the values of the missionaries hence, the missionaries favoured the English language owing to their cultural and religious interests. It also appears that the Ugandan local languages also conflicted with the values of the ‘invaders’ given the fact that none of the local languages is a national or official language in Uganda. The impact of this is that the “English language continued to command the highest profile at the national level with local languages struggling with diverse levels of success to follow suit” (Kwesiga, 1994, p.57). This background may also be associated with English being the National or official language in Uganda.

The notion of perceived superiority of the English language over the perceived inferiority of local languages and the way the English language was used to transmit western knowledge to the perceived inferior society appear to not only have been experienced by Ugandans but was also experienced by Kenyans and Ngugi summarizes this notion by stating that “in Kenya English became more than a language: it was the language and others had to bow before it in deference...language and literature were taking us further and further from ourselves to other selves, from our world to other worlds (Ngugi, 1993, pp.438-39). This shows that the language inequalities created by colonialists affected some African countries and the natives of those countries. Ngugi’s arguments also show that like in Uganda, the English language was at the centre of the education policy through which the British colonialists managed to transmit their cultural knowledge to Kenyans in substitute of the Kenyans local cultural knowledge.

This did not only undermine the African traditional values as the British colonialists promoted their cultural values through education but also has a long-term impact in regard to the curriculum; for example, in Uganda, the literature covered today or the

content in some English textbooks still reflects European ideas, which are transmitted to Ugandan children and promoted through education (Oackson, 1992). This originated from the colonial period when western values replaced traditional ones and in the process, traditional Ugandan education was relegated to the margins, being associated with rural people who lost their social and economic power with the onset of colonialism (Oackson, 1992). The process towards incorporating indigenous knowledge and traditions remains slow as the Ugandan curriculum at secondary level often follows European models (Oackson, 1992). It appears that postcolonial education in Uganda continues to strengthen links with Europe by providing a Eurocentric curriculum to Ugandan children in certain subjects. Furthermore, the language used in Ugandan schools, to teach, assess or test children, along with some materials or resources is Eurocentric.

It is also important to note that after gaining independence from the British, English remained the national language of Uganda and it is still the official language in Uganda. The influence of the English language on Ugandans is evident today in the government, the media (radio, television, newspapers) and education. One would expect that after gaining independence in 1962, Uganda would have a native language to be the official language in Uganda. Coleman provides us with some reasons why the English language is still the official language in Uganda. One of these reasons links to employment as “within Uganda a good command of English is a prerequisite to getting professional employment” (Coleman, 2010, p.18). Other reasons according to Coleman link to globalisation and the international mobility of workers (2010). He argues that “the world has become a global village” (Coleman, 2010, p.18) and seeking employment at an international level requires Ugandans to be fluent speakers of the English language and capable of writing in English. He states that “the fact that English is taught ...in

Uganda has enabled many young people to seek employment at an international level with ease” (Coleman, 2010, p.18).

To conclude this section, it has been shown that Uganda is a multilingual country. It has also been shown that the Luganda language is a core cultural value of the Baganda people, which parents in my study bring to supporting their children’s education in England. The chapter discussed how the English language is the official language in Uganda, which suggests that as well as speaking the language, parents in my study also speak the English language. This indicates that language is not a barrier to their children’s education as both parents and their British born children are fluent speakers of the English language. In the next section, I continue with the discussion of Black Ugandan British parents’ culture by focussing on customs in the Bagandan society; customs which were evidently important to the study parents and their children as they operationalised these customs during my visits to their homes.

3.4 Customs

According to (Becher, 2008), a custom is a long established behaviour or practice common to a specific group of people or culture. Customs are central to the Baganda culture and in the lives of the Baganda people. Baganda people have customs including a clan custom that is used by Baganda people to trace the lineage to a common ancestor in the past. In the custom of Buganda, the lineage is passed on from generation to generation and forms a large extended family as members of the same clan regard themselves as brothers and sisters regardless of actual blood ties. In Buganda, marriage between members of the same clan is unacceptable due to the brotherhood and sisterhood concept discussed above. Findings from my study show that Baganda parents promote and preserve this custom and strictly adhere to the clan system. As revealed through Everim’s narrative:

I tell my children about their great, great grandfathers, their clan, the names in their clan and the importance of this. If they don't know, they will end up marrying people from the ente clan [cow] I would like my son to marry a young Muganda woman who is well educated, who knows our culture, who respects people, with good manners and can cook matooke. If he finds a Muganda woman, we will be very happy and we will do a big introduction ceremony and a big wedding for them. (Everim)

This shows how this family expects their children to marry individuals from their own Baganda tribe as they believe that marrying outside their tribe can lead to cultural fading given the differences between different tribes' languages, customs, food and dressing. The findings also show that as well as emphasising the importance of marrying people from the Baganda tribe, Everim highlights the importance of understanding how the clan system works so that not only the clan system is preserved but to also avoid marriage clashes in regard to the clan system. As well as using the Luganda language, parents in this family use customs to promote the Baganda culture by supporting their children to develop knowledge, skills and understanding of their Ugandan identity. In an informal way and through their daily lives, parents transmit knowledge, skills and understanding of their culture to their children.

My study suggests that Black Ugandan British parents still hold onto customs within the Baganda culture for example, a custom of bowing before men and elders and a custom of women and girls kneeling down when greeting men, adults and elders were common practices within the Black Ugandan British families under study. The following field

notes have been provided to show how I observed the custom of kneeling down in Sean's and Everim's family.

Sean enters the house.

“Kulikayo ssebo” (welcome home) says Everim.

“Ndimusanyufu okudda” (I am happy to be back).

Sean sits down on the sofa.

Everim goes to the kitchen brings a glass of orange juice and kneels down to give it to her husband.

“Webale nnyo mukwano” (Thank you dear)

Everim stays kneeling down while greeting Sean... (Observation in Sean and Everim's family on Saturday 10th October 2009).

I observed that across the families in this study, women and girls kneel down when greeting men and when serving food to males. In the Baganda culture, this symbolizes respect for men, adults and elders. In the Baganda culture girls kneel down when greeting their parents to show respect, daughters in law also kneel down to greet their parents in law. This custom is important in the lives of Black Ugandan British parents in my study and they strive to teach it to their children from a young age so that their children grow up with the Baganda cultural value of respect.

Findings further show that Ugandan families in my study still maintain prescribed gender roles within the home (married couples and single parents with their children). These include women and girls being responsible for preparing the meals in the kitchen while men and boys engage in other activities such as going out shopping including grocery shopping. From a Ugandan perspective, men are perceived as the breadwinners, expected to work and provide for their families while women are expected to carry out the domestic duties and look after or take care of their children.

The following notes have been provided to show one of the gender roles and some of the women's responsibilities in a Ugandan family home.

I ring the bell, Magna opens the door, greets me- "Tusanyuse okulaba" (We are happy to see you).

"Nange bwentyo nnyabo" (I am happy to see you too) I reply. "Tulirakawo mukwano" (have a seat my friend) says Magna. Goes straight back to the kitchen, continues to fry cassava with her daughter for 5 minutes, finishes frying, gives the fried cassava, to her daughter to bring to the dining table, kneels down to serve her husband, stays on her knees and serves me some cassava, "no thank you I had something before I left home, thank you very much", I say to Magna. She stands up, puts the cassava on the table, goes to one of the corners of the sitting room, picks up a Ugandan weaved mat, sits on the mat to eat her cassava. Her daughters join her on the mat to eat cassava while the boys join Sadim at the dining table to eat.

"Onfumbye nnyo maama" (Thank you for cooking mum) her daughters and her sons say after eating their food.

"Ofumbye nnyo nnyabo" (thank you for cooking madam) says Sadim after eating.

"Emmere ewoomye?" (Was the food delicious?) asks Magna, "ewoomye nnyo" (it was delicious) they all answered.... (Observation Sadim and Magna's family on Sunday 13th September, 2009).

This shows the differences in gender roles and responsibilities within this Ugandan family home with women cooking in the kitchen while men are served with already cooked food. This mentality of a woman marrying, having children, taking care of the

household while being submissive to her husband is common in the Baganda culture. However, findings from my study also suggest that although women in my study operate within their Baganda cultural boundaries, they challenge the expected power relations within the home given the fact that all women in my study worked in Uganda before coming to England. They also work in England and play a major role in providing for their families. Thus, they pay rent, bills and provide resources for their children including educational and economic resources, which are mainly male roles and responsibilities in a Ugandan perspective. However, my study suggests that the change in class positions (from middle class in Uganda to working class in England, see chapter 4) limit male participants in my study from fulfilling these roles and responsibilities. This has led to Ugandan women taking on extra roles and responsibilities in their families, for example, doing one to two jobs as seen in chapter 4 to accumulate money to pay their bills, provide for their families, and provide educational support to their children and sending money to their families in Uganda. In addition, they have to fulfil their cultural gender roles for example, cooking for their families and taking care of their husbands and their children (cooking and serving them, providing them with laundry services, cleaning the house and engaging in other domestic service roles). My study suggests that although it is an exhausting process or routine for Ugandan women (i.e. their engagement in different roles and fulfilling various responsibilities); they strive to fulfil these cultural expectations and to please their husbands. In the Baganda culture, men feel proud and well respected within the Bagandan society if women fulfil these gender roles.

The findings presented above also show the presumed superiority of men over women in Ugandan society. From the Baganda people's perspective, the sitting expectation seen above signifies respect for men and stems from the Baganda culture and tradition with

men having a higher status than women. The Black Ugandan British parents in my study reflected on the way they were brought up in Uganda and how this influences their expectations of their children's behaviour and shapes their way of bringing up their children in England. My study suggests that Ugandan parents have higher expectations of their children living within their cultural boundaries and these boundaries exceed or go beyond tribal cultural boundaries as will be seen in chapter 5. This section has shown that Black Ugandan British children engage in some sort of informal learning in a Ugandan cultural context such as customary learning outside English schools. However, the cultural values Black Ugandan British parents instil in their children and the influence they have on British Ugandan children's education (also see chapter 5) appear to go unnoticed. The following section centres on religion and discusses the religious background parents in my study bring to supporting their children's education in England.

3.5 Religion

3.5.1 Religions in Uganda

According to the Ugandan new vision website, Uganda “conducted a population and housing census in...2002” (New vision online). The population in Uganda was 24.2 million people in 2002 and this figure had gone up by 10.7 million people in August 2014, making the Uganda population 34.9 million people according to the statistics from Uganda's 2014 census (IFAD online). I would like to concentrate on the 2002 census as it provides us with some information about the different religions in Uganda. Religion is important to the Ugandan families in my study as Ugandan includes a number of religious groups including Christians, Sikhs, Hindus and Muslims.

Table 3 shows Uganda as a multi-religious country/society

Religions in Uganda	Percentage
Catholic church	41.9%
Anglican church	35.9%
Pentecostal church	4.6%
Other Christians	1.0%
Jehovah's witnesses	
Muslims	12.1%

Source: New vision online

3.5.2 Religious beliefs

My study suggests that religion informed or shaped the Black Ugandan British parents' daily behaviour and highlights what religious beliefs and values mean to Black Ugandan British parents and their children. Family religious beliefs, values and practices were also associated with religious rituals. Becher, (2008) suggests that rituals are actions performed for their symbolic value. According to Becher, (2008) rituals can be prescribed by a religion or traditions of a community. My study suggests that the major role of religious rituals in Black Ugandan British parents' lives was to help Black Ugandan British parents to cope with the negative aspects and challenges in their lives (see chapter 5). Religious rituals were part of the families' lives and Black Ugandan British parents expect their children to engage in religious rituals. While the Muslim families engaged in performing their daily prayers, reciting the Quran, continual visits to the mosques, attending Islamic seminars and other Islamic gatherings, Protestant and Catholic families engaged in daily prayers, reading the bible, singing, going to church and other Christian gatherings where different preachers gave talks about Christianity. Other religious rituals Black Ugandan British parents in my study and their children engaged in included pre-preparation for prayers and the manner in which the prayers are performed. I observed the different methods or ways of praying in each family

depending on the families' religious background. Black Ugandan British parents' narratives show how Black Ugandan British parents engaged in religious rituals and highlight the relationship between Black Ugandan British parents' religious beliefs, parenting and education (see chapter 5).

It is argued that "family practices involve family members' values and expectations surrounding roles, responsibilities and goals for behaviour and development" (Becher, 2008, p.27). According to Becher "these sets of cultural meanings which Daly has referred to as the 'implicit theories that families live by' (2003:771) may draw on a range of sources, including cultural norms and religious belief systems" (Becher, 2008, p.27). Findings from my study suggest that cultural norms and religious beliefs played a central part in families' lives and the way they supported their children's education (see chapter 5). However, Black Ugandan British parents' efforts and the influence the values they instil in their children have on their children's education seem to be invisible and therefore, go unacknowledged in English schools (see chapter 5).

I now move on to the next section to discuss the Ugandan cultural element of Ugandan music and films as observations from my study demonstrated that these were valuable to Black Ugandan British parents and brought some sort of fun and comfort to Black Ugandan British parents' lives.

3.6 Leisure

3.6.1 Popular culture

According to (Gonzalez, Moll and Amanti, 2005) culture also includes music and arts (cultural products such as TV programmes, music and films). My study suggests that

Black Ugandan British parents brought their Ugandan cultural products with them. This was identified through the Ugandan music played in the Black Ugandan British parents' homes and Ugandan movies watched by Black Ugandan British parents in their homes.

Arrive at Sean's home.

I ring the bell.

Sean opens the door

"Hullo ooooooooo", he says (in a very happy mood)

"Come in".

I enter the house.

Very loud Ugandan music being played in the sitting room (Mama mbiire).

I sit down.

He offers a drink.

"No thank you", I say to him

He finishes his drink and pauses the music... (observation, during a visit to Sean's house on Sunday, 6th December 2009).

Observations from Sean's family in particular show the differences in cultural interests particularly in relation to music. In another family, I observed that while the parents watched their Ugandan movies, their children were engaged in listening to popular music.

Knocked on the door

Ragina opened the door

Ragina sitting on the sofa watching a Ugandan movie.

Pop music upstairs (Lady Gaga – just dance).

Ragina's children upstairs singing and laughing. (Observation in

Ragina's home during a home visit on 13th June 2009).

These findings seem to show some cultural differences and interests in regard to media activities engaged in and preferences within Ugandan families' homes for music and movies. While Ragina was downstairs in her own world, which seemed to be the Ugandan world considering the movie she was watching, her children appeared to be in another world; the western world taking into account the kind of music they were listening to (pop music upstairs (Lady Gaga – just dance)). This seems to suggest that in some cases Black Ugandan British children may have western cultural preferences, which may not necessarily interest their parents, and Black Ugandan British parents may have Ugandan cultural interests that may not interest their children.

Observations from my study further suggest that leisure is part of Black Ugandan British parents' cultural lives and parents take their children swimming, just as they do to Ugandan weddings and holidays. By taking their children to Ugandan weddings, parents seek to broaden their children's understanding of their Ugandan identity by showing them the way Ugandan weddings are organized, the significance of Ugandan weddings, how Ugandan weddings are conducted, the dressing costumes worn and the importance of marriage so that they can pass on this cultural knowledge to their children and to the next generation.

The following section focuses on food as data from my study suggested that Black Ugandan British parents eat various types of Ugandan food.

3.7 Food

Food is part of Ugandan culture and different tribes have their favourite types of foods. As Black Ugandan British parents in my study are from the Baganda tribe, Matooke (a staple made from green bananas) is their main food because Matooke is the main type of food for the Baganda tribe in Uganda. Findings from my study and observations

carried during my visits to the families suggest that Black Ugandan British parents still eat their favourite or popular dish or main type of cultural food called Matooke as Famisa's and Nikita's narratives show:

I buy Matooke in [North London] but sometimes I buy Matooke from [East London] because it is cheaper in [East London] a box of Matooke is £25 and last me a week because, it is only me who eats Matooke most in this house, my children eat Matooke but not as much as I do. I grew up eating Matooke, it is so lovely with chicken, meat, red beans but mostly with groundnuts stew and vegetables. I buy Bbuga and entula (red vegetables and egg plant) in [East London]. We are very lucky they bring them from Uganda. (Famisa 4th July 2009)

Nikita in the Kitchen: “I will be with you in a minute please, nkyaafumba Matooke (I am cooking Matooke)” says Nikita.

Nikita comes out of the kitchen with Matooke on a plate, she puts a plate on the table, goes back to the kitchen, gets another plate, comes out of the kitchen again, sits down, puts some of the Matooke on another plate with dry fish mixed with groundnuts stew and passes on the plate to me.

“It is so nice enjoy it” says Nikita.

Thank you very much but I had some food before I left my house. I said to Nikita. (Observations and my interactions with Nikita during a visit to Nikita’s home on Saturday 30th May, 2009)

This shows how Black Ugandan British parents reach out to those who sell Ugandan food in Ugandan food shops in London. This also suggests that Black Ugandan British children have become aware of this cultural element of the Baganda culture through their parents adding to the educational knowledge gained within their homes and Ugandan community.

The following section centres on clothes and highlights different dressing codes for parents in my study and their children based on their cultural values.

3.8 Clothes

Ugandan people of different tribes wear different types of clothes that represent their cultural values. My study shows that Baganda women in my study and their daughters wear different clothes to suit different occasions. Similarly, Baganda men in my study and their sons wore different clothes for different purposes. For example, I observed that when Bagandan Protestant and Catholic parents (women) in my study and their children went to or came from church they sometimes wore long dresses, skirts, blouses

and other times they wore long clothes made from colourful materials (kitengi or bitengi) made in Uganda. On certain occasions such as weddings, they wore the Baganda traditional clothes called Gomes. On other occasions for example, in their homes, they wore Bagandan traditional clothes and 'casual' clothes. This suggests that their culture is important to them and is reflected in their way of living including clothing. In regard to Protestant and Catholic male parents in my study and their sons, they wore long and short-sleeved shirts and trousers and sometimes suits and ties when going to or coming from church. On other occasions such as wedding occasions, they wore the traditional Bagandan costume for men (Kanzu). On other occasions for example, in their houses they wore 'casual' clothes including trousers and shirts and Ugandan or their traditional Ugandan cloth (Kanzu).

In regard to Muslim mothers and their daughters, my study suggests that their cultural aspect of religion is a big influence on their dressing codes as they wear abayas and hijabs (over garments and veils) most of the time for example, inside their homes and outside their homes including when visiting mosques. However, it is important to mention that during my family visits the girls wore ordinary clothes such as long skirts and blouses inside their homes. In regard to Muslim fathers in my study, the Islamic long garment was common in their dressing code, especially when they were going to and from mosques.

Having discussed the importance of clothes and the cultural values attached to clothing amongst Ugandan families, I move on to discuss art as observations suggested that art was valuable to my Black Ugandan British parents.

3.9 Art

As discussed in my methodology chapter, ethnography allowed me to see objects such as Ugandan cultural art-crafts that are important to Black Ugandan British parents in my study such as Ugandan baskets, mats, pictures and Ugandan displayed objects such as the Ugandan flag, Ugandan maps made from backcloths (cloth material made from tree skin). Black Ugandan British children are aware of Ugandan art as their home environments reflect Ugandan art through the displays around their homes. This means that they come into English schools with some knowledge about Ugandan art that schools should acknowledge in the curriculum (I return to this when looking at the curriculum experienced by Black Ugandan British children).

3.10 Summary

This chapter discussed some elements of the Ugandan culture and how culture is an important aspect in Black Ugandan British parents' and their children's lives. We have seen how Uganda is a multilingual and multi-religious country and how this background may inform Black Ugandan British parents' actions as they support their children's education in England. This will be developed further in chapter 5. The chapter also discussed how Ugandan people experienced cultural change during the colonial period and the impact this change had on Ugandan peoples' lives. It also highlighted that Black Ugandan British parents brought with them the elements of their Ugandan culture such as religion and customs, which they promote.

Chapter Four: Class and education/Class and employment

4.1 Introduction

As well as chapter three, this chapter is essential because it provides an understanding of the middle class based forms of educational support Black Ugandan British parents provide to their children (discussed in chapter 5). In this chapter, I concentrate on class and education as well as class and employment because data from my study suggested that Black Ugandan British parents have double class identities primarily in relation to education and employment which influence the way they support their children's education. These double class identities are informed by:

- i) a middleclass identity from Uganda given the education the study parents' had and the jobs that they did in Uganda, combined with the lifestyles they had, and
- ii) a working class identity in England owing to the jobs that they do in England.

In order to understand Black Ugandan British parents' middle class identities it is important to understand the term social class and how middle-classness in particular is viewed from a Ugandan perspective. Therefore, the first part of this chapter contextualises social class positioning in Uganda during the pre-colonial to post-colonial period. It then moves on to discussing class and education including the middle class educational experiences of the study participants, and how such experiences informed their choice of schools for their children to attend. The last part of this chapter centres on the parents' employment experiences and status both in Uganda and in England. The chapter highlights how Black Ugandan British parents' educational and employment backgrounds are major driving forces behind the educational support they provide to their children in England. It also highlights class complexities as Black Ugandan British parents in working class positions in England bring their Ugandan middleclass aspirations to supporting their children's education.

4.2 Social class in Uganda

4.2.1 History of social class in Uganda

Heyneman argues that “countries like Uganda may be economically stratified but are not yet characterized by distinct classes” (Heyneman, 1976p.69). This chapter challenges this idea as this statement is contradicted by the various kingdom structures found in Uganda. Discussing the Ugandan social class historical background is important as it provides an understanding of the distinct classes from a Ugandan perspective. In order to understand Black Ugandan British parents’ double class identities, it is important to understand the social class structures prevalent in Uganda in pre-colonial and postcolonial times.

4.2.2 Social class in Uganda during pre-colonial period

Moncrieffe argues that traditionally, Uganda’s different ethnic groups followed highly varied systems of social stratification (Moncrieffe, 2004). For example, during the pre-colonial period, Uganda comprised a number of prominent kingdoms, which are Buganda, Ankole and Bunyoro Kitare (Moncrieffe, 2004). Historically, these kingdoms varied in ways of classifying different groups of Ugandan people and there have been distinctions amongst these Kingdoms (Moncrieffe, 2004). I begin by explaining the Buganda Kingdom.

4.2.3 Buganda Kingdom

According to Moncrieffe, (2004) the Buganda Kingdom was a classed society with the king at the top and the serfs (also known as the Bakopi in the Luganda language) at the bottom of the social stratum. Historically, it was not possible for people outside the Ugandan royal family to become kings of the Buganda kingdom (Moncrieffe, 2004). Social closure has always existed in the Buganda kingdom and it was not only

connected to kingship but was also connected to wealth, inheritance and marriage (Moncrieffe, 2004). For example, if the king died his successor or heir to the throne would automatically be his son who would also inherit the wealth, which included land, property and other assets. In the Buganda kingdom, land and property were greatly valued and therefore the king controlled the land in the Buganda kingdom. In regard to marriage, it was not possible for a Ugandan person outside the Buganda kingdom to marry a member of the royal family. This meant that people who were expected to marry into the royal family by marriage would be from the Baganda tribe from the Buganda Kingdom.

The second 'social class' group in the Buganda kingdom included the chiefs who were appointed by the King of Buganda to lead or administer at district level in the Bugandan society. Their main focus was to ensure that all the king's tasks were properly carried out including taking care of the land and monitoring the residents on the king's land.

4.2.4 Ankole Kingdom

In pre-colonial times it is suggested that Ankole was a class-based society with two social class groups, which were the ruling class and the non-ruling class (Moncrieffe, 2004). According to Moncrieffe, Ankole is composed of the Banyankole (the people of Ankole) with two different tribal groups, which are Bahima and the Bahiru. As well as discussing the pre-colonial society in Uganda, it is important to note that these groups still exist in Uganda. According to Moncrieff, the two groups differ in various ways including physical appearance, ways of living, food, economic activity as well as language. While the Bahima were the ruling class who owned cattle and land, the Bahiru were perceived as servants, the poor who worked on the Bahima ranches (Moncrieffe, 2004). This division shows that the Ankole kingdom was characterized by distinct classes with the Bahima people perceived as superior to the Bahiru people. This

also seems to suggest that in a Ugandan perspective, (given the class differences in the Ankole kingdom, powerful positions (ruling positions), cattle and land ownership, poverty and employment were associated with different social classes.

4.2.5 Bunyoro Kitare Kingdom

Amongst the three Kingdoms in Uganda, the Bunyoro Kitare kingdom was the most powerful kingdom as the ancestors of Bunyoro were both pastoralists who owned both cattle and land and they were farmers who produced food such as millet, root crops, bananas and coffee (Moncrieffe, 2004). While the pastoralists in the Bunyoro Kingdom concentrated on their cattle and land (Moncrieffe, 2004), the farmers in the Bunyoro Kingdom produced food for their own use and supplied food to other neighbouring Kingdoms (Moncrieffe, 2004). Some researchers argue that property and land were used as criteria to distinguish between superior and inferior people in the Bunyoro Kitare Kingdom (Uzoigwe, 1970, Moncrieffe, 2004). These criteria put the pastoralists in the Bunyoro Kitare Kingdom in a superior position as they owned land and cattle. The farmers on the other hand, were perceived to be in an inferior position as they did not own land and cattle in the Bunyoro Kitare Kingdom (Uzoigwe, 1970, Moncrieffe, 2004). This seems to suggest that like in the Buganda and the Ankole Kingdoms, distinct classes existed in the Bunyoro Kitare Kingdom.

4.2.6 Social class in Uganda during the colonial period

Chapter 3 discussed how colonialism disrupted the lives of Ugandan people of different tribes. Similarly, the Bunyoro Kitare Kingdom experienced disruption during the colonial period that started in 1894 (Local histories online) as the British colonialists captured King Kabalega, which led to the weakening of the Kingdom politically, economically and socially (Uzoigwe, 1970). The British colonialists brought changes to

the Kingdom including settlement patterns, housing and class structures (Beattie, 1970, Pulford, 2007) with the Bunyoro Kitare Kingdom divided into four distinct classes.

These were the Ababiito (the ruling family), the Abahuma (pastoralists) who according to Beattie perceived themselves to be superior to all other class groups due to their ownership of cattle, Abairu (farmers) and the Abahuka (slaves); although by the 20th century slavery had ceased to exist in the Bunyoro Kitare kingdom (Beattie, 1970, Uzoigwe, 1970).

Furthermore, chapter 3 discussed how the British colonialists “disrupted traditional societies” (Rassool, 2007, p.62) in Uganda and how “colonial rulers exploited ethnic differences” (Rassool, 2007, p.38) in Uganda “allocating power, resources and access to education differentially” (Rassool, 2007, p.38). The chapter further discussed how some ethnic groups were perceived as “ethnically superior, and were educated and incorporated into the colonial administration” (Rassool, 2007, p.38). Thus, ethnic divisions and ethnic elites were created in Uganda (Rassool, 2007). According to Rassool:

The people of the south...were educated and subsequently incorporated into the administration where they became instrumental in the system of indirect rule instituted by the British. The people from the North, on the other hand, were regarded as having great physical strength, and were recruited into the military and police force and also supplied labour and services to the south. (Rassool, 2007, pp.38-39)

From Rassool, it appears that the British colonists created further class divisions (amongst Ugandans of different tribes) to those in existence in pre-colonial times with power, education, employment (administrative work under the British rule) and physical appearance associated with social status or ‘social class’ in Uganda with the people of

the south in a class perceived to be superior. This is supported by Bakwesegha who argues that in Uganda “some ethnic groups were seen as more intelligent and more civilized than others” (Bakwesegha, 2000, p.10). Consequently, the Baganda and the Banyoro people were integrated into the politics of the British rule and were trained to do administration work for the British colonialists in their pursuit to govern Uganda (Bakwesegha, 2000, Kasozi, 1999, Mamdani, 1996, Moncrieffe, 2004). These “created elite groups working within the administration” (Potter, 1997, p.213) “were richly rewarded for their collaboration” (Rassool, 2007, p.64) with the British colonialists. This again seems to suggest that the created divisions went beyond ethnic and elite divisions to include ‘class’ or social status divisions with the Baganda and the Banyoro people occupying social positions perceived to be superior than social positions occupied by other ethnic groups such as the Acholi (Fallers, 1964). Young (1994,p.227) further states that “in the Bunyoro Kingdom, the Toro, who had historically been seen as forming part of the Nyoro cultural grouping, became classified as a distinct” group from other ethnic groups due to its involvement in the British administration.

4.2.7 Social class in Uganda during the postcolonial period

It is important to discuss social class in Uganda during the postcolonial period because it provides an understanding of first, the continuing class divisions found in the pre-colonial period, secondly, how social class during the 1960s-1980s (the period within which my sample of parents were educated and sought employment in Uganda) was associated with employment type (Katoboro, 1982) and thirdly, how class since the 1980s is synonymous with lifestyle.

4.2.8 Middle- classness

In 1962, Uganda gained its independence resulting in the end of the British rule in Uganda (Rassool, 2007). Following independence, Heyman et al (1979) state that many overseas personnel with degree level qualifications who worked in high senior positions in the Ugandan civil service left Uganda. The departure of colonial officials created better employment opportunities for Ugandans and therefore there was a demand for Ugandan university graduates to satisfy the demands for higher educated personnel within the administrative system (Heyman et al., 1979). However, due to the shortage of Ugandan university graduates in the 1960s, an “overwhelming majority of secondary [school] graduates found jobs with the government” (Heyman et al., 1979,p.66). The shortage of candidates with degree level qualifications to work in the government sector still existed through the 1980s (Katoboro, 1982). As Katorobo explains:

There [were] acute shortages of manpower [sic] because the educational system [supplied] numbers well below departmental needs. In operational terms, the need [was] for manpower with education and training up to degree level for recruitment in the Administrative service. Given that the supply of such manpower [was] limited, higher administrative posts [were] left vacant, or filled with staff with lower education. (Katorobo, 1982,p.35)

The shortage of university graduates in the 1980s in Uganda described by Katoboro above led my sample of parents to gain work in the civil, public and private service industries with their secondary school O’level qualifications and they received training while working (see table 4 below). Although O’level qualifications are not seen as very high qualifications and may not lead to very high employment status for example, senior civil service positions in England, they were highly valued in Uganda in the 1960s-1980s, after the departure of the British colonialists. The status and privileges

that were attached to their jobs in Ugandan society and the lifestyle they had led the Black Ugandan British parents' in my study to perceive themselves as having held high status, middle-class positions, which contributed to them having middle class lifestyles (discussed below). Such perceptions were also influenced by the high salaries afforded Ugandan civil servants following independence:

After independence, the government wanted to maintain the high salary levels that had previously been used to attract overseas personnel, the prestige offered by the civil service coupled with high salaries made it unattractive for educated Ugandans to risk entering the business enterprises since the initial reward would certainly not be as high as found in the civil service and the path to success a very uncertain one. (Heyman et; al 1979, p. 66)

Conceptions of Ugandan middle-classness have not changed since the 1980s as suggested by an African Development Bank (2011) report. In Ugandan society today, “if you are educated up to a diploma level or more, do the bulk of your shopping in a supermarket and have unlimited access to communication channels such as the phone and the internet, and consequently spend about 20 US dollars (sh.54, 000) a day, a report by the African Development Bank (ADB) put such Ugandans in the “high income” or “rich class”” (Ndiwalana, 2011, p.1). This suggests that contemporarily education qualifications below degree level are still valued in Ugandan society and can lead to jobs from which an individual can generate income that would offer a middle class lifestyle.

This contention is further reinforced by the African Development Bank Report (ADBR) (2011) which states that: “variables such as education, professions, aspirations and

lifestyle are important features that help establish who is in the middle class” (ADBR, 2011, p.1). The ADBR (2011) suggests that professionals such as lawyers, judges, barristers, solicitors, architects, planners, doctors, dentists, university lectures, accountants, scientists and engineers fall in the middle class category. This is not dissimilar to professionals designated as middle class in England via the Registrar General’s employment classifications (see Table 4). However, while such professionals are perceived to be in the middle class in Uganda, there is another group of Ugandan people who are perceived to be the middle class in Uganda. According to the ADBR, if a Ugandan person owns a vehicle, has unlimited access to the internet, owns a comfortable home, refrigerator, telephone, mobile phone, and is able to access or seek better health care for him or herself and his or her own family, then that person is in the middle class category in Uganda (ADBR, 2011). The ADBR goes further to highlight other middle class characteristics in Uganda, which include having smaller family sizes, salaried jobs, being able to afford to reside in towns or along coastlines, and invest in higher or further education and technology (ADBR, 2011). This Ugandan perception of the middle class indicates that it is more about income and lifestyle than profession or status. It also appears to differ from the perception of the middle class in England as in England a person can be wealthy but not considered middle class or as having the right ‘breeding’ (Moore et al, 2010; see also discussion below about the middle class in England). Added to this, owning commodities such as a refrigerator or a mobile phone which today are considered necessities, or being able to reside in a town (such as specified in the ADBR 2011) would not be sufficient to designate someone as middle class in England. Indeed reference to essential commodity ownership as one might suggest a refrigerator is more akin to being working class in England (Blundell 2001). However, when commodity ownership and residing in towns is juxtaposed with

working class Ugandans who live in rural areas and do not have access to electricity and good healthcare facilities – this is discussed further below- then the ADBR 2011 definitions of Ugandan middle-classness can be better understood.

I now move on to examine the meaning of class from a British perspective and then juxtapose it with Ugandan perspectives on class as the Black Ugandan British parents in my study now live in England. This will help the process of identifying whether there are differences and similarities in the way social class and in particular middle-classness is understood in England and Uganda.

4.3 The meanings of class in England

4.3.1 Social class overview in England

In “the UK, social class is regarded as the main form of stratification” (Moore et al., 2010p.7) and this section provides an overview of social class as primarily covering three class groups which are upper, middle and working class. It also discusses the Registrar General’s classifications and how this is used to identify the different class groups via employment type in England as seen in table 4 below.

Table 4: The Registrar General's Classification

Social class	Official description	Example
I	Professional, etc, occupations	Exclusive non-manual: accountant, doctor, lawyer, university teacher.
Ii	Intermediate occupations	Predominantly non-manual: aircraft pilot, farmer, nurse, police officer, school teacher
Iii (N)	Skilled non-manual occupations	Exclusive non-manual: clerk, shop assistant, Secretary, waiter
Iii(M)	Skilled Manual occupations	Exclusive manual: bus driver, carpenter, cook, miner, electrician
Iv	Partly skilled occupations	Predominantly manual: farm worker, bus conductor, bar worker, postman, telephone operator
V	Unskilled occupations	Exclusively manual: labourer, office cleaner, kitchen hand, window cleaner

Source: Fulcher and Scott, (2007, p.782).

The next section goes on to discuss the social classes separately beginning with the upper-class in England.

4.3.2 Upper class

It is stated that the traditional upper class in England include the “wealthy extended families who are often interconnected by marriage” (Moore et al., 2010, p.44). Blundell adds that traditionally, the upper class were “the main owner[s] of wealth and income” (2001, p.68). According to Blundell (2001), the traditional upper class people’s income came from their wealth linked to land ownership and inherited wealth rather than wages earned from a job. However, Blundell points out that the traditional upper class has broadened to include entrepreneurs (company owners who are willing to take risks) and who “have built up much more successful businesses and become very rich. The best-

known member is Richard Branson who started the Virgin group of companies” (Blundell, 2001, p.68).

4.3.3 Traditional middleclass in England

Traditionally, “the term middle class is used in a broad way to describe non manual workers” (Moore et al., 2010,p.45) which include professionals such as “doctors, civil servants, lawyers and teachers” (Fulcher and Scott, 2007,p.793) as well as barristers, solicitors, dentists, architects and lecturers. According to Blundell, “on the Registrar General’s scale [see Table 4 above], classes 1 and 2, non manual, are middle class” (Blundell, 2001, p.70) which include, “professors and doctors” (Blundell, 2001, p.71). However, Savage (2000) argues that the middle class is not a united group or homogeneous. Blundell (2001), like Savage, points out that the middle class is divided and is not a united group. He based his argument on the idea that “people at the top of the middle class such as professors and doctors, have a lot in common with the upper class [however, other members of middle class such as] teachers and nurses are not as well paid and have lower status” (Blundell, 2001,p.71). Savage also argues that the traditional middle class group or category has broadened to include non-manual workers such as the self-employed and people who own small businesses. Blundell adds that “the owners of small businesses (the petty bourgeoisie) may own a shop or workshop employing a small number of people, or be self employed as a plumber and electrician ...or be a landlord or small farmer” (2001,p.71). This shows how the traditional middle class category has broadened to include groups with different levels of income and status. I now move on to discuss the working class from a UK perspective in detail.

4.3.4 Working class

It is important to understand how the working class are defined and viewed in England as the Black Ugandan British parents in my study occupy working class positions in England.

The working class are often associated with people in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs who earn wages that are typically low (Moore et al., 2010). Traditionally, members of the working class engaged in manual work in industries such as mining, factory and industry work (Moore et al., 2010, Marshall and Swift, 1996). It is argued that manual workers had a strong sense of their class identity due to the dangerous and collective nature of some of their jobs such as mining and factory work (Moore et al., 2010). In addition, the control their managers and employers had over them led the working classes to believe that the “world was divided into ...the bosses (capital) who were only interested in exploiting the workers and making profits [and] the worker on the shop-floor [doing] (labour) [work]” (Moore et al., 2010,p.45). This gave the working class a strong sense of their class identity and they lived in communities made up of extended kinship networks for mutual support (“a system of social, economic and emotional supports” - Moore et al., 2010, p.47). However, arguments have been put forward that in recent years there has been a decline of the traditional working class identity (Crompton, 1996, Morris and Scott, 1996, Devine, 1998, Savage, 2000). They argue that the decline in manufacturing employment has led to the decline in the working classes (Crompton, 1996, Morris and Scott, 1996, Devine, 1998, Savage, 2000). The decline in a traditional working class identity has also been identified by Beynon who argues that the decline in working class manual workers in the mining industry has reduced the distinctiveness of the traditional working class (Beynon 1992). According to Blundell, “the working class has fallen over the years and the biggest fall has been in

unskilled manual work” (2001, p.72). Blundell argues that the “changes in the economy led to the loss of traditional working class jobs in industries such as shipbuilding, coalmining and heavy industry” (2001,p.72) with many now working in call centres. Nonetheless, according to Blundell, “the working class today is better off than in the past. Most have secure incomes, own televisions, washing machines, cars, even houses” (Blundell, 2001p.72). Home ownership as described by Blundell raises some questions as home ownership is usually associated with the middle class in England (Fulcher and Scott, 2007, Moore et al., 2010). Does this suggest that a working class person who owns a house in England is in the wrong class group? How do working class people who own houses perceive themselves in relation to class in British society?

Although the living standards of the working class have risen over the years as seen above, Fulcher and Scott argue that working class people “are involved in the complex division of labour in which each type of work is coordinated with that of other workers with a variety of skills and abilities. What unites them as proletarian workers is the fact that they have similar market and work situations. They have similar employment conditions and they are subject to the authority of employers or managers” (Fulcher and Scott, 2007, p.789).

4.3.5 Black middle class complexity in Uganda and England

Having discussed middle and working class conceptions of class in Uganda and England, it is important to mention that middle-classness as a concept in Ugandan society can be complex. Middle class complexities in Ugandan society have been identified by Heyneman who argues that “even among the wealthiest of the elite, families commonly include illiterate members. Unlike their counterparts in Britain and America, Ugandan bank chairmen, university professors, authors, presidents have numerous relatives who have never attended school, who are poor and whom they

interact with socially-often living in the same house” (Heyneman, 1976p.179). This suggests that Ugandan upper and middle class people have not fully adopted the rationale of personal ‘superiority’ (that is the middle classes believing themselves superior to the working class), which is associated with White upper and middle class people and their wealth in Britain (Heyneman, 1976). Arguably, if the Ugandan middle class were to consider themselves superior to their Ugandan working class counterparts, they may be perceived by the Ugandan community as imitating the White middle classes/assimilating White middle culture and as forgetting their roots and failing to fulfil their cultural obligations of supporting their families who may also be members of the working class (Heyneman, 1976). In Uganda, family and community support are salient expectations hence, at a family and community level, the rich are expected to help the poor. Thus, middle class people in Uganda are expected to provide financial support to their families and communities who are perceived as working class (see section 4.4.1 for discussion of Ugandan cultural employment obligations as articulated by the Ugandan parents in this study). Failing to fulfil this duty, middle class Ugandans may be perceived as selfish and as a disappointment to their families and the wider community. Ultimately, such perceptions could contribute to a loss of their cultural identity as well as family and community solidarity.

Another important factor which possibly accounts for middle class Ugandans being less likely to consider themselves superior to working class Ugandans is that some middle class Ugandans may have worked their way up to being middle class from being working class. This means that such people have gone through previous experiences of being working class and such experiences may still have some significance in their lives. These experiences may include previous habits, social networks, and relationships with the working class in their communities. Strengthening their personal relationships

with the working class and working on how they can support the rest of the working class and their Ugandan communities may be more important to middle class Ugandans than distancing themselves from the working class and their communities.

Further insight into the complexity of Black middle-classness is offered by Maylor and Williams' (2011) work which shows how Black middle class professionals' understanding of middle-classness is related to "capitals (social, economic and cultural) as defined by Bourdieu ...[and how Black middle class professionals in England] interpret capitals as being embodied in White rather than Black people because at the time when Bourdieu theorised capitals, it was in relation to White (European) middle – (and upper) class bodies whose cultures" (Maylor and Williams, 2011,p.7) were 'constructed as the norm' (Wright, Thompson and Channer, 2007,p.35 cited in Maylor and Williams, 2011,p.7). Black middle class parents in Maylor and William's work "reasoned that Black middle-classness could not be compared with White middle-classness as Black and White people experience class differently" (Maylor and Williams, 2011,p.7). According to Maylor and Williams, Black educated women experience difficulties in identifying themselves as middle class in Britain because, "Black middle-classness is partly rooted in an emotional need to remain connected to the wider community" (Maylor and Williams, 2011, p.1) and because most of their family will not be in middle class employment positions which is not dissimilar to that described in relation to Uganda. Maylor and William's work also show how some Black middle class women deny their middle-classness and the privilege attached to middle-classness in British society. Maylor and Williams state that the Black "women's understanding of the middle classes are informed by their gendered and racialised experiences" (Maylor and Williams, 2011, p.1) of discrimination in Britain. As revealed later in this chapter such classed understandings also have relevance for the Ugandan

parents in my study who consider themselves to have made a big step down the social class ladder owing to their employment roles and lifestyle in England (see section on social mobility below).

4.4 The participants' employment experiences in Uganda and England, and their changed class position

In this section I discuss my participants' employment experiences first in Uganda and then in England. This is necessary in order to understand their changed class position from middle to working, and the influence of both sets of experiences on their perceptions of their classed identities and how they support their children's learning.

4.4.1 Black Ugandan British parents' employment status in Uganda

The discussion about class and employment in post colonial Uganda above made reference to jobs in the public sector offering middle class status and lifestyles to employees particularly those employed in the civil service. Here I discuss the reasons why my sample of parents sought employment in the Ugandan public sector, and consequently considered themselves to have middle class jobs. These reasons included occupying high status positions, high salaries offered by the public service sector in Uganda, living a 'good' lifestyle, gaining high status jobs, positive perceptions of public service sector employees in Ugandan society, the benefits attached to working in the public service sector, making their parents proud, fulfilling education and the cultural expectations of their parents and securing financial security. These were major driving forces as their narratives show:

I was the undersecretary of the minister of finance in Uganda. I was paid very good money and *life was good*. (Famisa)

Famisa seems to claim her Ugandan social status or class identity based on the job she did in Uganda, the money she earned and her lifestyle. In Uganda, government

ministers are considered to occupy high status positions and to be some of the privileged and rich people in the country as they earn a decent wage, live in luxurious houses, own the most expensive cars and enjoy the prestige in Ugandan society. Famisa's connection to the minister of finance, the roles and responsibilities she carried out in the ministry under the instruction of the minister, led Famisa to perceive herself as a person who occupied a high status position in Uganda. The undersecretary job in Uganda would be seen as a senior civil servant job in England today due to the status and privilege attached to it. It is also important to mention that although parents in my study managed to get the jobs they did in Uganda with their O'levels, the jobs they did are now graduate jobs in Uganda and therefore, my sample of parents equate themselves with graduates in England and Uganda. This coupled with the fact that overseas personnel with degree level qualifications worked in the civil service industry in Uganda also led Black Ugandan British parents in my study to perceive themselves to be middle class. Importantly, positive perceptions about Ugandan people who work in the civil service still exist in Uganda today with Ugandan university graduates competing for and securing positions in the public sector (ADBR 2011).

I would like to explain what Famisa means by "life was good" in the quoted statement above. Living a good lifestyle in a Ugandan context includes being able to own a house or live in a big house provided by the company, owning a nice car, shopping in the most expensive shops and supermarkets, wearing the most expensive clothes and, accessing healthcare in the most expensive private hospitals or private clinics. It is also associated with socialising with various groups of Ugandan people including those in power, the elite and the rich (also see Samantha's and Sajeda's narratives below about having a good lifestyle in Uganda in relation to social class). Socialising with such groups leads to engaging with other social networks and connections, which are useful in terms of

education and job opportunities. For example, if a Ugandan person has such connections it becomes easier for members of his or her family to be connected to good schools and jobs in Ugandan society. Socialising in a Ugandan context ranges from going to the theatre to dining out in the most expensive places or restaurants in Uganda. Migrating to England as an asylum seeker meant that Famisa and other parents in my sample lost all these things.

Across the families, Black Ugandan British parents in my study used similar words when they described their lifestyle in Uganda, which suggests the significance of the standard of living they had in Uganda to Black Ugandan British parents. For example:

I was a typist at the Uganda Nightile headquarters... I was a secretary and very close with the manager. I was in charge during the manager's absence. I covered all his duties in his absence, it was a big role...We supplied all Ugandan schools with school uniforms and also supplied different materials to different companies at a wholesale price...it was a big company and my salary was very good...I had a car, my husband also had a very good job and frequently travelled abroad ... we enjoyed life. (Magna)

Life was good in Uganda...I had a very good job with the Custodian board...I was their accountant and I thank God my *salary was very good*. I had a company car and a driver. The company was responsible for the car expenses, paid the driver but I was in control of the car and used it for my own businesses too...I enjoyed it, people respected me wherever I went, I was known as the educated, rich, good accountant in Kampala. (Samantha)

Samantha's comments illustrate how she felt privileged and enjoyed prestige in Ugandan society. They also reveal Samantha's feelings of self worth about her employment in Uganda. Samantha legitimises or reclaims her high social status position

or class identity in Uganda by using phrases such as “educated, rich good accountant in Kampala”. On the other hand, the findings above can also be interpreted that Samantha may be saying this out of frustration as she does not have the prestige in England, that she had in Uganda, given the job she does (care assistant).

4.4.2 The benefits attached to working in the public service sector/making their parents proud and fulfilling the education and cultural expectations of their parents/financial security

Black Ugandan British parents’ narratives reveal the benefits that were attached to the jobs they did in Uganda that contributed to them being proud.

I used to work in Uganda commercial bank in Uganda and worked from 8am to 4pm, Monday to Friday, with an hour lunch break...getting a job in the bank made me *proud* and my parents too...I was a clerk in UCB main branch ...When I got a job in the bank, the job came with other benefits, a house, transport allowance and lots of opportunities for promotion... it is a long story. (Sajeda)

When Sajeda talks about herself and her parents being proud of the job she used to do in Uganda, it means many things in a Ugandan context. Firstly, securing a job in the bank meant that Sajeda could live a lifestyle that was better than many Ugandans who were in positions perceived to be ‘lower’ than clerk positions and which paid less than her job. Secondly, working in the bank meant that she could support her parents and other members of her family including extended families, which would make them feel proud. Thirdly, it is a big achievement in Uganda when parents educate their children and their children get positioned in the public or private sectors. Like their children, parents become proud and this achievement is seen as a big success in life in Ugandan

society. Fourthly, the benefits that were attached to her job did not only make Sajeda proud but also led to Sajeda being perceived as a person of a high status and privileged in Ugandan society as not everyone in Ugandan society gets such benefits. Finally, it is important to mention that in Uganda, many parents invest in their children's education and in many cases, parents expect their children to look after them and support them in their old age. Therefore, one of the ways of fulfilling Black Ugandan British parents' cultural expectations of taking care of them during their old age is to secure employment in the public sector with the aim of securing a good income. This also appears to have led to Sajeda's parents to be proud of Sajeda. This point about cultural expectations of looking after the elderly in Ugandan society will be discussed further in the parental involvement and educational strategies chapter.

My study suggests a relationship between financial security and lifestyle, which contributed to the Black Ugandan British parents in my study seeking employment in the public sector in Uganda as revealed through Hajra's narrative:

I enjoyed working in Mulago hospital... I was a medical assistant as well as a secretary... my job was secure and our first child had a very good lifestyle, we had time for him, he enjoyed childhood...money wasn't a problem...My husband worked in the Uganda Electricity board as an electrician ... he was an electric engineer, we took him [our son] to Lincon private school when he was three years old, he started early and enjoyed it at Lincon...we managed very well, we had a car so we took him every morning and picked him up after work, *we had a big house and space wasn't a problem*...we used to go to the theatre, every Saturday; we visited families and friends during our free times...life was good.

(Hajra)

Hajra's experiences in Uganda support the contentions made by the ADBR (2011) of Ugandan middle-classness being associated with lifestyle and ability to invest in education; in Hajra's case accessing private education for her son. Like Famisa and Sajeda, Hajra expressed feelings of self-worth as she reflected on her previous job and her lifestyle in Uganda, which suggests the importance of a good lifestyle to Black Ugandan British parents. A good lifestyle to this Ugandan family links to jobs, being able to earn a decent wage to provide for their family and sending their son to a private school, owning a car and having a big house, going to the theatre and socialising with families, friends and people in power (e.g. politicians and other people in high status well-paid professional jobs). In order to understand Hajra's feelings about her contrasting UK lifestyle which was completely opposite to what she had experienced in Uganda it is useful to examine an aspect of Ugandan culture.

In the Baganda culture, it is culturally not permissible for girls to move out of their parents' homes unless they are old enough and ready to get married. It brings shame to the family if girls move out before this period unless genuine reasons warrant the move for example, finding a job in an area far away from their parental home such that they would not be able to commute to work on a daily basis. Moving to living with other relatives such as 'aunties' if they live near their places of work may permit the move. The Baganda people are very protective of their children particularly girls who are protected from early pregnancies and having children before they get married. It is a disgrace to the family and brings shame to the family if daughters in the Baganda families become pregnant and have children outside marriage. It is necessary to understand this aspect of Ugandan culture because it also informs the level of educational support parents in my study provide to their children as seen in chapter 5 where the parents' narratives demonstrate that parents ensure their daughters' stay in

education, graduate, get employed in high status, well paid professional jobs before they get married.

Back to analysing Hajra's narrative above, it is important to mention that like Hajra, all families in my study have more than four children except for Samantha who has two (see table 2). This means that Hajra like other parents in my study, experience difficulties in England to accommodate their children as their housing conditions are poor and the chances of moving them to bigger houses are minimal. It also means that their children experience problems with space to read quietly anytime they need to although the parents try to organise their children's learning time and allocate time to monitor and participate in their children's learning within their houses as seen in chapter 5.

I would like to concentrate on discussing the Black Ugandan British parents' changed class positions in England. As "Africans look toward the public service as the main source of paid employment" (Heyman et al., 1979p.66) in Uganda, parents in my study based on their previous Ugandan employment experiences looked for similar jobs in England. However, accessing such jobs was affected by the asylum seekers' system or process and racism in employment (TUC 2002). Therefore, the Black Ugandan British parents in my study failed to find work in their previous fields or sectors. Consequently, they sought wage-earning positions with other employers. Unfortunately, this invariably meant that my sample of parents were employed in low status jobs in England (see Table 5) as these positions do not require UK educational qualifications.

Table 5 Participants qualifications and occupations status

Boroughs	Family Member	Mothers	Fathers	Qualifications	Previous occupation in Uganda	Current occupation in UK
North London Borough	1	Everim	Sean	O'Level (Everim)	Senior Civil Servant)	Care Assistant
				O'level (Sean)	Motor Mechanic	Factory worker
	2	Nikita	Dawud	O'level (Nikita)	Typist	Care assistant
				O'level (Dawud)	Carpenter	Factory worker
	3	Sajeda		O'level	Bank Clerk	Care assistant
	4	Magna	Sadim	O'level (Magna)	Typist	Care assistant
				O'level (Sadim)	Briefing officer (Airport)	Hotel worker
	5	Famisa		O'level (Famisa)	Senior Civil Servant	Care assistant
	6	Ragina		O'level (Ragina)	Senior Civil Servant	Hotel worker/Cleaner
	7	Susan		O'level	Senior Civil Servant	Care assistant/currently studying for a nursing qualification at university
	8	Samantha		O'level	Accountant	Care assistant
South London borough	9	Hajira	Sagid	O'level (Hajira)	Assistant Medical nurse	Care assistant
				O'level (Sagid)	Electrician	Factory worker
	10	Sofiah	Mughram	O'level (Sofiah)	Receptionist	Care assistant
				O'level (Mugram)	Accountant	Bus driver

4.4.3 Social mobility

According to Blundell, “social mobility means movement up or down the class system” (2001p.74). Blundell argues that “unlike other systems of stratification, such as caste, class position is not determined for life at birth- people can move up and down” (Blundell, 2001p. 74). Blundell has identified class mobility between the middle and working classes and argues that although people can move from working class to middle class, “most mobility is over a short distance” (2001p. 74). According to Blundell, it is possible to move from the top of the working class to the bottom of the middle class because it is a short distance but moving from one end of the class system to the other is unusual” (2001p.74). However, my study shows that the Black Ugandan British parents moved from one end of the class system to the other. Thus, Black Ugandan British parents with middleclass backgrounds from Uganda are now positioned as working class in England.

My job in Uganda was with the Ministry of Justice in Kampala. I was the chief accountant of the Ministry of Justice. I remember those times with pride... I enjoyed my job and lived what people call high life [now] I drive buses in London...I work with Arriva Company. (Mugram)

Based on the UK Registrar general’s classification of class outlined above, professionals such as accountants are in class (i) and do non-manual work. Given Mugram’s accountancy experience in the Ministry of Justice in Uganda, he should not be driving buses in London. In the quote above Mugram releases feelings of humiliation and his dissatisfaction of driving buses in England as he comes to terms with the reality that he is unable to secure a job as an accountant in England. While Mugram was valued highly and well respected in Uganda because of the status of his previous job in Uganda, it is certainly not the case in England because he is a bus driver in England.

Across the two study boroughs, the findings show how Black Ugandan British parents have moved a long distance from the middle class in Uganda to the working class in England, which confronts Blundell's arguments above. Across the board, Black Ugandan British parents expressed feelings of being stuck in working class positions in England, which has also led to changes in their lifestyles and wellbeing. As Famisa explains:

My life changed the day I landed at Gatwick airport, I didn't suffer high blood pressure in Uganda but I have high blood pressure now... I have done cleaning jobs in London and I have a back problem... I work in a nursing home as well as door-to-door care work...I work very hard for very little money. (Famisa)

These findings highlight the impact of the asylum seeking process on Black Ugandan British parents' working class positioning in England. They also show what Black Ugandan British parents go through to accumulate economic capital to support their children's education. Despite her health problems (caused by her lower status employment position in England), Famisa still engages in manual labour to earn a living. Famisa like other Black Ugandan British parents in my study expressed similar feelings of working "hard" but earning "very little".

A number of narratives suggest that Black Ugandan British parents in my study have moved down the class system and go through similar experiences in England.

I worked with [the] Uganda electricity board in Kampala; I am an electric engineer... [now] I work in a factory, I make sandwiches and pack them for sale. I have another job with the bread mill... I wrap bread and put bread in boxes ready for pick up by different companies in [the] UK...it is a very hard job. (Sagid)

From doing an engineering job to making and packing sandwiches and wrapping bread shows how Sagid's engineering knowledge, skills and experiences have gone down the drain. When Sagid talks about the job being hard, he is describing the hardships brought about by the physical nature of these jobs. These findings also show how Sagid does two jobs to fulfil his family obligations and responsibilities. They also provide us with a picture of how Black Ugandan British parents accumulate economic capital to support their children's education (through manual labour and hardships).

4.4.4 Black Ugandan British parents' employment patterns in England

The Black Ugandan British parents in my study seem to do similar jobs such as cleaning and care work and seem to go through similar feelings of unhappiness. As their narratives show:

I worked with the coffee marketing board headquarters in Kampala, I was a permanent and pensionable secretary...the pay was very good, I had a company car plus housing and medical allowances... [now] I work in a hotel in central London. I clean rooms. (Ragina)

I was a typist in the cooperative bank headquarters in Kampala; I typed letters and other correspondences under the bank manager's instructions. When I got the job in the cooperative bank, I was very good in typing and shorthand...I could type one hundred words per minute and one hundred and twenty words per minute in shorthand...my first job in London was to clean offices in Victoria, unbelievable....I am a care assistant now...I pray for my children to get good jobs. (Nikita)

These Black Ugandan British parents associated the city with decent jobs as they worked in Kampala city however; in London city, they do cleaning jobs. To Black Ugandan British parents the term cleaning job brings distress because the start time of their cleaning jobs is usually from 4am to 6am. This means that they risk their lives, as they have to leave their homes before 4am, travel on night buses, which usually take longer waiting times compared to the bus waiting time during the day. They have to do this in order to get to their work places in time, finish their work on time so that the professionals starting their jobs at 9am find their offices cleaned. In addition, their cleaning jobs involve roles such as taking out piles of rubbish from the offices, mopping the floors and cleaning toilets. Furthermore, they do their day jobs and finalise their days with their evening cleaning jobs which usually start from 6pm to 8pm. A typical working day in Black Ugandan British parents' lives is not only exhausting but is also mentally disturbing considering their job roles such as cleaning toilets. This experience leads Black Ugandan British parents in my study to be in a state of disbelief when they compare this experience to their Ugandan work experience and the fact that they do these jobs despite the risks and the trauma involved. This shocking, traumatising experience originating from doing low paid, low status jobs not only affect how Black Ugandan British parents view themselves in British society as worthless, degraded and not valued, but also influences the way they support their children's education so that they succeed in their education and secure decent jobs (see chapter 5).

Focusing on Nikita's narrative above, it appears that care work is perceived to be a better job option than cleaning, given her movements (from cleaning to care work) in her British employment history. Moving from cleaning to care work may also be due to the social support networks and employment connections Black Ugandan British parents have developed in England because they are in contact with each other, attend

the same churches, mosques and community centres. For example, if there is a vacancy at their work places, they are likely to let their friends know about this vacancy or in some cases; they can speak to the employer about their friends looking for work. Nikita's state of disbelief is brought about by her inability to secure a job worthy of her previous experience and skills in Uganda. This experience pushes her to support her children to succeed in their education with hope that they do not go through similar experiences.

More findings show how Black Ugandan British parents do similar jobs and how the racial inequalities and other barriers in the British employment industry such as discrimination (see exploitation section below) exacerbated by their refugee status lead Black Ugandan British parents to believe that the highest they can go in the British employment industry is care work.

When I came here, I ended up working in a London hotel cleaning rooms but left and I now work as a care assistant in a nursing home. (Sajeda)

I did a lot of secretariat work in Uganda...My job before I came to London was with the ministry of defence in Kampala...I was a secretary in the ministry of defence in Kampala...[now] I do care work...I look after old people, sometimes in their homes and sometimes in nursing homes. (Susan)

These employment patterns reveal how Black Ugandan British parents are disadvantaged in the UK employment system and how they occupy the lowest jobs in the UK employment system such as cleaning. Black Ugandan British parents' working class positioning in England has also led to Black Ugandan British parents feeling ashamed as revealed through their narratives:

I used to work with spear motors ...I worked as a motor mechanic for spear motors...I am *ashamed* of what I do now and I don't want my children to work in a factory...I iron clothes and pack clothes all day but for how much? We have to do more than one job to *survive*...what sort of life is this? It is not easy. (Sean)

The image of “survive” in Sean’s narrative indicates that he has no choice but to do the jobs he dislikes. When Sean talks about doing two jobs to survive, he means being able to earn a certain amount of money from which he can pay rent, other bills, provide for his family with basic things such as food, clothes and other necessities and to provide financial support to his extended family in Uganda to fulfil his Ugandan cultural expectations. Given the types of jobs he does and the money he earns, Sean feels ashamed because he cannot generate enough income to enable him to carry out his familial responsibilities and cultural expectations.

Sean expressed emotions and shameful feelings about working in a London factory and how he is judged in British society based on the jobs he does in England which do not require educational qualifications even though he has qualifications and valuable working experience from Uganda. Sean did not expect to work in a factory in England as neither his qualification nor his Ugandan work experience link or relate to ironing and packing clothes in a factory. When Sean compares the job he did in Uganda (together with the privilege, status, benefits that were attached to it and the lifestyle he had including a sense or a feeling of self-worth) to the jobs he does in England (which engenders a demoralising, degrading, deskilling experience) and the lifestyle he currently has, he feels ashamed. Sean’s jobs in England also bring embarrassment to him within the Ugandan community, as some Ugandans in England knew him in a different employment role back in Uganda. As he explains:

When I meet people who knew me in Uganda, I feel so embarrassed...they knew me as an important person, an engineer [but now] they know what I do here, they tell others, it is humiliating. (Sean)

Considering Sean's middle class background in Uganda, Sean is not expected to do the jobs he currently does because his parents invested in his education with the aim of getting him in high status, well paid and respectable jobs and he knew that and worked hard to achieve it. Having achieved this in Ugandan society, Sean feels that it is degrading to be positioned in his current jobs in England and consequently he feels "ashamed" as his lower UK employment position is exposed. This creates more problems for Sean as he feels that he is judged negatively within his own community. He is fearful that if information about his shameful employment status in England is revealed to other Ugandan people, this will bring even more shame.

Having lived a lifestyle perceived to be middle class in Uganda and having employed people viewed as the working class in Ugandan society such as house cleaners to work in his home setting, Sean feels ashamed of being a working class person in British society. The mental picture Sean holds about the working class in Ugandan society in relation to the jobs they do and their lifestyles further contribute to Sean feeling ashamed about the jobs he does in England. This coupled with the negative perceptions of the Black working class people in British society in relation to employment in Britain (the types of jobs they do and the low pay) (TUC, 2008, Mocombe and Tomlin, 2013) add to Sean's feelings of shamefulness. Until the British employment system recognises or values Sean's Ugandan background in relation to his education or qualification and employment history, Sean will not find an exit from his current situation to improve his job prospects and lifestyle in England. Valuing his qualifications and previous Ugandan

work experience may lead to better employment prospects and therefore replace his shameful feelings with feelings of self-worth.

Although the findings presented above suggest that Sean appears to take on a working class habitus (Bourdieu, 2010) he strives not to produce a generation of working class children, but rather to reproduce a generation of middle class children. The reasons behind Sean's feelings of shame influence the educational support Sean provides to his children to protect them from going through similar experiences of working class positioning in England. The following quote exemplifies the impact British working class positioning has on the Black Ugandan British parents in my study, and underlines their efforts to support their children's education:

We try not to think about our past in Uganda but it is hard...every time I wake up to go to work, *I feel anxious* but when I think about my children and the bills we have to pay, I grab my bag and go to work, *we don't have a choice now but to do the jobs available for us*...I have two jobs ... I am a care assistant and I am a cleaner at a primary school and my husband works in a factory, he packs sandwiches...All this hard work will pay off when our children graduate...this is the only hope we have so that our children don't go through what we are going through. (Hajra)

The image of feeling anxious suggests the danger of Hajra's working class positioning in England and how continuous anxiousness may lead to health problems. Hajra, like Sean, appears to believe that their chances of getting the jobs they are worthy of doing are limited and narrowing. However, the findings presented above also suggest that Hajra's employment experience in England is a huge influence on the way she supports her children's education. She aspires and expects her children to go to

university, graduate so that they get better jobs and experience a better lifestyle than her lifestyle in England. This aspiration is brought about by Hajra's middle class background from Uganda.

Other Black Ugandan British parents in my study highlighted similar emotions and feelings of disgrace in relation to their job experiences in England:

I was working with the East African community organisation and it was a very big organisation with different departments like the East African airways, East African Customs and Excise, East African Post and telecommunication and East African railway. I was a Briefing officer for three Airports, Entebbe, Nairobi and Dar es Salaam...I had a very good job... *I can't believe* I work in a hotel now...I work in the house keeping department cleaning, taking linen to the floors and collecting rubbish, it is sad... I work very hard ...I can't even provide for my family as I would like...*they pay me very little money*...I don't want my children to work in a hotel...I do and I will do everything I can to support them to get the best education so that they get good jobs. (Sadim)

Life was good in Uganda...I had a very good job with the Custodian board...I was their accountant...*I did cleaning as my first job* in London, I cleaned offices ...I left and *now work in a nursing home*...I look after old people, support them and care for their different needs. (Samantha).

My study shows that all my sample of parents have a middle class background from Uganda but how and why did Black Ugandan British parents end up in the jobs they do in England? Why do Black Ugandan British parents accept jobs that do not match their

qualifications, skills levels or previous work experience in Uganda? Why do Black Ugandan British parents continue to do these jobs despite the negative experiences deriving from such jobs? I would like to answer these questions by focusing on Sadim's and Samantha's narratives above. Sadim's state of disbelief and sorrowfulness about his working class employment position and low income is caused by a range of reasons. To begin with, Sadim did not think of ever being in the situation he is currently in (working in a hotel and his job roles). The roles Sadim is currently engaged in a London hotel were perceived by him to be roles for uneducated people who are viewed to be at the lowest class level in Ugandan society. Sadim's job positioning in England may also link to Plummer's argument about the issue of "racial discrimination and difference" and "the disproportionate unemployment of Black people" (Plummer, 2000, p.69) regardless of age and gender (TUC 2002) in the UK employment system. It is argued that this issue is a growing concern in both education and employment fields in Britain (Plummer, 2000, Mirza, 2009, Richardson, 2007, Gillborn, 2007). Mirza adds that the racial inequalities in the UK employment system have led to more Black people being employed in lower occupations (Mirza, 1997) and in low paid jobs (Mocombe and Tomlin, 2013) than White people (Mirza, 1997). This is supported by a Trade Union Congress (TUC) Report (2002) which states that "despite nearly a generation of race relations legislation in Britain, Black workers continue to face inequality in pay...[and] continue to face racism" (TUC, 2002,p.1). The TUC report goes further to suggest that in Britain, "Black workers continue to receive lower pay than White workers (TUC, 2002p.11). The TUC report suggests that "other factors [negatively] influencing the opportunities of Black workers to improve their employments and pay prospects" (TUC, 2002, p.5) include "discrimination" (TUC, 2002, p.5). Recent research by the TUC shows that 18 percent of Black youth aged between 16-24 were unemployed

compared to 8 percent of White youth in the same age group (TUC, 2012). It appears that the disproportionately high unemployment levels of Black youth in Britain is a continuing problem as “the 2012 data show an unemployment rate of 50%; with 1 in 5 young Black men currently not in employment or education” (TUC, 2012,p.11). This shows the entrenchment of racial inequalities in the UK employment system with Black young men at a disadvantage. Furthermore, according to the TUC Report, “Black women are more likely to be unemployed or economically inactive than any other group in the labour market, suffer cultural stereotyping-resulting in them having to take jobs at lower skills level than they are qualified for, disproportionately working in temporary jobs and concentrated in low paid and low status jobs” (TUC, 2008,p.26). This highlights gender, class and racial discrimination in the British labour market with Black women triply disadvantaged. It is argued that the “discrimination in the labour force on the basis of race ” (Datta, et al 2006,p.8) has contributed to “a high concentration of migrants in the bottom labour market” (Datta, et al 2006, p.8). More arguments have been put forward that migrants at the lower end of the British labour market work in cleaning, caring and hospitality sectors (Evans et al, 2005; Bloch, 2006, Datta et al, 2006) and experience inequalities in the British labour market such as low pay (Samers, 2002). Sadim’s and Samantha’s as well as other Black Ugandan British parents narratives above would seem to provide further support for these arguments. Moreover, findings from my study seem to suggest that some Black Ugandan British parents are aware of the discrimination prevalent in the employment sector as illustrated in Famisa’s narrative:

It is easy for White people but hard for Black people to get good well-paid professional jobs...I am not saying that Black people don’t get professional jobs. They do get professional jobs but they struggle. (Famisa)

Famisa seems to believe that there is an issue of racial discrimination in the UK employment system, which has consequently led her to do low status, low paid jobs in Britain. The findings above may also be interpreted that Famisa may implicitly be referring to her own employment experiences in England and her failure to secure a job in her previous field. From her point of view and her own employment experiences in England, Famisa seems to believe that Black people have to wrestle to overcome the great difficulties, challenges and barriers in their way to secure professional jobs. She expresses this through an image of “struggle” in her narrative above. Her awareness of the racial discrimination in the British employment sector seems to be shared by Black Ugandan British parents in my study as identified in Sean’s narrative.

Also, do not forget that there is competition in the job market. *It is easy for some to get good jobs but unfortunately not easy for others* especially if you are a *foreigner*. I pray all my children get professional jobs. (Sean)

Analysing the language Sean uses and the image of “a foreigner”, Sean seems to believe that the racial discrimination in the British employment sector described by the TUC (2002) and Datta, et al (2006) above coupled with his migration background has contributed to him being stuck in the jobs he does.

More arguments have been put forward that the racial discrimination in the British employment sector has also led to Black Africans receiving low wages in the London labour market (Spence, 2005). This coupled with Brown’s arguments about the White middle–class having social advantageous positions and the “failure of the British system to recognise foreign qualifications” (Datta, et al 2006, p.4) including those awarded by British exam boards, appear to leave Black Ugandan British parents in this study with

limited chances or opportunities of getting work outside cleaning, hotel and the care work sectors. In trying to understand the employment positions these parents find themselves in, it is important to mention that most former British colonies still use British exam boards therefore the qualifications received in Uganda should be of equal value, but they are considered lower in England than those obtained in England. The racial inequality experienced by Black people in the British labour market is highlighted by Mason who argues that “Black people are likely to be in lower occupations than their White counterparts” (Mason, 2000, p.55) even when qualifications are taken into account (Mason, 2000).

The notion that Black migrants are at the bottom end of the British labour market (Holgate, 2004, May et al, 2006, McDowell, 2004) also appears to leave Black Ugandan British parents with limited opportunities of moving up the social economic or social class ladder and finding jobs in England worthy of their qualifications, their Ugandan previous work experiences and skills. It is argued that Black migrants do unskilled and poorly paid work such as cleaning (Sassen, 1991, McDowell, 2004, Goos and Manning, 2003). In chapter 1, I also discussed how Black Africans are disadvantaged in the British Employment system and how they are not employed in sectors that correspond with their education qualifications. My study shows this trend in Black Ugandan British parents’ employment in England.

4.4.5 Exploitation

In addition, my study shows that Black Ugandan British parents are exploited (doing more workload than they are contracted to do but only being paid for the amount of work they are contracted to do) and trapped in low income jobs as Sadim explains.

I *don't believe* what is going on in our lives now, a big change...the way we live, the jobs we do, the money we earn and the way we are *treated* at work *as if we are not human beings who have feelings*...Can you imagine doing two peoples' jobs for the same money?...if some people are off work, they ask us to do their jobs but they don't pay us extra money for doing their jobs...it is sad but what can we do?...we have to work to live. (Sadim)

Sadim uses similar words of employer exploitation to describe his frustration at doing the jobs he does in London, which suggests that Sadim is not only irritated and tired of the jobs he does, but he is also angry about the way he is degraded at his work place. In the parental involvement chapter, it will be seen that Sadim talks about the devaluation of his education and his degrading experience in Britain. Sadim's vulnerable position in England (see introductory chapter), asylum seeking experiences (status background), living in poor housing conditions, doing two to three low skilled jobs, lack of autonomy in the workplace in England have all led to the low self-esteem of this Ugandan family. This has not only contributed to Sadim's acceptance of this unfair treatment at work, but also puts him in a difficult, defenceless situation and he is unable to take action to confront his employers who take advantage of his vulnerability and who exercise the unfair treatment. Earning a living to support himself, his family and to fulfil his cultural responsibilities is a priority that limits him from taking action to challenge his employers' behaviour towards him and this form of exploitation. The chances of escaping the hardships this family faces in their employment are minimal unless their qualifications are recognised, their previous experiences acknowledged and valued, the asylum seeking process reviewed for example, (speeding up the application process and

coming to the decision quicker) and discrimination eliminated in the UK employment system.

Sadim's narrative above provides us with an understanding of what Black Ugandan migrants from an asylum seeking background go through in the British employment industry. It also helps us to understand the background they bring to supporting their children's education in England and how this background informs the educational support they provide to their children to protect them from these negative experiences.

As Black people are likely to be unemployed compared to White people (Ladson-Billings and Gillborn, 2004) in the British labour market, and considering the Black/White employment gap (unemployment rates for Black people are much higher than White people) (Orr, 1999, Mirza, 2009), it appears that earning a living is a priority to Sadim's family. The rising levels of inequality between White and Black people in employment (Goos and Manning, 2003, May et al., 2006) appear to leave Black Ugandan British parents in this study with limited opportunities of securing well-paid professional jobs. Black Ugandan British parents in this study hold on to the low paid jobs they do in England for 'survival' purposes. In addition to supporting their families in England, Black Ugandan British parents in this study also support their relatives and extended families in Uganda who need financial support. As Black Ugandan British parents are in low paid employment, it means that they have to do more than one job to 'make ends meet'.

The employment experiences highlighted above of the Black Ugandan British parents in this study emphasise their working class positions in England. The similar working conditions in factories, hotels, caring and cleaning sectors experienced by the parents in my study, coupled with being subject to the authority of their employers and managers (Fulcher and Scott 2007) led these parents to develop ways of coping and supporting

each other (through a sense of solidarity (Moore et al., 2010) within the Ugandan community – this is discussed in detail in chapter 5). The one to two low paid jobs Black Ugandan British parents in my study do, the money they earn and unfair treatment experienced from their bosses have all led to their development of working class consciousness as these parents came to realise what class they belong to in England. This recognition that they have made a big step down the social class ladder further contributed to their employment frustrations in England.

While this section has focused on discussing Black Ugandan British parents' middle class employment experiences in Uganda and their working class employment experiences in England, the next section will illustrate how a combination of their middleclass education and employment in Uganda together with their working class employment experiences in England influence the range and type of support they provide to their children's learning.

4.5 Class and education in Uganda

This section focuses on class and education in Uganda because findings from my study suggested a relationship between Black Ugandan British parents' middle class educational backgrounds and the educational support they provided to their children. It begins by discussing class and education in a Ugandan context and examines the education received by the Ugandan middle class who are advantaged in Ugandan society. This discussion is important because it facilitates the process of understanding the background the Black Ugandan British parents in my study brought to supporting their children's education in England. A detailed discussion of Black Ugandan British parents' educational backgrounds is provided to highlight how the Black Ugandan British parents in my study have middle class backgrounds and how these backgrounds intersect with their cultural background in shaping the nature of the educational support

they provide to their children in England. These backgrounds also influenced their decisions and actions as they support their children's education in general including choosing schools for their children in England.

4.5.1 Definition of schools in Uganda

Before I continue, it is important to clarify some of the terminologies used to describe public and private schools in Uganda. In Uganda, the term 'public school' usually refers to government schools funded by the government and therefore, government regulations and conditions apply in the management and administering of 'public schools'. In England, such schools would be termed or defined as state schools. In regard to Ugandan 'private schools', they are independent of the government administration and most government regulations and conditions do not apply to 'private schools'. In Uganda today, private schools are very expensive, they are viewed as schools where the rich send their children to get an education and are strongly associated with the Ugandan upper and middle classes (Semakula, 2013).

4.5.2 Establishment of middle class schools in Uganda

Historically, a hierarchy of private schools for the middle classes existed in Ugandan society and such schools include Gayaza High school which was established in 1905 by the church missionary society of England and Kings College Budo which was established in 1906 by the Church of England (Energynewz online). The Catholic fathers from Europe established St Mary's College Kisubi in 1906 and the Mill Hill Mission from London established Namilyango College in 1902 (Energynewz online).

However, unlike Catholic and Protestant children, "Muslim children were not able to receive [an] education since both Catholic and Protestant founded schools mostly refused to accept them; and no funding was available from outside [churches] to establish Muslim schools since they had lost their benefactor, Turkey, in the First World

War” (Energynewz online). Refusing to accept Muslim children in Catholic and Protestant- founded schools discussed above may have been a driving force behind the Ugandan elites establishing schools with an Islamic background such as Kibuli established in 1945 and Prince Badru Kakungulu provided the land on which the school is built “with a major objective of educating Muslim children in order to redress the historical imbalance in Muslim education relative to other religious denominations” (Kibuliss online). Nabisunsa was also founded by Prince Badru Kakungulu in 1954 (Nabisunsagirls online; Batte, 2012).

This may also be the root cause why the parents of Muslim parents in my study sent their children to schools with an Islamic background in Uganda. The establishment of religious schools in Uganda indicates the association of religion with education and how the Europeans have a history in the Ugandan education system. It is however important to mention that “the colonial government did not participate in the establishment of formal education [in Uganda] until 1925, when they started giving grants and facilitating the already established schools” (energynewz online). The colonial government’s participation in the establishment of formal education from 1925 onwards shows a long-term history of Britain in the Ugandan education system and how this may be associated with the class-differentiated education prevalent during British colonialism and which continues in Ugandan society today. This is supported by Semakula (2013) who observes that Gayaza High school founded with a motive of educating girls based on a strong Christian foundation and which had a link and a strong relationship with Sherborne school for girls in England in the 1950s, reinforced a class structure based on wealth and status and “accommodated only children of whose parents were of high status [in Ugandan society]” (Semakula, 2013, p.1). This seems to suggest

social class differentiation in the Ugandan education system with the wealthy and those of high status being at an advantage.

King's College Budo also has a history of educating children from a high status background for example, children of Ugandan politicians and royal families. Other private boarding schools where the Ugandan middle class educate their children include Kibuli senior secondary school and Nabisunsa girls' school, which were established by the Ugandan elites. International schools for example, Taibah and Kabojja were also established by the Ugandan elites to educate the children of the rich, and the middle classes in Ugandan society. The International School of Uganda (ISU) "established in 1967 offering an international education program for students 3 to 19 years old" (ISU website) as well as educating children from wealthy and middle class backgrounds also educates children of the political elite such as Ambassadors in Uganda.

4.5.3 Why attend middle class Ugandan schools?

The Ugandan middle class send their children to private schools for various reasons, which include gaining high quality education that is linked to job security and middle class reproduction in Ugandan society. In Uganda education is strongly associated with attaining professional jobs and therefore, the Ugandan middle class take advantage of this by sending their children to private schools. As high status professional and well-paid jobs are associated with the Ugandan middle-classness, Ugandan middle class parents desire their children to get such jobs and private schooling is crucial in the process of securing such jobs. The factors that influenced Black Ugandan British parents in my study to choose private schools for their children born in England will be discussed in chapter 5. This chapter also discusses how education qualifications from overseas are not valued in England (see Black Ugandan parents' employment patterns in England section above).

4.5.4 Contemporary class differentiation in Ugandan schools

While the children of the privileged in Uganda are able to access private education schooling in private schools such as those mentioned above, most “children of poor families” (Nishimura, Yamano and Sasaoka, 2005,p.1) access Universal Primary Education (UPE) and Universal Secondary Education (USE) because it is free for children at primary and secondary levels. This seems to suggest that like in England, social class differentiation in education exists in Uganda with Ugandan middle class children gaining a higher quality education provided in private boarding schools in Uganda.

Omagor suggests that the types of schools Ugandan children attend define their social class background in Uganda (Omagor, 2011). According to Omagor, if a Ugandan parent affords to send his or her children to Kampala school, St. Mary’s College Namagunga or Greenhill Academy, then that Ugandan parent is middle class. Ugandan middle class children are perceived differently from Ugandan children who attend Universal Primary Education and Universal Secondary Education in Ugandan society. According to Omagor, there are differences in the lifestyle of middle class and universally educated Ugandan children, and the quality of education and educational resources provided to such children also differ (Omagor, 2011).

Having outlined the educational provision for the different class groups in Uganda, the next section develops insight into the study participants’ middle class identities and experience of middle class education in Uganda.

4.5.5 Black Ugandan British parents' middle class identities and education

Findings from my study show that Black Ugandan British parents in my study have middle class educational backgrounds and were all educated in private primary and secondary schools in Uganda as shown in table 6 below.

Borough	Family	Mother	Father	Primary education in Uganda	Secondary education in Uganda
North London Borough	1	Everim	Sean	Gayaza Junior school (Everim) Buddo Junior school (Sean)	Gayaza High school(Everim) Buddo Secondary school (Sean)
	2	Nikita	Dawud	Kibuli Demonstration School (Nikita) Kibuli Demonstration School (Dawud)	Nabisunsa Secondary school(Nikita) Kibuli secondary school (Dawud)
	3	Sajeda		Kibuli Demonstration school	Nabisunsa secondary school
	4	Magna	Sadim	Kibuli Demonstration school (Magna) Kawempe Muslim primary school (Sadim)	Kibuli secondary school (Magna) Kibuli secondary school (Magna)
	5	Famisa		Kibuli demonstration school	Nabisunsa secondary school
	6	Ragina		Nkoni primary Catholic school	Nkoni Catholicsecondary school
	7	Susan		Nabbingo Junior school	Nabbing secondary school
	8	Samantha		Namagunga Junior Catholicprimary school	Namagunga Catholicsecondary school
South London borough	9	Hajra	Sagid	Gombe Muslim primary school (Hajra) Kabasanda Muslim primary school (Sagid)	Nabisunsa secondary school (Hajra) Kibuli secondary school (Sagid)
	10	Sofiah	Mugram	Namagabi primary school (Sofiah), Kibuli primary school (Mugram)	Kibuli secondary school (Sofiah) and (Mugram)

Table 6 Participants education backgrounds

Black Ugandan British parents' narratives also show that they attended private schools in Uganda as Magna explains:

My parents loved education and wanted all of us to get good jobs that pay good money ...paying school fees for us was a priority and they made sure that our school fees were saved in advance to make sure we go back to school on time after the school holidays...my family is very big and my mum had eight of us...they worked very hard to put us in private boarding schools...a lot of things were important to them but educating us was more important than anything else...we worked hard too in school in order not to disappoint them. (Magna)

These findings suggest that education was a priority to Magna's parents and also illustrate how Magna was accountable for her own learning. My study not only shows how Black Ugandan British parents in my study were educated in private schools but also shows how their parents accumulated money to educate them in private schools.

My father had a good job but also had a business that generated money to help with our school fees, we all went to private secondary schools. (Everim)

Across the families, Black Ugandan British parents' accounts reveal their middleclass education background. For example:

My parents took me to a boarding school when I was young, they took me to [Kabasanda] primary school, it was a boarding school and they visited me on parents' days...when I finished primary school they took me to [Kibuli SS] because it was my first choice and I got the grades to get in ... I had two choices, [Kibuli and Gombe] but got into [Kibuli] because it was the first choice and I wanted to go there and my parents also wanted me to go there because I could also learn Islamic studies. The school is a very good private boarding school... I had a good time at [Kibuli]...I remember the prep times and I will never forget the DOS [Director of Studies] who was always on our backs, you must study hard, he always made a point of studying hard and passing the exams, reminding us about the money our parents paid for fees, it was a lot of money, it was a private boarding school, I was blessed to be there and did my best in my education. (Sagid)

These findings not only highlight the shared responsibility felt by the parents, children and the school in pursuing academic success for Ugandan children in Uganda but also reveal some of the underlying factors such as culture (religion) that influenced Sagid's parents to educate Sagid in a private school.

More findings from my study suggest how Black Ugandan British parents' middle class backgrounds provided access to elite education in private schools in Uganda.

We had a good education... In Uganda, we had access to the best boarding schools. Our parents tried their best for us and paid for our education in the best schools in Uganda... I went to [Buddo] junior and [Buddo] senior secondary school...This beautiful wife of mine went to [Gayaza] high school. I am so proud of her ...I use my home background education to help my children in maths and English. (Sean)

The last statement of the above quote also seems to suggest that Sean draws on the educational knowledge he gained in private schools in Uganda to support his children's education. However, this background, the influence it has on Sean's educational support provision is not recognised in England. The wider negative perceptions of Black working class parents in relation to academic support provision (Davidson and Alexis, 2012) coupled with Black Ugandan British parents' working class positioning in England seem to make their middleclass education backgrounds invisible. The jobs Black Ugandan British parents do in England (as discussed above) seem to automatically put them in a working class category and the implication of this is that the schools in England view them as working class parents. I now move on to discuss how Black Ugandan British parents' middle class background influence their school choices in England.

4.5.6 Black Ugandan British parents and school choices

Before I discuss how Black Ugandan British parents go about choosing schools for their children in England, I would like to discuss the "the 1988 Education Reform Act" (Crozier and Reay 2005, p.23) to provide an understanding of this Act in relation to parental choice in the English education system and how it sought to help "parents...to choose the best school to suit their children's educational needs" (Crozier and Reay 2005, p.23). Crozier and Reay state that "the 1988 Education Reform Act promised parents much more information, through league tables, about the performance of schools and individual pupils" (Crozier and Reay 2005,p.23). Through providing more information McKenley notes that the Education Act, 1988 "strengthens parents' rights to choose their children's schools" (McKenley, 2005, p.95). Hornby also states that in order to raise education standards in all schools in England, parents have been given "a

much bigger say in deciding which school their children will attend” (Hornby, 2000,p.14). Crozier has found that “since 1988, parents have become much more engaged in choosing their children’s schools” (Crozier, 2012, p.2). Arguments about social class in relation to parental choice have dominated educational debates such that it has been argued that unlike working class parents, White middle class parents give “higher priority to school reputation and longer term career concerns” (Fulcher and Scott, 2007, p.348). My study suggests that like White middle class parents, Black Ugandan British parents give “higher priority to school reputation and longer-term career concerns” (ibid). As Susan explains:

We think about the future of our children, especially in this country. We want them to get the best jobs so they must be educated well and really pass well and to pass well we have a lot to do beginning with a good school...they went to [St Bruce’s] primary school. It is a Church of England school. It is a very good school. (Susan)

These findings illustrate that Susan considers the school reputation and the long-term career of her children as she chooses schools for her children in England.

More arguments have been put forward that “a growing competition for jobs ... [has] led [White] middle class parents to use their full weight in the education market in order to give their children a competitive edge” (Fulcher and Scott, 2007,p.348) and “use their material and cultural capital to maximize their children’s educational advantages” (Fulcher and Scott, 2007,p.337). Lockwood add that “they [White middle class parents] always use their superior moral and material resources to full effect, above all by

giving their children a competitive edge in the main site of social selection, the education system” (Lockwood , 1995,p.10).

For parents in my study, a “growing competition for jobs” (Fulcher and Scott, 2007p.348) is not the only factor that influences them to “use their full weight in the education market (Fulcher and Scott, 2007, p.337). Rather, a range of factors (discussed in detail in chapter 5) influence Black Ugandan British parents to use their full weight in the education market as they support their children’s education. My study further reveals how Black Ugandan British parents have adopted a culturalistic approach, which they use to choose schools for their children in England. As illustrated in Samantha’s narrative:

Catholic schools are very good and if the children go to Catholic schools, you don’t need to worry about the discipline and practicing religion because of the routine in Catholic schools, children pray before the lessons, lunch times and at the end of the day...this is what I need for my children...It is the same thing we did in [St Mary’s college Namagunga]...the environment was peaceful...I asked the priest in my church to write a letter for me to confirm that I go to church when I applied for Catholic schools for my children...I wanted them to go to Catholic schools because they are good at everything and they are good schools... their education is important...they went to a Catholic primary school.

(Samantha)

These findings suggest that Samantha uses a different way to achieve the same objectives of securing higher quality institutions for her children and uses different forms of capital to achieve academic success for her children.

More findings from my study confirm that Black Ugandan British parents use their middle class education backgrounds to choose schools for their children.

I studied in a Catholic private secondary boarding school in Masaka, [Nkoni] boarding school. It is a very good school... the church was just next to our hostels so it was a school routine to go to church and everyone had to go I didn't have problems with my education...my children went to [St. Francis] primary school, the church helped me with the letter...I go to church every Sunday and when I am off work. (Ragina)

This suggests that in addition to her class background, other factors such as cultural background (religion) have a powerful influence on the way Ragina supports her children's education and influence her to choose schools for her children. A similar intersection of class and culture in influencing school choices is also located in Sean's narrative.

We went to church of Uganda schools from primary schools to secondary schools. All my brothers and sisters went to church of Uganda schools...[here] we managed to get places in the Church of England primary school for all my children. When one child gets in, it is easy for others to get in...We were happy because Church of England schools are very good schools. It is the same in Uganda; Church of Uganda schools are very good and are well respected (Sean).

In my methodology chapter, I discussed how I adopted Yosso's (2005) concept of community cultural wealth to analyse data from my study and how I theorised the findings using CRT. Here, I would like to concentrate on discussing how Black Ugandan British parents from my study demonstrated their aspirational, social and navigational capitals in choosing schools for their children in England based on the findings above but before that it is important to discuss how Yosso defines these capitals.

4.5.7 Community Cultural Wealth

Yosso challenges “the traditional interpretations of Bourdieuean cultural capital theory (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977)” (Yosso, 2005, p.70) and introduces “an alternative concept called community cultural wealth” (Yosso, 2005, p.70). According to Yosso the various forms of capital nurtured through cultural wealth include, aspirational, navigational, social, linguistic, familial and resistant capital (Yosso, 2005). Maylor (2014) gives a detailed description of this community cultural wealth. According to Maylor, Yosso, 2005 identified six types of community cultural wealth “amongst people of colour in America” (Maylor, 2014, p.21) which are outlined below:

Aspirational capital refers to the ability to maintain hopes and dreams for the future, even in the face of real and perceived barriers. This resiliency is evidenced in those who allow themselves and their children to dream of possibilities beyond their present circumstances, often without the objective means to attain goals...

Linguistic capital includes the intellectual and social skills attained through communication experiences in more than one language and/or style...Linguistic capital reflects the idea that Students of Color arrive at school with multiple language and communication skills...

Familial capital refers to the cultural knowledges nurtured among familia (kin) that carry a sense of community history, memory and cultural intuition...

Social capital can be understood as networks of people and community resources...[which] can provide both instrument and emotional support to navigate through society's institutions.

Navigational capital-refers to skills of manoeuvring through social institutions [e.g., universities, schools, the job market and judicial systems] [and] structures of inequality permeated by racism and the resiliency students develop to persist through institutional barriers.

Resistant capital refers [to] those knowledges and skills fostered through oppositional behaviour that challenges inequality....This form of cultural wealth is grounded in the legacy of resistance to subordination exhibited by Communities of Color....Furthermore, maintaining and passing on the multiple dimensions of community cultural wealth is also part of the knowledge base of resistant capital (Yosso 2005:78-80 cited in Maylor, 2104, p.21).

According to Yosso, this community cultural wealth framework (Yosso, 2005) “shifts the lens of research to focus on the various cultural knowledges, skills and abilities nurtured by families and communities” (Burciaga and Erbstein, 2010p.4). Through this lens, I analysed data from my study. Findings from my study challenge the traditional interpretations of cultural capital and viewing communities of colour in terms of cultural poverty disadvantages (Love, 2004, Yosso, 2005) and suggest that Black Ugandan British parents in my study have community cultural wealth (Yosso, 2005) that they use to support their children’s education.

Yosso highlights the importance of valuing “cultural knowledge, social skills, abilities and contacts possessed by socially marginalised groups that often go unrecognised and unacknowledged” (Yosso, 2005, p.69). Findings from my study show that Black Ugandan British parents in my study have various forms of ‘cultural wealth’, which goes unrecognised, unacknowledged and unvalued as seen in chapters 3 and as demonstrated in this chapter and chapter 5.

The findings from my study above suggest how Black Ugandan British parents’ aspirational capital for their children to achieve highly and get good jobs informs their actions of choosing “very good” schools for their children, which in their view, appears to be Catholic schools (Samantha and Ragina) and Church of England schools (Sean). Their ultimate goal of choosing very good schools is to ensure that their children are in schools, which they believe their children will be able to achieve academically as well as fulfilling their religious or spiritual needs. This valuable cultural capital possessed by Black Ugandan British parents appears to go unacknowledged in English schools because there is a lack of knowledge about the class background of Ugandan parents in schools and wider education.

In regard to Yosso's perspective on social capital, I would like to concentrate on Ragina's and Samantha's narratives above as they clearly demonstrate their use of social capital developed through churches. Their narratives demonstrate that they have social networks developed through their churches, which they utilise effectively in the process of choosing schools for their children. For example, Samantha demonstrates her social capital by sharing her need or her desires for her children to get into Catholic schools with the priest in her church who was then able to "write a letter" for Samantha which she used to meet the criteria of the schools in order for her children to get places in the Catholic schools. For Ragina, the starting point of developing her social capital was through regular visits to her church, which helped in developing good relationships with members in her church. This cultural approach was useful as she managed to accumulate social capital, which she then used wisely and managed to get a letter, which she used to get her children into Catholic schools.

In regard to navigational capital, my study findings above can also be interpreted in different ways. Firstly, Black Ugandan British parents' educational and cultural backgrounds appear to inform their understanding of the high quality education provided in Catholic and Church of Uganda schools. This background combined with the positive perceptions of Ugandan Catholic and Church of Uganda schools in Ugandan society appear to influence them to place their children in Catholic and Church of England schools (a detailed discussion of the positive perceptions of Catholic and Church of England schools is provided below). Secondly, their Ugandan background knowledge about how parents in Uganda manage to place their children into Catholic and Church of Uganda schools (for example, through the high education grades achieved by children together with their religious background (Catholic or Protestant background) and social networking help parents in Uganda to place their children in

Catholic and Church of Uganda schools. However, moving to England means that they are unable to use their Ugandan social network systems to support them to place their children in Catholic and Church of England schools which they seem to believe to be “very good” schools for their children. Analysing their narratives above, it appears that they have navigational capital developed through their churches, which they utilise to navigate the English education system as they search for good schools and the best education for their British Ugandan children. Maylor, (2014, p.31) also suggests that Black “parents [draw] on the understandings they develop...about the English education system from their own attendance at church, community centres and groups, and their children’s attendance at supplementary schools to navigate mainstream school systems”. Chapter 5 of this thesis also discusses how Black Ugandan British parents have navigational capital developed through their community centres, mosques and supplementary schools, which they use to support their children’s education. Black Ugandan British parents also demonstrate Black Ugandan British parents’ use of navigational capital by sending Black Ugandan British excluded from English mainstream schools and those who are at risk of being excluded and failing academically in English mainstream schools to private boarding schools in Uganda (see chapter 5).

Examining the Black Ugandan British parents’ narrative presented above, it appears that while Catholic parents attended private boarding Catholic schools in Ugandan and chose schools with a Catholic background for their children in England, Protestant parents attended private boarding schools with the Protestant background and chose schools with the Protestant background for their children at primary level in England. In Uganda Catholic private boarding schools are considered to provide high quality education. A similar view is held of children who attend the Church of Uganda schools.

The grounds on which Catholic and Protestant schools were established and the participation of the British colonialists in the established schools from 1925 onwards discussed above may have left a legacy (following Ugandan independence) of religious and social class attachments to such schools. This legacy may still be associated with the way children who are educated in such schools are viewed in Ugandan society today. Black Ugandan British parents' approach to school choice in England may also be rooted in this historical background. It may also be seen as an intergenerational practice learned from their parents and how their parents chose middle class schools for them in Uganda.

Examining table 6 above, it appears that religion is valued highly in Black Ugandan British parents' lives and appears to be considered when choosing schools for their children to attend in England. Muslim parents in my study attended schools with an Islamic background in Uganda.

The findings from my study presented above can also be interpreted that as well as using their middle class education and cultural backgrounds to choose schools for their children in England, Black Ugandan British parents have accumulated social and cultural capitals to support their children's education in England. Orr defines social capital "as an ability to work together to achieve social ends, based on past experiences and attachments" (Orr, 1999, p.13). According to Orr, past experiences and attachments include community networks, organisations, common bonds, loyalty, and trust and confidence" (Orr, 1999, p.13). Furthermore, writing about the US context, Orr suggests that the Black social capital include " church, news papers, Civil rights organisations, Black colleges, Black neighbourhoods, Black public officials, Black middle class" (Orr, 1999,p.13). The findings from my study above indicate that Black Ugandan British parents' connections to the church and relationship with church members are forms of

cultural and social capitals that enabled Black Ugandan British parents and the church members to achieve a goal of getting Black Ugandan British children into Church of England and Catholic schools. This suggests that these Ugandan families have developed Ugandan social and cultural networks in England and have been able to accumulate valuable forms of cultural and social capital, which they use to promote their children's education in Britain.

Orr further describes, "social capital as social relations that facilitate action...social capital consists of relations among persons that allow the achievement of goals that could not be achieved in its absence" (Orr, 1999, pp.13-14). It appears that Black Ugandan British parents' relationship with church members facilitated action and allowed them to place their children in Church of England and Catholic schools in England.

My study suggests that like the White middle class parents, Black Ugandan British parents strive to get their children into schools that they believe will enable their children to achieve academic success and seem to have similar views as White middleclass parents in Power et al's work who "believed that educational success was crucial in determining their child's prospects, and that getting their child into the right kind of... school was crucial in bringing it about" (Power et al., 2003,p.32). It also suggests the need to broaden the scope of understanding about the educational market and how it works in regard to school choice from the perspective of White middle class parents for example, "moving home to get their children into the catchment area for the best state primary and secondary education" (Moore, et al., 2010, p.45), to include Black Ugandan British parents' cultural perspective for example, (religious perspective and developed social connections or networks). My study also highlights the importance of understanding Black Ugandan British parents' various forms of cultural

and social capital they use to make the best educational choices for their children and highlights the need to understand other avenues Black Ugandan British parents use to achieve the same objective of making the best education choices for their children (this is discussed further in chapter 5).

In regard to the White middle class and school choice, it is also important to mention that the White middle class is not a homogenous group in regard to school choice. In their study of the White middle class identities and urban schooling, Reay, Crozier and James found that “[some] White middle classes send...their children to urban comprehensive [schools]” (Reay, Crozier and James, 2011,p.122) and “one of their intentions in choosing the urban comprehensive school was to provide a more expansive and diverse experience for their children which would provide them with opportunities to prepare them as global twenty first century and even cosmopolitan citizens” (Reay, Crozier and James, 2011,p.124).

In regard to the intentions in choosing the urban comprehensive schools, the difference between the intentions of the White middle class parents in Reay, Crozier and James’s study and parents in my study is that for parents in my study, it is not a choice. My sample of parents send their children to comprehensive schools to get an education and not “to provide a more expansive and diverse experience for their children” (Reay, Crozier and James, 2011, p.124).

This section discussed how Black Ugandan British parents’ middleclass education backgrounds inform their choice of school for their children to attend and the educational support they give their children. It has highlighted that through their Ugandan middleclass education lens, Black Ugandan British parents in my study provide parental educational support to their children in England. However, Black

Ugandan British parents' middleclass backgrounds appear to be unheard-of and are therefore unknown in England.

4.6 Summary

Various conclusions may be drawn from this chapter in regard to class and education and class and employment in relation to educational support provision. My study shows how Ugandan society is structured in terms of class and highlighted class complexities as Black Ugandan British parents in my study positioned as working class in England brought their middle class aspirations from Uganda to supporting their children's education in England. We have seen how Black Ugandan British parents' middle class education and cultural backgrounds interrelate in influencing their parental educational support provision and school choices in England. This chapter highlighted the need for understanding the factors that influence Black Ugandan British parents' educational support provision and school choices and the importance of understanding how Black Ugandan British parents manoeuvre in the English educational market particularly in relation to school choice. Black Ugandan British parents' culturalistic approach to school choice and education support provision appears to be missed in the educational discourses in England. In contrast in educational debates we often hear about White middle class parents and their taken for granted cultural capital which they use to secure school choices (Archer and Francis, 2007).

The term cultural capital is also often used to highlight "the positive attitudes towards education and work which, are seen to be middle class characteristics" (Moore, et al 2010p.47) primarily formulated with reference to White middle class communities (Savage, 2000; Archer and Francis, 2007). My study suggests that Black Ugandan British parents engage in a process of networking within the wider community and cultural places to secure schools for their children. Their Ugandan education, class and

cultural backgrounds from Uganda all contribute to the types of schools they choose for their children in England. This indicates that Black Ugandan British parents brought with them some sort of cultural capital in the right 'currency' (Ball, Bowe and Gewirtz, 1994) which they use to choose schools for their children and to support their children's learning in England. As well as challenging the educational discourses around the traditional interpretations of cultural capital and viewing communities of colour as having cultural poverty disadvantages (Love, 2004, Yosso, 2005), my study highlights that Black Ugandan British parents have various forms of capital nurtured through community cultural wealth including aspirational, navigational and social capital (Yosso, 2005). This capital seems to be very valuable to Black Ugandan British parents and their children as seen in the way Black Ugandan British parents use it to support their children's learning in England. However, these forms of capital go unnoticed and are therefore unacknowledged. As well as calling for the need to understand how the history of social class and education in Uganda influence the way Black Ugandan British parents in my study support their children's education and their school choices in England, my study highlights the importance of understanding social class and education in Ugandan society today and the influence it has on Black Ugandan British parents' ways of supporting their children's learning.

The Ugandan background of class highlights the importance of understanding that societies across the world have been organised differently and therefore their approach to the meaning of class may be different from the European perspective. In a Ugandan perspective, the term social class can be defined in various ways depending on how individuals use it and how they perceive themselves in relation to social class. While the civil servants and professionals such as doctors, lawyers and teachers appear to fall in the 'middle class' category, the serfs seem to occupy the lowest jobs in Ugandan

society. It has been seen that education and employment are associated with social class in Uganda and education prepares individuals for their position or future roles in Ugandan society through qualifications. From a Ugandan perspective, class is associated with power, wealth, status, prestige, privilege, education, qualifications, positions, high salaries, lifestyle, taste, outlooks and interests. This is the background Black Ugandan British parents in my study attach to the meaning of class; it is the background they brought with them to England and it is the background they use to support or promote their children's education in England. However, their Ugandan middleclassness and their middleclass aspirations appear to be invisible in England. We have seen how class and employment shape the educational support Black Ugandan British parents give to their children. Black Ugandan British parents' double class identities are major influences on the way Black Ugandan British parents support their children's education.

This chapter also drew attention to class complexities as Ugandan professionals do jobs that do not match their professional backgrounds. While Black Ugandan British parents' professions or occupations such as accountants place them in social class (i) on the Registrar General classification of class in England, Black Ugandan British parents who were accountants in Uganda are currently in other occupations including bus driving which is social class iii (M) on the Registrar General classification of class in England. We have seen that skilled manual occupations such as carpenters are in social class iii (M) on the Registrar General Classification of class in England. However, the Black Ugandan British parents in my study for example; Dawud is now placed in social class (v) as he is in an unskilled position in a London factory. Civil servants and other professionals such as engineers are now in social class (v) based on the Registrar General classification as they are in low paid unskilled occupations such as cleaning and

factory work. In sum, it appears that although some Black Ugandan British parents' professional backgrounds seem to fit in well with the registrar general's classification of social classes, it appears that there is a mismatch as they are engaged in jobs that do not match their professional backgrounds. Therefore, Ugandan professionals in my study for example, accountants appear to fall out of social class 1 described by the registrar general. This coupled with the jobs they do, the money they earn and their experiences in the British labour market highlights the inequalities in the British labour market and questions the definition of class based on occupational grounds as described by the Registrar general's classification of class.

Black Ugandan British parents negative experiences in England (Asylum seeking experiences, experiences in working class positions, low income, poor living conditions, qualifications and previous experiences devaluation) has led to their deskilling and shameful feelings amongst Black Ugandan British parents. My sample of parents are disadvantaged in the UK employment system despite the equal opportunity policy, equality and race relations legislation in place. The change to working class positions in England has led to some implications including Black Ugandan British parents being exploited in terrible working environments.

Chapter five: Parental support of children's learning and deployment of educational strategies

5.1 Introduction

This chapter concentrates on how Black Ugandan British parents support their children's learning by highlighting the ways in which parents in my study support their children's learning and the factors that influence the nature and level of educational support they provide to their children. These factors include home factors such as value for education, Black Ugandan British parents' high aspirations and expectations of their children's education including girls being educated to be independent individuals through securing highly paid jobs to secure financial stability to challenge male dominance in married families' households in Ugandan society. Other factors are school factors such as seeing their children underachieving, their children's experiences in English schools, teacher low expectations of their children's education, Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of interacting with English schools and lack of proper implementation of education policies such as parental involvement, inclusion, antiracist and equal opportunities policies.

The chapter goes further to discuss how these factors inform Black Ugandan British parents' educational strategies as they pursue their children's academic success. Before I embark on discussing these factors, it is important to revisit my introductory chapter in regard to the term parents' support of children's learning. This will help to identify whether Black Ugandan British parents' understanding of parents' support of children's learning matches this definition or differs. It will also help to identify whether Black Ugandan British parents engage in the same forms of parental support of children's learning provided in the definition or use different ways to support their children's learning.

Parents' support of children's learning is understood as reading to their children (Sammons et al, 2007) or taking them to museums (Wolf and Wood, 2012) or visiting schools to find out how children are progressing in their learning (Moore et al, 2010). Chapter 1 also defined parental involvement in children's education and it is important to revisit this definition as it is often linked to parental support of children's learning. According to Lall, Campbell and Gillborn,

Parental involvement can be defined in many ways. It includes parents coming into schools informally; say for a coffee and biscuits, as well as more formally, such as meeting with teachers or taking part in their children's education through classroom participation. In some cases it includes parents' own learning, improved communication with the school through home-school liaison workers. (Lall, Campbell and Gillborn, 2004, p.1)

The chapter begins by examining the factors that influence the ways in which Black Ugandan British parents support their children's education and then moves to highlighting the educational strategies used.

5.2 Factors that influence the way Black Ugandan British parents support their children's learning and how they inform Black Ugandan British parents' educational strategies.

Chapter 4 discussed Yosso's six key facets of community cultural wealth, which are aspirational capital, linguistic capital, familial capital, social capital, navigational capital and resistant capital in detail. Data from my study particularly presented in this chapter fit in well with Yosso's (2005) concept of Community Cultural Wealth. Therefore, as well as discussing the factors that influence the ways Black Ugandan British parents support their children's learning and how they inform the educational strategies they

use, I will discuss how families in my study demonstrate each of these six capitals as they support their children's learning. Data from my study suggest that one of the factors that influence the way parents support their children's education is value for education, which I discuss in the next section.

5.2.1 Value for education

Black Ugandan British parents come from a culture that values education highly and there are underlying factors behind Black Ugandan British parents' value for education. These factors include Black Ugandan British parents' cultural background in relation to valuing education, Black Ugandan British parents' job positioning and gender/marriage related issues in Ugandan society.

In Ugandan society, education is perceived to be one of the ways of eliminating poverty as well as shaping Ugandan peoples' ways of living (EFA, 2009). Parents feel disappointed if their children do not achieve to their expectations, feel a sense of failure if their children do not get into universities and it is a disgrace to the family if their children do not gain university qualifications. This background influences the way Black Ugandan British parents in my study support their children's learning as revealed through their narratives.

We do not take education lightly; education is the only way that can lead to success in life. (Everim)

These findings illustrate and highlight the significance of education to Black Ugandan British parents. The image in the above narrative not only demonstrates how Everim emphasises the importance of education but also reveals how this Ugandan family takes education seriously. This high level of seriousness is brought about by their cultural background. In Ugandan society, educating children is a responsibility and not a choice.

Parents educate their children with the aim of securing financial stability, which will not only enable their children to support themselves financially but support other family members and people in their communities who need financial support. As explained in chapter 4 this cultural obligation has to be fulfilled to make a financial difference to their families. Failure to educate their children means failure to secure professional jobs, financial stability, an inability to fulfil their cultural responsibility and failure to fulfil their purpose in life. This is the background Everim's family brings to supporting her children in England. This puts pressure on Everim's family to push their children to achieve academic success and this pressure is also located in Famisa's narrative below:

I tell my children that they need to study and I mean *engaging in real studies*...I speak to them about education and what they need to do to succeed... they need to go to school every day, make sure they understand what they learn and focus on their education. (Famisa)

While parents expect their children to achieve highly in their education, their children have a responsibility of meeting their parents' expectations and they know the importance of education because their parents speak to them about the need to attain academic success and the cultural responsibilities that come with it. The image in the above narrative means that Famisa is emphasising the need for her children to take education seriously so that they get into further education to acquire university qualifications. To Famisa, it is not a simple education matter but it is a serious urge for education acquirement that drives her to push her children to aim higher. This background adds to the pressure of pushing their children to achieve academic success and across families, university qualifications are thought of very highly and parents not only express their desires and eagerness to educate their children to university level but

also push their children to get into universities. I do whatever I can for my children to succeed and go to University...*we have a duty to educate our children* and make sure they go to university. (Sean)

The language Sean uses in the above narrative confirms that educating his children is not a choice but a cultural responsibility he has to fulfil to accomplish his purpose in life. His Ugandan cultural background in relation to educational achievement also contributes to his devotion to educate his children to university level. In Uganda, parents compete for their children to go to university to gain qualifications to not only secure well-paid professional jobs but to also gain respect and recognition in Ugandan society, their communities and families. This background leads to Black Ugandan British parents' commitment to encourage, motivate and 'push' their children to succeed in their education.

The great emphasis Black Ugandan British parents put on the acquisition of education qualifications and job security is also influenced by the Ugandan cultural value of looking after the elderly. In Uganda, there is a cultural value of looking after the elderly and parents expect their children to look after them and provide moral, emotional and financial support during their old age. Therefore, there is a need for their children to be financially stable in order to fulfil this cultural obligation and this financial stability comes with acquiring education qualifications that lead to well-paid jobs. My study findings suggest that when it comes to further education, there are no negotiations between parents and children. Parents direct their children to the academic route, meaning doing their GCSEs and A'levels, get into university, graduate and get professional jobs. It is a requirement their children have to stick to and parents are determined and work tirelessly to achieve this.

I want my children to go to university...I tell them about the importance of education and I do what I can to help them. ((Nikita)

It is important to talk to the children about their education and the importance of going to university...I started the university talk from a very young age and all my children know they have to go to university, that is what I expect and that's what they expect...There is no way they are leaving university without getting a master's degree. Before, a degree was enough for someone to get a good job but now someone needs more than a degree to get a good job...I tell them the *realities* of life...I highlight the challenges we face in our society, being born in England does not guarantee better life but it is education and the level that is achieved in education that matters. (Everim)

Here, I would like to draw attention and highlight Black Ugandan British parents' aspirational capital (Yosso 2005) revealed through their narratives above. Black Ugandan British parents demonstrated their aspirational capital in their valuing of education and the ways they aspired their children to not only get educated but to achieve academically, acquire university qualifications which they believed would save their children from the low status, low paid jobs, they have found themselves doing in England. Taking education seriously, speaking to their children about the importance of education, the acquisition of high qualifications and academic success, their responsibility and "duty" (Sean) of educating their children clearly illustrated through their narratives show how they demonstrate their aspirational capital and how they have high aspirations for their children's education. Black Ugandan British parents' vision and mission is to see their children graduating and employed in high status jobs so that they can also secure financial security.

Focussing on Everim's narrative above, it appears that as well as demonstrating her aspirational capital for her children to be educated to postgraduate level, she also seems to make her children aware of the inequalities in the British employment system for example, that have partly contributed to her being positioned in low status/low paid jobs. She seems to signal to her children that if they fail to achieve academically to "a master's level", there is a possibility of them being employed in low status/low paid jobs. Everim seems to push her children to achieve to "a master's level" to increase the chances of her children securing well-paid decent jobs in England.

These findings clearly show the pressure on Black Ugandan British children to achieve academically beyond a degree level and how parents push for this to happen to not only protect their children from doing low paid, low status jobs but to also increase the chances of their children securing well paid jobs. Black Ugandan British parents are aware of the competition in the British employment industry and the need to equip their children with education qualifications required to get highly paid jobs. The image in the narrative above refers to what is going on in Everim's life in England, that is occupying working class jobs and living a stressful lifestyle (see chapter 4). This is the "reality" she is talking about and it is the "reality" she is experiencing. She believes that without education her children will experience the same. She seems to be convinced that the inequalities in the UK employment system such as discrimination that has affected her employment (see chapter 4) will affect her children born in England. These are the driving forces that inform the educational support Everim provides to her children and are the driving forces behind the nature and level of educational support Everim's family provides to their children.

Parents in my study are aware of the National Vocational Qualifications (NVQ) routes (see teachers' lower expectations of Black children's education below for

a more detailed discussion). However, they choose the academic route for their children to study because they associate the elite in well-paid professional jobs with the academic route rather than the NVQ route. They have desires for their children to be in professional jobs gained through attaining university qualifications for financial security purposes. They do not equate university degree qualifications and NVQ qualifications as being at the same level. The former seems to be viewed at a higher level than the latter because their Ugandan background about qualification ranking informs this perception. Similarly, they believe that professional jobs gained through attaining university qualifications are valued more than jobs gained through NVQ qualifications. As “African parents...see a good education as the key to their children’s future success in life” (Demie, Mclean and Lewis, 2006, p.165), parents in my study set their goals to achieve this and it is evident in their stories.

They need to know that to have a better life, they need to study hard, get a degree, get a good job and then live a better life... I do not want my children to do bad jobs *where people will look down on them. I want them to be well respected professionals* who live comfortable lives. (Everim)

During the interviews Everim expressed anger at doing jobs such as cleaning that do not require educational qualifications. She was angry about how this experience automatically places her in the category of an uneducated, illiterate and ignorant person who has no educational qualifications and valuable, previous respectable work experience. She feels that this is the way she is perceived in the British society as revealed through the image above. These feelings of worthlessness stemming from her work experiences in England have not only led to her frustrations but have also led her to believe that “*without education, someone is empty* and life will be very difficult”.

This explains how her education devaluation in England has led her to feel that she has nothing valuable to offer in British society. These feelings of emptiness are common amongst parents in my study and they feel that they are seen as people who lack education, who have no educational qualifications and who have nothing to present to get positions worthy of their qualifications and work experiences.

They treat us like we don't have any education at all, no respect. (Sadim)

These degrading and devaluing practices in British society push parents in my study to hold on to their children's education firmly by supporting them to attain academic success and professional jobs so that they do not go through these disturbing experiences. They believe that if their children acquire education to the highest degrees in the academic world, they will be able to get decent, professional, respectable jobs, which will enable them to live a purposeful and meaningful lifestyle that may lead to them being valued and respected in British society.

I do not want my children to do cleaning jobs and if they don't get degrees, where are they going to find decent jobs? Even sometimes, *a degree does not guarantee getting decent jobs, so you can imagine, if they don't succeed in getting degrees.* (Sean)

These findings show how Sean's family strives to educate their children to achieve what they have not been able to achieve themselves in Britain. They are also aware of the need to educate their children beyond the first-degree level. This is an expectation that this has to happen.

I tell all my children boys and girls that studying is the only way they can live a *comfortable life... making our expectations* of their education clear. (Magna)

Magna's narrative above illustrates how she provides the same level of educational support to her children regardless of gender, which confirms Black Ugandan British parents' obligation to educate their children so as to fulfil their high expectations of their children's educational achievement. Parents in my study believe that their children's success is their success and will help ease the tensions that they have. They do not want their children to go through the hardships they have gone through; they believe that the only way to escape the hardships they have gone through is to educate their children.

My study suggests that Black Ugandan British parents' employment positioning both in Uganda and in England not only contribute to the value they put on education but also informs the nature of the educational conversations they have with their children as illustrated by Nikita.

I always talk about my life in Uganda... education is good, my job was good and I had a good life...it makes more sense to talk about the job I was doing in Uganda than the job I am doing here...then they can be inspired. (Nikita)

Although Ugandan and UK employment experiences influence the levels of their involvement, their employment experiences in England appear to be a big influence on the nature of the educational support my study parents provide to their children. Comments such as Nikita's would seem to confirm Black Ugandan British parents' feelings of worthlessness in British society brought about by their employment experiences in Britain. They also reveal the difficulties they face in convincing their children that education leads to securing well-paid jobs and living a good lifestyle in Britain. As Nikita yearns to prove the importance and benefits of education to her children, she reflects on her Ugandan job and lifestyle and discusses them with her

children with the aim of inspiring them to achieve academic success. A similar view was held by Magna.

I tell them they need to study hard, if they want to get a good job. (Magna)

The findings above have provided us with an understanding of what parents in my study do outside British mainstream schools to support their children's education. They not only reveal the differences between the nature of parents' support of children's learning described in the introductory chapter but also suggest the need to acknowledge the types of educational support Black Ugandan British parents provide to their children and the contribution they make towards their children's education. Black Ugandan British parents play an important role in their children's education. Through intensive and highly skilful interactions with their children, Black Ugandan British parents aim at producing independent, well educated, respectable individuals who will not only support themselves, their parents and their extended family members financially, but who will also be beneficial to the Ugandan community and the wider communities in the British society. Black Ugandan British parents demand their children to achieve academic success because their Ugandan cultural background and their negative, stressful and exhausting employment experiences in England inform them to do so. They insist on their children being highly educated because they believe that it is only through university qualifications achievement that their children will be seen through an intellectual lens in British society which may lead their children to be respected, viewed as important people in highly paid, valuable and respectable jobs. This high level of educational support Black Ugandan British parents give to their children and additionally, the driving forces behind the educational support provided to Black Ugandan British children appear to go unnoticed. They are also missed in education

debates for example, in the educational attainment debate in England, we often hear that Black parents place a “low value on education” (Fulcher and Scott, 2007, p.341). What is missing in this debate is the serious positive attitude Black Ugandan British parents have towards their children’s education, the factors that contribute to this seriousness and the nature and level of educational support Black Ugandan British parents provide to their children. Black Ugandan British parents’ narratives above clearly illustrate that parents in my study value education, have high aspirations for their children’s education and have aspirational capital. Black Ugandan British parents demonstrated their aspirational capital through their commitment to their children’s education and encouraging their children to do well in their education so that they not only escape poverty but also escape the hardships Black Ugandan British parents experience in their own employment in England (see chapter 4). The following section will also highlight how Black Ugandan British parents demonstrate their aspirational capital as they support their children’s learning.

5.2.2 Black Ugandan British parents’ high aspirations and expectations of their children’s education

My study illustrates the role played by Black Ugandan British parents in and shows how Black Ugandan British parents demonstrate their aspirational capital by reassuring/reinforcing their children’s confidence in their academic abilities in their desires for their children’s academic success.

I am ready to support them throughout their education. I do the best I can...I want all my children to get degrees and I want all my children to get into good professional jobs both boys and girls. (Everim)

It goes further to highlight Black Ugandan British parents' desires for their children to achieve university qualifications as Everim explained:

I support my children to study to the highest level. I want my children to get degrees and masters because these days one degree is not enough to make one get a good job. At least with masters, someone can get a good job. I tell my children to study hard and get a master's degree and they know that. (Everim)

My study reveals Black Ugandan British parents' high aspirations and expectations of their children's education, which go unnoticed and missed in education discourses in England. Maylor, (2014, p.27) also argues that "Black parents value education as a commodity in itself, and the high aspirations they have for their children's educational outcomes is testimony to this". Findings from my study support this argument and also demonstrate Black Ugandan British parents' understanding of the relationship between education and employment, which also appears to influence their high level of educational support they give to their children. Black Ugandan British parents appear to instil the idea of acquiring high and higher qualifications (undergraduate/postgraduate) in their children and their children seem to work towards achieving such qualifications to meet their parents' expectations. My study reveals a range of ways in which parents support their children's learning. However, these forms of parental educational support of children's learning appear to go unnoticed. The next section focuses on highlighting gender/marriage related issues that inform Black Ugandan British parents support of their children's learning particularly girls, so as equip them to challenge male dominance in some Bagandan married households in British society.

5.2.3 Gender/marriage related issues

It was revealed in my study that “some [Black Ugandan] men are not good they treat their wives the way they want because they provide everything for them” (Magna). This female participant’s negative perception of Black Ugandan married men seems to push her to prepare her daughters to be independent individuals in society by supporting their learning so that they achieve academically and more importantly “[her] girls know that they have to get degrees and work”. Magna emphasised the importance of educating her daughters and to Magna, achieving educational qualifications that lead to employment and financial stability can lead to women’s empowerment, independence and can reduce the chances of Black Ugandan women being maltreated by Black Ugandan men as she explains:

If they [Black Ugandan married men] know that you are well educated and have a good job, they can actually value you and respect you more because they know that if they mistreat you in any way, you can live and get on with your own life without being *a burden to anyone* (Magna).

Magna’s narrative seems to reveal issues that may arise in some Black Ugandan married family households (“mistreat[ment]”) of Black Ugandan married women and Magna seems to believe that educated Black Ugandan married women in employment can handle the maltreatment issues that may happen in some Black Ugandan married family households better than uneducated and unemployed Black Ugandan married women. Magna explains how educated/employed Black Ugandan married women can protect themselves from maltreatments in the last part of her narrative above. The image of “*a burden*” indicates how Magna believes that Black Ugandan married men may perceive their uneducated and unemployed wives due to the responsibility involved (feeding, clothing and providing for their needs including hospital expenses if they

become ill). This perception pushes Magna to support her children's learning to protect them from being "a burden" to their future husbands, in case they marry.

In another family in my study, a female participant highlighted the significance of education and emphasised that "they [her daughters] have to study and get jobs [because she] do[es]n't want them to *rely on men*... when they get married" (Famisa). Like Magna, Famisa supports her children's learning by preparing them to be independent individuals and Famisa also seems to believe that this independence will be achieved through educating her daughters. Famisa explained that "relying on men to provide everything is not good because some men take advantage of that and expect their wives to *do housework all day* because they are in the house all day [and that she] ha[s] seen men using power over their wives who don't go out to work because they provide for them. [She highlighted that depending on men financially] is not good for women's confidence". This concern pushes Famisa to support her daughters' education because "[she] do[es]n't want [her] girls to stay in the house, [she] want[s] them to be working people; doing good jobs". Famisa's words in the above narratives are not just simple words but go deep down to show what uneducated, unemployed housewives may experience in their marriages, and how a lack of education, being unemployed and desire/need for financial stability may disempower women and may lead to serious problems deriving from excessive "power" married Black Ugandan husbands may exercise on their uneducated, unemployed house wives as they provide for them.

Across families, female participants supported their daughter's education so that they gain qualifications that will enable them to get well paid jobs. The idea of producing independent working women is common amongst the Black Ugandan British parents' narratives. For example, Hajra emphasised that "they [her daughters] need to get education, graduate, get very good jobs, be able to stand on their own and be proud of

themselves”. One of Hajra’s priorities is to educate her daughters so that when they get married, they are independent and able to support themselves financially. She explained that “if the time comes for them [her daughters] to marry, it is ok because they have prepared themselves. Even if their husbands provide for them, they need to have their own money to do what they want to do with it”. The last part of the quote indicate that Hajra seems to have a view that husbands provide for their wives however, she prepares her children to be able to live independently “if their marriages don’t work out”. More importantly, Hajra believes that “it is very important that they [her daughters] focus on their education and get jobs [to] be able to start a new life and survive in their new lives”. Hajra’s comments illustrate how she prepares her daughters through education by emphasising the need to have their own money to do what they want to do which implies that women should be educated so as to spend their own money they have earned as they wish to.

More findings from my study show that female participants in my study support their children’s education with the aim of empowering them to be independent individuals and they believe that this independence will be achieved through supporting their children to succeed academically and securing financial stability through well paid jobs. For example, in Everim’s family, Everim, stressed that she “want[s her] girls to be independent [and that she] do[es]n’t want any man to stop [her] girls to work [and emphasised how she] “want[s her] girls to get married after finishing university and when in full time employment”. Black Ugandan British women in my study, regardless of religious background, believe that if a woman is educated to at least degree level, she increases her chances of becoming independent. This pushes them to support their children to graduate however; the driving forces that influence Black Ugandan British parents to support their children’s education are unknown.

Sofiah, also talked about the need for her “daughters [to] concentrate on their studies [and stressed that] that’s what they need to do before they think about anything else [marriage]”. Ugandan parents’ narratives presented in this section show how Black Ugandan British female participants in my study equip their daughters with education before they get married. The female participants seemed to have an issue with the way some Black Ugandan men “treat” their wives in some households with the concept of a husband’s superiority over his wife’s inferiority which is embedded in cultural norms and practices, particularly in relation to gender roles in married family households in Ugandan society (i.e. women engaging in domestic chores... care giving and child rearing, (Otiso, 2006) and looking after husbands –cooking for them, washing their clothes, ironing for them and fulfilling their husbands needs, while husbands concentrate on their jobs). In the Bagandan society, women in general whether married or not feel obliged to fulfil their gendered cultural obligations such as those mentioned by Otiso above. Thus although some Black Ugandan British women in my study were in male dominated positions such as accountancy and the senior civil service when they were in Uganda, they still engaged in fulfilling gendered cultural expectations because that is the cultural norm within the Baganda culture. Chapter 4 discussed how participants in my study are positioned in low status and low paid jobs in England and observation notes presented in chapter 3 showed the female gender roles performed within a Black Ugandan British family household, which indicates that some Black Ugandan British women in England still put their Bagandan cultural marriage expectations into practice to keep their marriage and husbands. However, they seem to believe that Black Ugandan men take more advantage of unemployed wives in fulfilling these roles and they may not be appreciated by their husbands for fulfilling these cultural expectations as Sofiah’s narrative below indicates:

They [her daughters] need to get qualifications and I mean good qualifications like degrees, get good jobs, earn their own money, be in control of their own money and then think about marriage and we will have a talk about marriage. Eh UM [Sofiah makes “Eh UM” sounds while shaking her head] women who don’t work *suffer* ... (Sofiah).

The language used in this narrative seem to reveal Sofiah’s feelings about unemployed married women and appears to address the disadvantages that come with married women’s unemployment in Ugandan society, and the expectations that come with it by describing the benefits of being in employment and her desires for her daughters to be in employment and not engaging in domestic chores most of the time. These findings can also be interpreted that as Sofiah is a married woman, she uses the word “suffer” to describe what some unemployed Ugandan married women endure or go through in Ugandan families as they rely heavily on their husband to provide financial support to live on.

This background may not only influence Sofiah to support her children to achieve academically but may also influence her to ensure that they get financial stability through high quality jobs before getting married. Sofiah seems to prepare her daughters to be highly educated, employed and ultimately financially independent married women.

This section has shown the background Black Ugandan British female parents in my study bring to supporting their children’s education. They believe that educating their girls to achieve qualifications and urging them to pursue professional careers is the way forward to independence and prospering in employment and society. However, the driving forces behind the high quality educational support they provide to their children are not known. The next section moves on to discuss the underachievement of British

Ugandan children in English schools and how it influences the way parents support their children's education.

5.2.4 Seeing their children underachieving

My study shows that the decline in British Ugandan children's attainment levels in secondary schools influence the level of educational support Black Ugandan British parents provide to their children and informs their educational strategies. As Sadim explains:

Sarah left primary school with all her grades above average...she got Level 5 in maths, Level 5 in English and Level 5 in Science...she did well in Year 9 SATS and she also achieved level 7 in maths in year 9 but then in year ten...her level dropped to the extent of being predicted a D Grade in her GCSE maths exam. I went to the parents evening and spoke to the maths teacher, she said she will get back into it...I asked the head teacher why my daughter was declining in maths, he said "you and I have to find out why"... [but] the school did not do anything about the problem... I asked my son who is at university to help her. (Sadim)

It is clear from the findings that Sadim supports his children's education and the nature of educational support includes monitoring his children's progress in education, school visits and seeking ways of improving his children's academic levels and using older siblings to support the young ones. However, these forms of educational support Sadim engages in to support his children's education and the contribution he makes towards his children's education appear to be invisible. Findings from my study presented above show the various ways in which Black Ugandan British parents support their children's education and highlight that parents' support of children's learning "is not about how many times [someone] visits the school but has a deeper relationship to the family and

its ability to generate economic, social and cultural resources” (Crozier, 2012, p.6) to support their children’s education. They further show the need of broadening the understanding of parents’ support of children’s learning from reading to children and taking them to the museum to include the various ways in which Black Ugandan British parents support their children’s learning.

My study findings above also appear to fall in line with Abbot’s arguments about the decline in Black children’s academic achievement at secondary level (Abbot, 2005). Abbot argues that “the underachievement of Black boys” (Abbot in Richardson, 2005, pp.108-109) discussion dominates the educational discourse but what is missing in the dominant education discourse is “how the system fails Black boys” (Abbot in Richardson, 2005, p.109). The school’s failure to support Sadim and his daughter and the headteacher’s response shows that the English education system does not only fail Black boys but also fails Black girls in England. Black Ugandan British parents respond to this education inequality by engaging in various ways to support their children’s learning in order to protect their children from academic failure as Sadim continues to explain:

I have to find a way of helping her in her subjects because I don’t want her to fail. (Sadim)

The next section discusses British Ugandan children’s experiences in English schools and highlights how racism in English schools informs the nature of educational support Black Ugandan British parents provide to their children.

5.2.5 British Ugandan children’s experiences in English schools

My study shows how racism in English schools informs Black Ugandan British parents’ ways of supporting their children’s learning. They also show racism as a form of

prejudice and how it affects Black Ugandan British parents and their children's education.

The teachers picked on 'Moses' and kept on saying that he is bad ...he got worse and hated school...he said that if everyone says I am bad, let me be bad, it doesn't matter. (Nikita)

My study not only show educational race inequality in an English school with a Black, British Ugandan learner at a disadvantage but also shows how racism affects British Ugandan children in English schools and how they respond to racism they are exposed to in English schools. It also appears that Moses's teacher's negative behaviour towards Moses may also stem from ideas and assumptions in the teacher's mind about stereotypes and the wider negative perceptions of Black boys' behaviour in English schools (Sewell, 1997). Findings show how Moses's teacher's negative behaviour affected Moses's education and how Moses was frustrated by the way, his teacher treated him to the extent of him hating school. Archer and Francis argue that "minority ethnic pupils are often painfully aware of the stereotypes and particular expectations that some teachers hold about them... and these perceptions inevitably impact upon performance" (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.42). More arguments have been put forward that "teachers' racial stereotyping of pupils can impact negatively on the educational achievement and experiences of minority ethnic children and young people" (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.42). Coard's work (1971) "publically recognised the systematic and institutionalised unequal treatment of Black pupils" (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.41).

As shown by Famisa's comments below Black Ugandan British parents use similar words such as "hate" and "picked on" to describe the impact of racism on their children

and the effect it has on their children's education, which suggests that racism, is a reality in their children's school lives:

Another problem is the teachers, I pray my other children don't get picked on in school because my son got picked on by his science teacher and that affected his education. He started to hate science. (Famisa)

Black Ugandan British parents are angry about their children's experiences in English schools. My study further indicates like Sewell (1997) that there is a need to question the implementation of antiracist and equal opportunities policies in English schools and their effectiveness. Sewell points out that his sample school "failed to respond to... [the school policy on racism and argues that] many of the teachers [at his sample school] felt that the antiracist policy of the school was there for administration purposes only, so that it could be shown to whoever needed to see it" (Sewell, 1997,p.46).

Black Ugandan British parents are aware of the racial inequalities in the English education system and these appear to inform the behavioural advice they give to their children.

I always tell my children to watch how they behave because one mistake they make, they will be penalised as the troublemakers...I know teachers do ...My children speak their mind. (Susan)

These findings show how Susan is aware of the behavioural related negative experiences experienced by Black children in English mainstream schools (Davidson and Alexis, 2012, Wright, Standen and Patel, 2010, Blair, 2001). Such awareness is reinforced through her social networks within the Ugandan community where she came to learn about Black Ugandan British children who have been excluded or who are at risk of being excluded from school (see private education section below). This awareness led Susan to utilise her resistant capital to protect her children from the

troubles she seems to predict may arise from their attending English schools. By doing so, she seems to utilise her resistant capital to limit the chances of her children being subject to exclusion from English schools.

Susan's comments clearly indicate how Susan works or operates from within her home environment to support her children's education. Susan appears to not only concentrate on discipline, setting behaviour expectations and ensuring that her children behave as expected at all times but also seems to have an open relationship with her children and seems to provide time and space to talk with her children about their education. The statements in Susan's narrative above appear to indicate Susan's cautiousness about how her children can be labelled as "troublemakers".

Other Black Ugandan British parents in my study discussed their behavioural expectations with their children and seemed to use and reflect on their Ugandan background to highlight the need for their children to stay within their cultural expected behavioural boundaries. For example:

You know, back home, discipline is the key to everything we do, everyone is responsible for disciplining children, it doesn't matter whether they are your family or not, whether they know you or not, they will discipline you if you do something wrong. We don't have problems with children's behaviour...if any adult catches you behaving in an inappropriate way, be it answering back to an adult in a way the adult doesn't expect during a discussion, you will be reminded of the expected behaviour by that adult and it doesn't end there, that adult will go with you to your parents and tell them what you have done and your parent will discipline you more... it is very good because children grow up with good manners and we did...I talk about good manners with my children and my children have good manners. (Ragina)

Ragina's comments seems to suggest that Black Ugandan British parents come from a culture where discipline is at the heart of the child rearing process and further appears to illustrate the unity and the role families and adults play in disciplining children in the Ugandan community/society. The findings presented above indicate that reinforcing or reminding their children about their cultural behaviour expectations and providing time and space to talk with their children about these and their expectations of behaviour in school seem to be forms of parental involvement they engage in to support their children's education. However, my study seems to raise some questions as to what is going on in English schools that lead Black Ugandan British children who come from a culture that is strict on discipline (also reinforced through their religious beliefs-see chapter 3), and who are raised within the Ugandan cultural norm of living within the expected behaviour boundaries to become "bad[ly]" behaved in English schools (for example, 'Moses' Nikita's son discussed above)? My study suggests that more Black

Ugandan British children from Ugandan families are associated with behavioural issues in English schools that have partly led some Black Ugandan British parents to send their children to private boarding schools in Uganda, as I shall discuss. The next section focuses on discussing teachers' low expectations of British Ugandan children's education in English schools.

5.2.6 Teacher low expectations of British Ugandan children's education achievement

School factors such as teachers' low expectations of British Ugandan children's education achievement influence how Black Ugandan British parents support their children's education. They also show how some British Ugandan Black girls are subject to teachers' low expectations of their education and how teachers take control of subject choice. As Sadim comments:

I was *angry* about him [the teacher] choosing a BTEC diploma for my daughter. I don't want her to do BTEC. What is she going to do with a certificate in BTEC? What good job can she do with a BTEC diploma? I want her to get a very good professional job that will pay her a decent salary...I mean this was the time when my daughter was working hard for her GCSE...that's not what she needed [a choice of a BTEC], she needed, encouragement and being motivated to do well...I want my daughter to get a degree and she will get it. (Sadim)

These findings show Sadim's emotions about his daughter's teacher's actions of choosing a course he did not want his daughter to do and how this made him annoyed. They also show the power and authority the teacher expressed in choosing a course for Sadim's daughter. Sadim's powerless positioning adds to his anger as he is unable to confront the teacher about making important educational decisions for his daughter. The findings above highlight the challenges Black Ugandan British parents from an asylum seeking background go through as they support their children's education and

how Black children's low academic attainment may be associated with the teachers' excessive power and control over Black children and their education.

Moreover, the last part of the quote suggests that Sadim has aspirational and resistant capital demonstrated through his dedication and commitment to encourage and motivate his daughter to achieve academically and gain qualifications at a degree level. Sadim also uses his resistant capital to resist the teacher's low expectations of his daughter's education that seems to have led the teacher to choose a BTEC course for his daughter.

Earlier in the chapter I highlighted the study participants' desires for their children to study for university degrees. Sadim's comments above clearly illustrate how Sadim prefers his daughter to get a degree qualification rather than a BTEC qualification as he values the degree qualification more than the BTEC diploma. Sadim seems to believe that well paid "professional" jobs are attained with degree qualifications rather than BTEC qualifications and this belief seems to influence him to support his daughter to get into university to acquire a degree qualification. However, the teacher's low expectation of his daughter's education seems to be in the way and Sadim seems to utilise his resistant capital to clear the blocked path so that his daughter continues her educational journey towards academic success.

Sadim's narrative also seems to show his perseverance in supporting his daughter's education by taking a different approach from that of the teacher, indicating that Sadim knows what he wants for his daughter in terms of academic achievement. Sadim persisted, and kept on encouraging and motivating his daughter to aim high, which suggests that he has persistent capital identified by Maylor et al in their studies (2006a and 2010). Maylor (2014, p.32) suggests that "persistent capital can be added to the other facets of community cultural wealth identified by Yosso (2005)" as Black parents pursue high achievement for their children. Maylor argues that "a recurring theme in

the experience of many Black parents is that their own contentions of themselves as knowledgeable parents able to navigate educational systems [are] usually contested in their children's schools so they [are] forced to develop persistent strategies in an attempt to overcome such conceptualisations" (2014,p.32). For example, evidence from Maylor et al's work (2006a) show how "[a Black] working mother [felt that] teachers [thought that she did]n't know anything [about the education system]" (Maylor, 2014,p.32) and how she utilised her persistent capital to challenge the way the teacher perceived her in her child's English school. This suggests that Black parents' persistence is necessary to address low teacher expectations of themselves and not just their children.

My study shows how Black Ugandan British parents resist teacher low expectations of Black children's education in relation to subject choice and how they encourage their children to concentrate on an academic way/route of earning status. For example, Sajeda talked about how "medicine is popular [and that] doctors are international and can work in any country. [She stressed that she] need[s] to get involved when the children choose subjects". Her Ugandan background and her desires for her children to have highly valued well-paid professional jobs appear to influence the level of educational support she provides to her children and the nature of her involvement in her children's education. In Uganda, students who study medicine are perceived to be very intelligent and when they graduate, they are well respected in Ugandan society because of their professions. Sajeda appears to bring this background to supporting her children's education in England and it appears to influence her subject choice. The following section centres on Black Ugandan experiences of interacting with English schools.

5.2.7 Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of interacting with British schools

My study reveals some of the factors that affect Black Ugandan British parents' interactions with English schools and how these factors inform the nature of educational support they give to their children and involvement in their children's education. These factors include the Ugandan cultural value of respect for authority, asylum seeking, educational inequalities in the curriculum and lack of proper implementation of education policies. These factors seem to intersect in influencing the way they support their children's learning. I begin by discussing Ugandan cultural value of respect for authority and how it influences Ugandan parents' ways of supporting their children's education by firstly examining Sadim's narrative. Talking about his experiences of interacting with English schools Sadim said that "there was a time [he] got tired of the criticism from the maths teacher [about his daughter's education] and was puzzled about how he [would] respond to the teacher who says that "Jane [Sadim's daughter] is underperforming in maths?". Sadim explained how he "reassured [his] daughter that she can do much better [in her education] and [advised her that she] should not allow anyone to put her down."

Turning to the discussion of Black Ugandan British parents' cultural value of respect for authority in relation to Sadim's narrative presented above, the findings not only show the challenges and struggles this Ugandan family face in the process of supporting their children's education, but also show how this family deals with feelings of frustration which appear to be caused by the negative comments from the teacher about Jane's education. The discussion between Sadim and his daughter not only show the type of educational support he provides to his daughter, but also shows that Sadim is interested in and cares about his daughter's education. Analysing findings from my study it appears that the Ugandan cultural value of respect for authority influenced Sadim's

actions of “reassur[ing his] daughter” rather than challenging the maths teacher’s perception of his daughter. Sadim seems to be fearful of the impact complaining would have on his daughter’s secondary school experience so he sought alternative ways outside school to support his daughter’s education. Challenging the school would mean that he would have to step out of his cultural boundaries of being non-conflictual and therefore, reassuring and boosting his daughter’s confidence appeared to be easier options than effectively challenging the teacher’s assessment of his daughter’s mathematical ability, as he sees himself as being in a powerless position compared with the schools/teacher’s authority. As he explained:

I don’t invite wars that I can’t win... I didn’t want a formal complaint because I would be causing more problems for my daughter in the school...teachers talk to each other, so it could become a big issue making my daughter’s life difficult in school. (Sadim)

These findings suggest the importance of understanding Black Ugandan British parents’ cultural value of respect for authority and how it hinders Black Ugandan British parents in my study to challenge schools. Across families, Black Ugandan British parents expressed feelings of anger, being intimidated and drew attention to their inability to challenge school authorities.

How could I fight with the teachers when they have the power?...It was a waste of time so I didn’t bother. (Nikita)

These statements are very strong and show Nikita’s frustration of being unable to express her feelings of dissatisfaction about her children’s education in school. They also highlight how her Ugandan cultural value of respect for authority contributes to her feelings of failure of taking the right approach to resolve issues relating to her children’s education within their schools. Notwithstanding, my study suggests that one of the

parents stepped out of her Ugandan cultural boundary particularly, in relation to the cultural value of respect for authority as she supports her children's education and this is revealed through her narrative:

I know that sometimes there are tensions if you stand up for your children to ask questions about their education and I know that sometimes it can create more problems for the children but you either stand back and watch your children fail or get involved, see the barriers and *unblock the barriers* so that your children can succeed in their education. (Samantha)

My study suggests that Samantha's experience with the English education system and additionally her daughter's experience in her school led Samantha to deviate from her cultural value of respect for authority and to develop a resistant strategy to support her children's education in England. The following quote explains how Samantha identified the obstacles that may affect her children's academic success and the approach she took to stop the problem.

One day, I got a call from school and the teacher told me that my daughter was going to be excluded from school because she got involved in bad behaviour with other children in year ten...I told the teacher that it is not in history that my daughter is not well mannered right from primary school...*if my daughter is bad and has been bad in school to the extent of being excluded you would have informed me before she reached this stage...*she said *that is not what I mean* ...the following day I went to see the headteacher to find out why my daughter was going to get excluded. (Samantha)

Samantha's approach of informing her daughter's teacher about the history of her daughter's behaviour as well as reminding her daughter's teacher about the behaviour

policy procedure, which she seems to be aware of given her statement in her narrative above, appear to have led to the change in the teacher's statement. This move appears to have been a starting point for Samantha to challenge the school authority about their exclusion plans for her daughter. Furthermore, the steps Samantha took to see the head teacher about her daughter's proposed exclusion illustrate how Samantha tackled or dealt with the exclusion hurdle that could affect her daughter's education. By doing so, Samantha appears to have cleared this obstacle that could not only hinder her daughter's academic success but that could also lead to her daughter not being in formal schooling or education in England.

It appears that unlike other Black Ugandan British parents in my study, Samantha developed a resistant strategy of intervening to challenge the school authorities. Samantha's narratives above demonstrate that Samantha possesses resistant capital (Yosso, 2005), which challenge Gewirtz et al's arguments that recent immigrants to Britain have a cultural capital, which is in the wrong currency (Gewirtz et al., 1994a, 1994b). Samantha's resistant capital (Yosso, 2005) was revealed through her approach of tackling or challenging the educational inequality her daughter experienced. Intervening and challenging the school authority suggests a change in Samantha's behaviour in regard to her cultural value of respect for authority. As she pursues her children's education, Samantha is aware of the inequalities in the English education system including barriers that may affect the educational attainment of her children in England. Samantha appears to weigh the costs and benefits of intervening in her daughter's education to make a difference to her education to her cultural value of respect for authority, the consequences that may arise from her actions of intervening and how she may be perceived by the school authority as she pursues her daughter's academic success. The findings above suggest that making an intervention outweighs

the consequences of deviating from her cultural value of respect for authority; indicating that Samantha has accumulated resistant capital to not only support her daughter's education but to also challenge the inequalities in the English education system that may have a negative impact on her daughter's education in an English school.

Findings from my study above also seem to suggest that like British Ugandan boys as I shall discuss in the private education section, British Ugandan girls experience exclusion in English schools. They also appear to fall in line with the DfES's arguments that "Black pupils are disciplined more frequently, more harshly and for less serious misbehaviour than other pupils [and] that they are less likely to be praised than other pupils" (DfES, 2006p.11). Furthermore, Archer and Francis refer to the evidence in Reay's work (2002) and Ali's work (2003) and point out that these studies show "how Black girls are often viewed negatively by teachers as being aggressive and overassertive" (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.42). They highlight that "this often arises where Black girls' behaviours are perceived as not conforming with idealised Western constructions of femininity (e.g. as passive and quiet)" (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.42). The findings from my study above may also be interpreted that the wider negative perceptions of Black girls' behaviour in English schools discussed above may lead Samantha's daughter's teacher to interpret Samantha's daughter's behaviour in a negative way.

Moving on to the discussion of asylum seeking and how it affects Black Ugandan British parents' interactions with English schools and how it informs Black Ugandan British parents to engage in different types of parental educational support of children's learning, Famisa's narrative below seems to illustrate how Black Ugandan British parents' asylum-seeking background appears to hinder Black Ugandan British parents'

ability to challenge school authority and appear to contribute to their intimidation by the school authorities.

I am very careful because I can't say much, I don't want problems for me or my children...I talk to my children and they know what they have to do in school.
(Famisa)

Given the process Black Ugandan British parents went through to apply for political asylum in England, the policy around asylum seekers in England and issues surrounding asylum seekers in England, it appears that this background contributes to Black Ugandan British parents feeling intimidated to challenge school authority. This is expressed through feelings of frustration and the language they use:

I couldn't tell the teacher because it could be worse. My son used to complain everyday about that same teacher that he gives him looks and that he wasn't supportive but I had to be very careful in handling the situation because I didn't want to create more problems for my son. At the end of the day *the teacher has power over him, we needed references from him. I stayed calm but was burning inside. What could I do?* He was in power and had the power to jeopardise my son's future by giving him a bad reference... Things happen in his school but *I have to be careful in whatever step I take.* (Famisa)

Analysing these findings, it appears that Famisa felt intimidated by the school authority and this intimidation seemed to hinder her ability to challenge the school authority about her son's negative experiences in school. Famisa expressed fearful feelings of challenging school authorities that can be linked to her immigration background (asylum seekers background, status). Famisa refers to being powerless compared to the teacher and power which extends beyond the life of her son being at school for example, providing a bad reference which could harm his future prospects. Therefore, her ability

to question is undermined by her asylum status and powerless position as a parent compared to the teacher. The findings above highlight the effect of Famisa's son's teacher's negative attitude towards Famisa's son on Famisa, which is illustrated through the image of "burning". Through this image, Famisa expresses and reveals feelings of pain and anger as she describes her internal feelings of blazing or flaming or being on fire. The way the teacher treats her son seems to have led to her feelings of furiousness. Famisa seems to be very angry and appears to be oppressed. This oppression and restlessness exacerbated by her inability to challenge the teacher and the school authority adds to her fuming and feelings of being on blazing fire. These findings can also be interpreted that Famisa may be reluctant to challenge the school authority for fear of being perceived or stigmatised as a vocal parent, which may also lead to labelling her children as children of a 'problem' parent. Archer and Francis (2007) point out that Black parents who challenge school authority about their children's education are misunderstood and are perceived as 'problem' parents.

The findings above also seem to suggest that Famisa gets the time to listen to her son as he shares his experiences from his school with her. They further show the strategic approach Famisa takes to respond to what her son shares with her. This strategic approach includes giving advice to her son at home to avoid trouble that may come from her son's school that may have a negative impact on her son's education and "future". These appear to be different forms of educational support of children's learning that are unknown. They also seem to be different forms of parental involvement that seem not to be incorporated in the parental involvement definition from the school's perspective described by Hornby (2000) and Lall, Campbell and Gillborn (2004) discussed in the introductory chapter. The next section moves on to

discuss how failure to implement educational policies in English schools inform Black Ugandan parents' ways of supporting their children's learning.

5.2.8 Lack of proper implementation of Education Policies

Findings from my study particularly in relation to Black Ugandan British parents' interactions with schools question the implementation of *The Schools' White Paper: Higher Standards, Better Schools For All*, its focus on empowering parents for example, by "put[ting] parents in the driving seat for change" (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.73), its agenda of "developing the talents and potential of every child regardless of their background [and its] focus on the individual needs of every child" (DfES, 2005, p.19). They show the difficulties Black Ugandan British parents face and highlight the "inequalities impacting their ability to interact with the education system" (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.73) as they support their children's education.

Archer and Francis argue that "issues that restrict the ability of certain groups of parents to interact effectively with education authorities are not examined in The White paper [*The White Paper Higher Standards, Better Schools for All*] but there is frequent allusion to deprived pupils and families. There is also very vague reference made to pupils facing particular challenges including those from Black and minority ethnic groups" (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.73). My study highlights the factors that restrict the ability of Black Ugandan British parents to interact with schools and how these factors influence Black Ugandan British parents to seek alternative ways of supporting their children's education outside British mainstream schools.

Further, my study questions the implementation of the *Green paper: Schools –Building on success* published in 2001 and it's emphasis on "ensur[ing] that ...Black children are provided with quality educational opportunities for their self-development, for achieving academic success" (John, 2006, p.25). According to John:

In his introduction to the Green Paper, the former secretary of state for education and employment, Mr David Blunkett, states that the Green paper: shows how we can create an education service which plays to the strengths of every individual, provides a common understanding of the knowledge base on which our society rests, promotes appreciation of the values which hold our communities together and generates the aspiration to learn from our past in order to contribute to the future. (John, 2006, p.29)

Findings from my study appear to question the implementation of this policy as well as the implementation of the White Paper: Excellence in Schools (1997) which aims at raising standards and achievement of all pupils regardless their backgrounds.

Schools' homework policies: Topping suggests that parental involvement also includes parents' checking their children's homework diaries (Topping, 1995). My study suggests that Black Ugandan British parents implement this as shown in Sadim's explanation:

I make sure that homework is done ...I make sure the computer is functioning well so that they can finish their homework...I make sure I sign the diary planner for the children's homework. (Sadim)

However, although Black Ugandan British parents respond to schools' homework policies by implementing them, my study findings also question the schools' implementation of schools' homework policies and the emphasis put on parental involvement in relation to children's homework.

I introduced an idea of a homework book which the teacher and I had to sign every day to make sure the homework is done and checked...one day I checked the book and saw that the teacher was making errors while marking his homework...when I told the teacher about the errors in the book, the book was erased and the homework was stopped ...I went to WH SMITH to buy books to help my son at home. (Sean)

These findings seem to suggest that Sean is complying with the government home-school agreement, which requires parents to sign their children's homework diaries. They not only show how Sean checks his son's homework diary to make sure that the homework is done but also show how Sean checks to make sure that his son's homework is marked. This shows the nature of parental educational support of children's learning Sean engages in and suggests that he cares about his son's education and wants his children to attain academic success. However, he lacks support from his son's school. These findings question the government's ability or capability of implementing/facilitating parental education policies at secondary level in England. Considering the power relations between Sean and the teacher, it appears that purchasing educational resources outside school to support his son's education is an easier option than effectively challenging the teacher and the school authority about the marking of his son's homework. My study suggests that Black Ugandan British parents go through similar feelings of being unable to challenge school authorities and further highlight the intersection of Black Ugandan British parents' cultural value of respect for authority and asylum seeking background in contributing to their inability to challenge school authorities. In the next section, I will further highlight how Black Ugandan British parents support their children's learning by visiting English schools and engaging in workshops.

Workshops and the curriculum: Findings from my study suggest that encouraging parents to learn about the curriculum to support their children's education is one thing and implementing this policy and its continuity is another. It was revealed in Sajeda's narrative that "in primary schools, there were workshops running once in two months [and Sajeda] used to go [to] attend [the] workshops [which] made it easier for [her] to help [her] children with homework". However, it became problematic at secondary level because "there are no workshops in secondary schools" (Sajeda).

These findings reveal that Sajeda engaged in school life by attending workshops in primary schools and further question the continuity of engaging interested parents like Sajeda in school life at the secondary level. They also show how Sajeda supports her children's education by visiting schools and highlight Sajeda's willingness to continue helping her children at secondary school but lacks support through the unavailability of relevant workshops.

Moreover, more findings suggest that Black Ugandan British parents in my study with double class identities (see chapter 4) visit schools to discuss their children's progress.

I get the time to go to parents' evening and I go to school if there is need for me to go to school even if it's not parents' evening/day. (Famisa)

As well as highlighting Black Ugandan British parents' visits to schools to support their children's education, my study also highlights the issues and challenges Black Ugandan British parents experience and face when they visit and interact with schools. Samantha explained that "whenever [she] attend[s] parents evening [she] get[s] comments from the teacher that [her] son is very loud in class". In response to the teacher's comments Samantha further explained that "with that teacher negative attitude, [she] c[ould]n't just sit there and wait for teachers" (Samantha). Instead, she

sought alternative ways of supporting her son's learning outside an English school as seen in the educational strategies section below.

I would like to discuss the negative perceptions of Black boys' behaviour/exclusion in relation to Samantha's narrative above and how her son's teacher's perception of Samantha's son's behaviour may be associated with the wider negative perceptions of Black boys' behaviour in English schools.

Analysing findings from my study above, it appears that Samantha responds to the comments from her son's teacher about her son's behaviour in the school by intervening to reduce the chances of her son being associated with the wider negative perceptions of Black boys' behaviour that have led to the exclusion of Black boys from English schools (Sewell, 1997, Richardson, 2005, 2007). Sewell's work also shows how Black African children are more likely to be excluded from English schools than White children (Sewell, 1997). My study also suggests that British Ugandan boys have been excluded from English schools as I shall discuss in the private education section.

My study suggests that like the White middle class parents, Black Ugandan British parents visit schools to discuss their children's progress as their comments show:

I go to their school to see how they learn...if I don't go my husband goes.
(Nikita)

We both go to parents' evening...we have to ...our children expect us to go and they tell us in advance. (Magna)

Their education is important and it is necessary to go, we go to schools, we organise it properly. (Hajra)

Of course, I go to school...don't you remember what I told you about the math homework problem? I went to speak to her and I told you what happened...I have always been to schools, if I don't do it, who is going to do it? I want my children to do well. (Sean)

My study also challenges Evans' arguments that "working class children...are less likely to benefit from the same degree of strategic parental support as their middle class peers" (Evans, 2007, p.13) and shows that children from Black Ugandan British families in my study positioned as working class in England can benefit from the same degree of strategic parental support as their middle class peers. While the White middle class educational strategies such as interactions with schools (regular school visits) "are perceived to be normal, desirable and possible" (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.36), Black Ugandan British parents' educational strategies appear to go unnoticed.

Majoritarian stories (Gillborn, 2008, Solorzano and Yosso, 2002) about Black parents' perceived lack of time to visit schools and perceived disinterest in supporting their children's education (Davidson and Alexis, 2012) appear to put Black Ugandan British parents' input and contribution towards their children's education invisible (Levitas, 1998, Crozier and Davies, 2007). I would like to briefly move away from the discussion of social class and school visits to discuss single parenthood as it may also be linked to Samantha's narrative above.

Findings from my study presented above can also be interpreted that the cultural deficit ideology that blames the Black families particularly the absence of Black fathers for the underachievement of Black children in English schools (Sewell, 2009) may also contribute to the way Samantha's son's teacher interacts with Samantha as Samantha is a single Black parent. According to Sewell, Black children particularly boys do not succeed in English schools because they grow up without their fathers and he argues

that the absence of Black fathers in the Black families' households has a negative impact on children. Although single parenthood also exists in White families, racism in British society and the education system makes single parenthood more common and visible in Black families than White families (Reynolds, 2009). Single parents are stigmatised in British society and this stigma not only affects single parents but also appear to affect their children in schools as teachers associate parenthood status with the children's behaviour in English schools. Stigmatising single parents and labelling children from single parent families as difficult children appear to distract attention away from educational failure of engaging interested and motivated single parents like Samantha at the secondary level.

5.3 Educational strategies

Chapter 4 discussed Black Ugandan British parents' choice of schools for their children to attend and this is an important educational strategy Black Ugandan British parents use to support their children's education. In addition to this careful selection of schools for their children to attend, Black Ugandan British parents utilise private education, private tutoring and supplementary schools which suggests that their class backgrounds and present circumstances inform how they support their children's learning. Their use of these educational strategies to support their children's learning is demonstrated through their narratives presented in this chapter. I begin with private education.

5.3.1 Private education

My study suggests that Black Ugandan British parents employ similar educational strategies as White middle class parents to promote their children's learning for example, private education and further highlight the underlying factors that influence Black Ugandan British parents to use private education as an educational strategy to support their children's education. These factors include perceptions of private boarding

schools in Ugandan society and British Ugandan children's behaviour in English schools.

In Uganda, private boarding schools are perceived to offer high quality education compared to Ugandan government schools. Famisa seems to bring this background to supporting her children's education in England. She explained that she "[has] tried everything [including educating her son in a] private secondary school in England [and] private education in Uganda. It was revealed in her narrative that [she] used to "work day and night to pay £3000 a term for [her] son to attend a private school" (Famisa). These findings further demonstrate that Famisa strives to get the best education for her son and not only show how Famisa invests heavily in her son's education, but also highlight how she draws on her accumulated capital to educate her son in a private boarding school. The findings also seem to indicate the difference between the way Famisa accumulates economic capital and the way the White middle class accumulate capital to educate their children in private boarding schools. While White middle class parents have various 'easy' ways of accumulating economic and social capital to educate their children for example, through their high status and well paid jobs, Famisa has to "work day and night" to generate economic capital to educate her son in a boarding school. Considering Famisa's working class positioning in England, Famisa's narrative seems to reveal feelings that appear to be associated with the struggles she goes through to accumulate capital to support her children's education in England.

Before I continue with the discussion of Black Ugandan British parents in my study and how they use private education to promote their children's learning, it is important to highlight the risk Black Ugandan British parents from an asylum seeking background take to send their children to Uganda. Having been in the Ugandan community for a long time and bearing in mind the shared experiences of migration, I managed to gain

an understanding of the process of sending Black Ugandan British children to private boarding schools in Uganda. As Black Ugandan British parents have an asylum seeking background in England, there are restrictions for them to travel to Uganda because of the danger that led them to migrate from Uganda to England in the first place. The move of sending their children to Uganda relies heavily on their families and friends' networks. It appears that Black Ugandan British parents in my study work with their family members and friends to help them in the process of sending and taking their children to Uganda.

As Black Ugandan British children were born in Britain, they are free from the limitations or restrictions on their parents' movements to Uganda. This means that they can travel and study in Uganda if they fulfil the visa requirements of travelling to and staying in Uganda. Black Ugandan British parents in my study work with their family members in Uganda and friends in England who have no restrictions to travel to Uganda in organising this process of sending or taking their children to boarding schools in Uganda.

Turning to the discussion of private education as an educational strategy used by Black Ugandan British parents in my study to support their children's education, findings from my study indicate that private education is a common educational strategy amongst Black Ugandan British parents. The intervention of sending Black Ugandan British children to private boarding schools in Uganda also appears to be a common practice amongst Black Ugandan British parents in my study as they pursue their children's academic success. For example, Hajra explained how she and her husband "took [their] twins to Taiba international boarding school in Uganda because they had problems in school here [in England, how] the teachers said that they were not listening in school [how] nothing good was coming out of school [and how the teachers] said [that] they

were concerned about their [twins] behaviour.” Hajra continued to explain that “when this began to affect [her children’s] grades in school, [Hajra and her husband] took them to Taiba [and stated that] Taiba is a very good school and it is international, so it was for the best.” (Hajra)

These findings appear to indicate that Hajra’s children’s behaviour in an English school may have led to the deterioration of their levels, which raised concern about their attainment. This then appears to have informed Hajra to intervene by developing or adopting a resistant strategy of taking her children to an international private boarding school in Uganda to support their education. Hajra stated that “it was better for them to get the best education [in Uganda] than failing here [in England so, she strongly believed that they] made the right choice.” (Hajra)

Arguments have been forward that “there is considerable evidence that teachers...interpret the behaviours of Black boys ...and Black girls... in negative ways, for example, as aggressive and challenging [and] it has been argued that these findings reflect Western racist stereotypes of Black people, particularly Black men/boys, as aggressive and uncontrollable” (Archer and Francis, 2007p.42). John (2006, p.238) also point out how Black pupils “have been subjected to negative prejudice, destructive stereotyping and low expectations” in English schools. These wider negative perceptions of Black boys in English schools not only appear to affect Hajra’s children to the extent of failing academically in an English school but also appear to affect more British Ugandan children.

We sent two of our sons to private boarding schools in Uganda because the *teachers said they had bad behaviour*...one was suspended...another one was at the edge of being kicked out of school...we didn't want them to end up *roaming* on London streets, we wanted them to stay in school and get the education which will benefit them in their lifetime, get degrees, get good jobs. (Nikita)

These findings show how Black Ugandan British parents make interventions to support their children's education as they pursue their academic success and further suggest that they resist the negative messages and communication from school about their children's behaviour that affect them by carrying on supporting their children's education, by not giving up on their children. Rather, they search for ways of keeping their children in education and pursuing their children's academic success. The findings above show how Black Ugandan British parents network as they explore options in school choices (private boarding schools in Uganda) and how they demonstrate that they have navigational capital (Yosso 2005) through navigating educational spaces in Uganda in their efforts to provide their children with the best education. The findings above also seem to reveal Black Ugandan British parents' ultimate goal of supporting their children's education that link to education qualifications attainment and employment security.

More findings from my study show how Black Ugandan British parents seek private education abroad to support their children's education rather than challenging English schools. Sofiah explained that "the school kept on complaining about [her] son's behaviour [and that] he was not concentrating in class [and this led to Sofiah to be] called into school to sign some forms [and was persuaded] that it was important to sign the forms because [her] son would benefit from the help the [school staff] were going to

give him.” Sophia’s narrative indicates that she took a careful approach and “told them [the school, that she and her husband] were going to think about it before signing the forms. [However,] when [her] husband went to pick up [their] son he was given the forms to sign but he told them that he was going to contact [Sofia] first before [they] signed the forms.” These findings not only show the underlying factors informing Black Ugandan British parents’ actions of using private education but also show how Sofia’s son’s school use excessive power when communicating with this Ugandan family. It appears that prior to this family’s invitation to go into school to “sign some forms”, it appears that this family was not aware of what was going to happen. Sofia’s husband’s response to the idea of signing the forms and his decision to contact his wife indicate that this family did not have prior knowledge about what the school was doing to tackle their son’s behaviour. Sofia’s narrative demonstrates that this family not only took a careful strategic approach when tackling the problem, but also illustrates how they developed resistant strategies and capital to support their children’s education. Sofia stated that “when he[r husband] came back he told [her] what happened [and] on that day [they] started to consider some schools in Uganda [and] when [they] got a place, [they] took [their] son to Kabojja secondary boarding school [as] it is one of the best schools in Uganda”. Sofia said her son “settled very well in the school and [they] didn’t get any complaint about his behaviour in Uganda”.

My analysis and interpretations of findings from my study suggest that there are differences between the underlying factors that influence Black Ugandan British parents to use private education in Uganda and the factors that influence the White middle class to use private education. While the White middle classes use private education to promote their children’s education and to secure social advantage (Moore et al., 2010), Black Ugandan British parents’ own middle class experiences of private education in

Uganda combined with knowledge of their children's negative experiences in English schools influence them to use private education abroad to promote their children's education.

Analysing the data, it appears that Sofiah's family made a choice of taking their son to Kabojja for several reasons. Firstly, by considering schools in Uganda and coming up with a decision of taking their son to Kabojja meant that they weighed the costs and benefits of taking their son to Kabojja against the behaviour complaints from their son's secondary school in England. Secondly, the findings indicate that this family believed in Kabojja to educate their son to their expectations. Putting the jobs they do (see chapter 4) and the money they earn in England into consideration, their action or choice of sending their son to a private school suggests that this Ugandan family has to do more than one job to be able to meet all the expenses of educating their son abroad as well as their and their other children's expenses in England.

Channer highlights "the weight of responsibility carried out by Black parents in a society which denies their children basic rights and interprets their behaviour in an unfavourable light" (Channer, 1995, p.19). Findings from my study show the weight of responsibility carried by Black Ugandan British parents as they make decisions of taking their children born in England abroad in pursuit of their children's education, which is a basic right for every child in England.

My findings also show how the behaviour of Black children from a Ugandan background can be interpreted in different ways in English schools and the effect of negative interpretations of behaviour of children from a Ugandan background. While Sofiah's son's behaviour was seen as 'bad' behaviour in an English school, it was not the case in Uganda. Research has shown how Black Africans and Black Caribbean children have been labelled as children with behavioural problems (Sewell, 1997,

Richardson, 2005, 2007) and how this has led to high rates of exclusions of Black children from English schools (Sewell, 1997, Richardson, 2005, 2007, Mirza, 2009, Gillborn, 2008).

Hall suggests that parents should “not be afraid to ask for information on school policy such as Special Educational Needs, exclusion, banding and behaviour” (Hall, 2005 in Richardson, 2005, p.212). He goes further to suggest that in regard to “a behaviour issue” (Hall, 2005 in Richardson, 2005, p.212) in schools, parents should go to schools and “ask to see the behaviour policy first and ensure the correct procedure has been followed. Where possible ask for proof and witness statements” (Hall, 2005 in Richardson, 2005, p.212). However, it appears that some Black Ugandan British parents choose to send their children to private boarding schools abroad rather than taking this approach.

Some educationalists add that “parents who feel concerned that their child is not being encouraged to develop her talents fully should not hesitate to go to the school and discuss in a positive manner how a proper level of achievement can be secured”(Partington and Wragg, 1989,p.47 cited in McKenley, 2005,p.119). However, my study suggests that Black Ugandan British parents may feel less able to challenge teachers if issues arise between schools and their children’s education due to their cultural value of respect for authority and as a consequence of the migration issues they experience as discussed above. Yao has also written about how the migrant experience can result in parental insecurity that puts migrant parents at a disadvantage when dealing with teachers in English schools (Yao, 1993). However, failure or being unable to challenge those in authority does not mean that Black Ugandan British parents do not do anything or care about their children’s education. My study shows that Black Ugandan British parents are making financial sacrifices to educate their children in

private boarding schools abroad and engage in a range of educational strategies as seen above.

More findings from my study show how British Ugandan children have been permanently excluded from English schools and how Black Ugandan British parents have sought private education abroad in pursuit of their children's academic success.

I took Bosco to a secondary school in Uganda because *the teachers were saying that his behaviour was bad*...he was expelled from school because of his behaviour. (Famisa)

This does not only show how Black Ugandan British children from migrant or asylum seeking backgrounds are excluded from English schools, but also seems to suggest that race does not work in isolation in producing educational inequality; it seems to intersect with factors associated with migration or asylum seeking to create education inequality. Black Ugandan British parents use of similar words such as “*teachers said they had bad behaviour*” (see Nikita's narrative above) and “*the teachers were saying that his behaviour was bad*” seems to suggest that to Black Ugandan British parents schools allege that their children have poor behaviour, yet their narratives indicate that they are very strict with their children's discipline (chapter 3 sets out their values that reinforce ‘good’ behaviour). One would assume that as Black Ugandan British parents are firm with their children's behaviour at home, their children should not be experiencing behavioural problems in English schools. Notwithstanding, Black Ugandan British parents' powerless positions compared to the teachers, coupled with the intersection of their asylum seeking and cultural background, appear to lead to their inability to question and challenge the exclusion of their children from English schools based on alleged poor behaviour.

5.3.2 Private tutoring

In this section, I begin by defining private tutoring. Private tutoring can be defined in various ways however, “in England, the term ‘private tutoring’ generally refers to tutoring on a one-to-one basis, which often takes place in the home of a tutor or the student” (Ireson and Rushforth, 2004, p.1). According to Bray and Kwok, private tutoring can also be defined as “tutoring in academic subjects [with the aim of providing extra academic support to students in] mainstream schooling” (Bray and Kwok, 2003, p.2).

Black Ugandan British parents and private tutoring: Having reviewed the literature available on private tutoring it appears that literature concerning Black Ugandan British parents’ use of or engagement in private tutoring is not available. Research into private tutoring “in England suggests that private tutoring is predominantly a [White] middle class activity” (Ireson and Rushforth, 2004, p.2) or White middle class practice (Moore et al., 2010). Unlike working class parents, White middle class parents use private tutoring and private education to support their children’s education and “value cultural assets or capital such as knowledge, qualifications and achievement” (Moore et al., 2010, p.37). My study challenges these arguments and suggests that Black Ugandan British parents in working class positions in England use similar educational strategies as White middle class parents for example, private tutoring to support their children’s education and value cultural assets or capital described by Moore et al above as I shall discuss.

Raising children’s attainment levels: Findings from my study suggest that Black Ugandan British parents use private tutoring to raise their children’s academic levels as they explain:

I pay a private tutor to teach my children and to help them with their schoolwork. I see them improving in their grades. This makes me extremely happy. (Samantha)

I pay for two hours, one hour for maths and one hour for English. I pay for this because it is necessary. Their grades have gone up and I want them to get the highest grades so that they can get into the best universities. (Dawud)

Dawud's narrative also indicates that the driving force behind his use of private tutoring to raise his children's levels is getting his children into further education and top universities.

More findings from my study show that Black Ugandan British parents in my study use private tutoring to support their children's education. For example, Sajeda talked about how she "pay[s] for a private tutor" to support her children's learning. Sadim also revealed how he "managed to get teachers who helped [his] children in maths and English [and how he] paid a private teacher to teach [his daughter] extra lessons in maths." In Magna's family, Magna disclosed that "[they] do [their] best to pay private tutors to help the[ir] children and how they] help them because [they] want the best education for them." These findings show how British Ugandan children's education is a priority to Black Ugandan British parents in my study, how parents are concerned about their children's education and how they invest heavily in their children's education as they pursue their children's academic success. Across families, parents use private tutoring to support their children's education and Everim's account below illustrates that her job positioning in England is a major influence behind her use of private tutoring.

We pay a private tutor so that they make it to university; we have to because we don't want them to suffer the way we do. (Everim)

My study goes further to illustrate how Black Ugandan British parents in my study work and negotiate with private tutors in relation to private tutoring charges.

They have a private tutor who teaches them maths and English...because I know him, he charges me money for two children instead of four children...normally he charges £7.50 per hour per child but I pay £15 for 2hrs for four children in years 5, 7, 9 and 11...it a group of tutors ...they have just started but help many children. (Nikita)

Through searching for ways of promoting her children's education, Nikita has developed a social network, which she uses to support her children's education.

Black Ugandan British parents' narratives go further to reveal how they intervene at an early stage and use private tutoring to make it possible for their children to achieve the best in their education.

I pay coaching for my children and I have been paying for them since they were in primary school because I don't want them to fall behind in their studies. I pay 160 a month for three hours every Saturday from 9.30 am-12.30pm...every Saturday. (Samantha)

These findings also highlight Black Ugandan British parents' desires to promote their children's learning and protecting their children from underachieving.

Across families, Black Ugandan British parents' accounts reveal how they go about supporting their children's education and further reveal locations within the community where Black Ugandan British parents take their children to get private tutoring.

They have a private tutor who teaches them, they meet her at the library in the evening. (Susan).

Findings from my study also reveal and confirm the underlying factors behind Black Ugandan British parents' use of private tutoring which include raising their children's attainment levels.

When my son went to secondary school, that is when I started *running* for private tutors to teach him, buy books to help him at home because I wanted him to pass his exams with good grades...it is not easy. (Sean)

Sean uses the word "running" to describe the process he went through to find private tutors and how the urgency of finding a private tutor to raise his son's levels pushed him to act as fast as he could. This word "running" also seems to reveal his feelings of restlessness as he sought for ways to support his son's education and to raise his academic attainment levels. These forms of educational strategies Black Ugandan British parents use to support their children's learning are not known. The findings above also appear to raise some questions as to what happened to Sean's son at secondary school level that led Sean to develop ways of supporting his son outside a British mainstream school. It appears that some issues arose at his son's secondary school, as I shall discuss.

Analysing the findings from my study, it also appears that Black Ugandan British parents prioritise private tutoring and provide it to their children in the subjects that appear to link to and are relevant to their children's future careers.

They get the coaching in maths, English and science because these are the main subjects... my son wants to be a doctor and my daughter wants to teach at university ...It will pay off in the end when they go to university, get degrees and good jobs. (Samantha)

Samantha also seems to be aware of the requirements needed for her children to get into further education and appears to believe that providing her children with private tutoring will lead her children to get the levels required to get into university to pursue their future careers. This suggests that Samantha paves a way for her children's future careers.

The findings presented above can also be interpreted that Samantha's and other study participants' Ugandan middle class background influences their ways of supporting their children's education. In Uganda parents perceived to be middle class parents pay for their children to be educated privately, the term is usually referred to as 'coaching' in Uganda. My study challenges assumptions that working class parents do not encourage their children to do well in school (Moore et al., 2010) and that "working class families are faced with a lack of both material and cultural capital" (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.70) to support their children's education. The next section will also illustrate that Black Ugandan British parents have cultural capital, which they use to promote their children's learning.

5.3.3 Supplementary schools/support networks

This section concentrates on discussing how Black Ugandan British parents use supplementary schools as an educational strategy to support their children's education. It begins by providing a definition of supplementary schools.

Maylor et al., (2010) suggest that "supplementary schools are often referred to by a plethora of terms, such as: 'supplementary schools', 'supplementary education', 'Saturday schools', 'Sunday schools' 'community schools', 'complementary schools and 'mother-tongue' schools" (p.27), 'ethnic minority language classes', 'after school clubs', [and] special needs', or community classes...[that] operate outside mainstream

education” (Abdelrazak, 2001,p.ix). According to Maylor et al., “‘after school’, ‘week days after school’, ‘community language’, ‘heritage language’ are also terms that have been used to refer to supplementary schools” (Maylor et al., 2010,p.28). However, Mirza (2009) argues that “there is no set definition of a supplementary school” (Maylor et al., 2010, p.27). Mirza regards supplementary schools as “self-funding, organic grassroots organisations...set up by and for the Black community ... [and] have a history that reaches back into the 1950s” (Mirza, 2009, p.103). According to Mirza Black supplementary schools “run after school on Saturdays or Sundays and are difficult to locate as they exist deep within the informal Black community and are supported by the Black church networks” (Mirza, 2009,p.103). Mirza points out that “these small, local, often community-based schools are not regarded in the same light as the voluntary aided separate religious ‘ethnic’ schools movement” (Mirza, 2009,p.103).

Mirza states that:

Unlike established Muslim, Jewish or Seventh Day Adventist schools, the supplementary school is based on a philosophy of inclusion rather than exclusiveness. A notable characteristic of these Black schools is that no matter if the school’s orientation is Methodist, Evangelical, Pentecostal, Rastafarian or Afrocentric (rooted in Garveyism), other children, including White working class children and children from other dominations or ethnic backgrounds, are welcomed. Their open community membership means that these schools place themselves outside of the contentious discourse for separate religious ‘ethnic schools’. Black supplementary schools are in that sense an anomaly within ‘ethnic’ education. (Mirza, 2009, p. 103)

Findings from my study show that Black Ugandan British parents send their children to supplementary schools to raise their children's attainment, promote their culture/linguistic heritage and cultural/religious beliefs. My study suggests that some established Muslim supplementary schools are inclusive and children from various ethnic groups attend such schools as I shall discuss.

5.3.4 Supplementary schools and raising attainment

I would like to now focus on discussing how Black Ugandan British parents in my study promote their children's educational attainment/achievement through religion in supplementary schools. My study also shows the relationship between religion and promoting children's educational achievement and reveals how through religion, Black Ugandan British parents are able to support their children in the national curriculum subjects.

Through that Madrassa, we managed to get teachers who helped my children in maths and English. This scheme started small but it has grown into a very big supplementary school attached to the Mosque [in North London] and many children go to that school. As well as learning about Islam, they teach children maths, English and Science at GCSE and A levels. Some children do their GCSE early, some at 14 years... It is a very good school; children learn about Islam, recite the Quran and also get support in maths, English and science. All my children go to that school and have learned a lot from that school and I am happy. (Sadim)

The findings from my study presented above show this supplementary school's reliance on enthusiastic and able members of the community and its high degree of effectiveness in supporting children to do their GCSEs early. They also highlight the importance of

“learning about other families and cultures” (Lall, Campbell and Gillborn, 2004, p.14) in relation to parental support of children’s learning. My study shows how Black Ugandan British parents use various educational strategies to pursue their children’s academic success and highlight the different ways in which Black Ugandan British parents support their children’s education.

My findings show how this supplementary school has been set up by parents to meet their cultural needs and the educational needs of their children. They go further to highlight how Sadim provides his children with supplementary education in a supplementary school that operates outside of normal school hours (weekends and evenings) and how this supplementary school is a community inspired education initiative, set up by parents to support mainstream learning as well as religious instruction (Maylor et al, 2010). It also appears that this supplementary school attached to the mosque is not exclusive, it “is based on a philosophy of inclusion rather than exclusiveness” (Mirza, 2009.p.103) as children from various ethnic groups attend this supplementary school. Findings presented above show how this supplementary school is held in a place of worship (mosque) in North London and how Sadim’s children get cultural support (religious) as well as academic support. Furthermore, my study seems to suggest that Black Ugandan British parents’ religious beliefs do not stand in isolation in influencing Black Ugandan British parents’ educational strategies. It appears that other factors such as raising their children’s academic levels also inform the nature or types of educational support Black Ugandan British parents offer their children and their use of educational strategies.

Black Ugandan British parents’ accounts suggest how they invest heavily in their children’s education by providing them with supplementary education to raise their attainment levels as seen in Dawud’s narrative below:

My children go to the Mosque in the evening and at weekends. When they finish learning about Islam, they have a break and then go to their classes to learn maths and English. I pay for two hours, one hour for maths and one hour for English. I pay for this because it is necessary. Their grades have gone up and I want them to get the highest grades so that they can get into the best universities.

(Dawud)

These findings highlight the complexities in educational strategies employed by Black Ugandan British parents to achieve their children's academic success and further suggest that their cultural (religion) and education backgrounds interrelate in influencing their educational strategies.

More findings from my study suggest that Black Ugandan British parents send their children to supplementary schools to support their education and raise their academic levels.

As Mugram explains:

What happened to my son when he went to secondary school was a wakeup call for us...he got E's and D's and the teachers were saying that, that is what he was capable of getting and therefore his GCSE's would be around those grades....we got scared... Where would he go with those grades? ... We had to do something about it because we didn't want him to fail... We took him to ['Bynah'] school on Saturday, [East London] they learn many things there, they teach them, help them with their homework ...the cost is reasonable when we think about what he gains from the school we pay £7 per hour...it is cheaper than a private tutor because private tutors charge from £15 and above, it's too much money, it cheaper at ['Bynah'] school...we are happy because they are doing a lot better in English, maths, science. (Mugram)

These findings show how parents in this family closely monitor their children's education. They also show the decline in their son's academic attainment at secondary school level and how this raised concern to Mugram's family. This family cares about their children's education, act accordingly and intervene by seeking alternative ways of supporting their children's education to prevent them from failing academically. Furthermore, findings above show how parents search for ways of improving their children's academic levels and how they are aware of the expected levels that need to be achieved. They clearly demonstrate that this Ugandan family invests heavily in their children's education by providing them with supplementary education through the Bynah supplementary school. They also show the good relationship between Black Ugandan British parents, their children and teachers at Bynah School and show the teachers' input as they teach and prepare Black Ugandan British for their exams and their wish for them to achieve academic success. These findings suggest that this Ugandan family possesses cultural, social and economic capital, which they use to support their children's education.

Black Ugandan British parents' counter stories offer a visibility of their cultural capital, which they use to promote their children's education, which challenges racialised, and class myths that blame Black parents for the low academic attainment of their children. Furthermore, Black Ugandan British parents' counter stories challenge the cultural deprivation theory particularly how it has been linked to parental involvement and how it is associated with Black parents' perceived lack of interest in their children's education and perceived low value on education.

The findings above highlight that Black Ugandan British parents in working class positions in England have various forms of cultural capital, which they use to promote their children's education, or learning, which challenges assumptions that Black

working class parents lack cultural capital to support their children's education. CRT through Black Ugandan British parents' narratives bring out class complexities and challenges Black Ugandan British parents face in the process of supporting their children's education.

More Black Ugandan British parents' narratives suggest that Black Ugandan British parents take their children to supplementary schools to promote their children's achievement.

My children attend [Bynah] on Saturdays and the teachers are very good. They help them with their school work and my children are happy, they say that the teacher explains to them what they need to do in their school work and how to prepare for exams, the teachers have the time, care and want to help the children to pass their exams with good grades. (Sajid)

Across families Black Ugandan British parents support their children's education by sending them to supplementary schools to promote their children's academic levels.

I take my children to [Waltham school in North London] on Saturday, it is like a normal school the children attend classes and learn maths, science and English... the children do tests, get reports, go on school visits... It is at a primary school premises in [North London] ...I didn't know about the school but my friend told me about it and said it has been there for over ten years but I didn't know, it is a good school and my children feel very safe. (Susan)

Black Ugandan British parents have a network they use to inform others about the educational strategies that they can use to support their children's education in England, suggesting that Black Ugandan British parents prioritise their children's education and work together to achieve a common goal of their children's academic success. Black

Ugandan British parents have not only developed strategies to promote their children's learning in England but Waltham school also seems to provide a safe environment for Black Ugandan British who attend it. It also seems to engage Black Ugandan British children in educational, cultural and social activities.

My study suggests that more Black Ugandan British parents promote their children's education through Waltham supplementary school in North London and through their networks they are able to share information about supplementary schools where they send their children.

I never heard about [Waltham school]...I really wanted to work together with the teacher to help my son but the teacher made it difficult for me ...when I talked to my friend about it, he said try [Waltham school], you will not regret it, your children will pass with very good grades, the teachers are very good and really want the children to pass with good grades...many Africans and West Indians take their children there...I took them because the cost per child at [Waltham] was cheaper than paying a private tutor and the hours were from 9.00am-12.00 noon...I am happy with the results because there is a big change in their levels in maths, English and science. (Sean)

The findings above indicate that unlike the D-centre, this school is inclusive, as it not only used by Black Ugandan British parents. These findings not only show the challenges Black Ugandan British parents face in the process of working with schools to support their children's education, but also show how negative school experiences lead Black Ugandan British parents to make interventions to promote their children's education outside mainstream schools. Interpreting these findings, it appears that educational success without parental input is not easily achievable, given Sean's

description that “it is not easy”. The findings further not only show how Black Ugandan British parents have developed a network within the Ugandan community to promote their children’s education, how they reassure each other of the benefits and importance of supplementary education but also show how Black Ugandan British parents are happier with the quality of education provided by Waltham school to their children than the quality of education provided within English mainstream schools. Black Ugandan British parents express similar feelings through phrases such as “I am happy” (Sean, see also Sadim’s narrative above) which indicate the positive attitude Black Ugandan British parents have about supplementary schools in reference to raising their children’s academic levels in mainstream schools. Black Ugandan British parents’ input through providing supplementary education seems to contribute to their children achieving expected National curriculum levels in English mainstream schools. However, schools seem to get the credit for children’s improvement in their national curriculum levels, as Black parents’ input such as Black Ugandan British parents’ input and contribution are not known.

The findings above also suggest that supplementary schools appear to be cheaper than private tutoring and Black Ugandan British parents’ experiences of supporting their children’s education outside British mainstream schools has led them to discover cheaper financial options in academic support provision as they search for their children’s academic success. However, their struggles, challenges, input and contribution appear to go unnoticed. The findings further show how Waltham supplementary school provides academic support to Black children from other communities, which appear to raise some questions about what is going on in English schools and why Black parents have to seek alternative ways of supporting their children’s education outside British mainstream schools. Across boroughs, Black

Ugandan British parents in my study use supplementary schools to raise their children's academic achievement:

Others who fail their maths and English in their normal secondary schools; also get help and get the opportunity to do their exams again. (Sadim)

These findings show how supplementary schools cater for mainstream school inadequacies by providing academic support to improve children's levels. The next section discusses how Black Ugandan British parents promote their Ugandan culture/linguistic heritage through supplementary schools.

5.3.5 Supplementary schools and promoting Ugandan culture/linguistic heritage

My study demonstrates how Black Ugandan British parents provide their children with supplementary education to promote their cultural knowledge (language).

I take them to [D-Centre in North London] to learn Ugandan culture, Luganda language...they need to know their identity as this will enable them to survive the challenges in society. (Sajeda)

The D-Centre runs in a community centre and focuses on providing British children from a Ugandan background with knowledge and understanding of the Bagandan culture including the Luganda language. The idea of "reinforcing... culture and identity" (Maylor et al., 2010, p.71) appears to influence Black Ugandan British parents to send their children to D-Centre. The findings above illustrate how Sajeda is eager that her children learn the Baganda culture as well as gaining an understanding of their cultural identity. My study shows the importance of and value of culture and identity to Sajeda; and her desire to transmit the concepts of culture and identity into her children's lives. These findings can also be interpreted that the transmission of culture may not only increase awareness of the Ugandan culture amongst British Ugandan children

born in England including Sajeda's children but may also give them confidence to be proud of who they are as they exist between two cultures (Ugandan culture and British culture). An understanding of their cultural identity is also important as Sajeda contends in her children being able to 'survive' the societal challenges they are likely to face. Like Sajeda, my study further suggests that other Black Ugandan British parents use the D-Centre to reinforce language, culture and identity.

My children like going to the D-Centre and they enjoy meeting other children there and doing the activities together...they learn the culture, Luganda language and have fun as well... they teach them and they also organise game competitions for the children...my children are happy that they learn while having fun. (Magna)

I help at the [D-Centre] on Saturdays, so we go together with my children and come back together, the school is good and children learn, it is easier for them to learn at the [D-Centre] because it is like in school, the children learn together, share ideas and have fun together my children look forward to Saturdays because they meet their teachers and friends at [D-Centre]...they know how to speak Luganda... and have learned a lot about the Baganda culture. (Famisa)

Before, I continue analysing this data, I would like to highlight how families in my study demonstrate their linguistic capital identified in their narratives. They demonstrate their linguistic capital in their use of cultural centres where their children communicate with each other as well as adults in the Luganda language. Being able to communicate in English and Luganda shows British Ugandan children's high intellectual skills attained through communicating both languages. This means that Black Ugandan

British children come to English schools with a range of intellectual communication and social skills (Yosso, 2005) that schools should nurture.

These findings not only show how the D-Centre provides Ugandan cultural and linguistic knowledge to British children from a Ugandan background during out of school hours but also show how Black Ugandan British parents take their children to the D-Centre to socialise with other children from various Ugandan families. This suggests that Black Ugandan British parents also strengthen their community through these practices and ideas they appear to instil in their children.

Across families, Ugandan culture, including language appears to be at the heart of Black Ugandan British parents' educational support provision and through supplementary schools, British Ugandan children get "help... to learn Luganda language ...Bagandan manners, music and food... and Bagandan culture" (Mugram).

Black Ugandan British parents strive to support their children to learn these important elements of the Baganda culture with hope that their children will be able to transfer these practices to the future generations. The idea behind this strategy is to keep their culture alive as it has been for generations. Black Ugandan British parents shared the joy; comfort and confidence the Luganda language brings to their lives and their families and emphasise the importance of their children knowing their identity as their narratives show:

They need to learn our culture... *If one loses his or her identity, he or she has lost everything...*children must understand that...they teach them many things at the [D-Centre]. (Sajeda)

These findings suggest that language and cultural identity reinforcement are at the centre of Black Ugandan British parents' educational strategies as they search for their children's academic success. The value Black Ugandan British parents put on language

and identity is expressed through the language they use as seen in the findings presented above. These powerful images reflect Black Ugandan British parents' feelings about their culture and identity and their desire for their children to grasp the concept of their cultural identity. For example, Sajeda is emphasising the point that her culture and identity play an important role in the way she views herself as an individual and therefore, losing an understanding of who she is and what she represents in terms of her cultural roots means emptiness or having nothing valuable. This is what she seems to instil in her children. More findings from my study demonstrate how parents in my study promote Ugandan culture/linguistic heritage with the aim of reinforcing their cultural identity to their Black Ugandan British children particularly through teaching the Luganda language. As revealed through Hajra's narrative:

I talk to my children about their identity, culture and the importance of being proud of who they are... It is really important for the children to learn the Baganda culture and Luganda language, it keeps them focused because Baganda culture is not only about learning the language but it is important that children also learn the Bagandan customs. (Hajra also see chapter 3)

Educating her children about the Bagandan culture and focusing on the aspects of language, customs and cultural identity appear to be priorities to Hajra. This is the broader picture Hajra has about education and through culture; she strives to bring up the 'right kind' of people in this world. In her view, educating her children about the Bagandan culture seems to be the foundation of education. It is also important to revisit my culture and education chapter as it discussed the value of Luganda language to parents in my study and how it identifies them as Baganda people from Uganda. This value and background lead Black Ugandan British parents to reinforce their Bagandan identity to their children born in England by teaching them the Luganda language.

Providing this Ugandan cultural knowledge to Black Ugandan British seems to be a strategy used by Black Ugandan British parents to support their children's education to develop knowledge, skills and understanding of their Ugandan cultural identity. As Sajeda explains:

My children start learning the Luganda language at a very young age. I speak to them in Luganda because I want them to learn it and teach it to their children. *If I don't teach them Luganda*, it means they won't be able to pass it on to their children. This language was a language spoken by my great grandfathers and great grandmothers, they taught it to our grand fathers and mothers and then passed it on to our fathers and mothers and our parents taught us Luganda. We *must* teach it to our children and then they will pass it on to the next generation. *If we don't teach them, the Luganda language will fade away.* (Sajeda)

These findings suggest that for Sajeda, the education of her children starts at home by educating them to speak the Luganda language to reinforce their cultural identity. This is Sajeda's broad vision of educating her children that goes beyond the school's perspective discussed in chapter 3. The value she puts on teaching her children the Luganda language and the way she strives to preserve it from one generation to the next with cultural identity reinforcement being at the heart of this process is evident in her narrative. The process of transmitting this cultural knowledge and passing it on from generation to generation appears to be an intergenerational process and strategy of teaching culture including the Luganda language to reinforce Ugandan culture and identity. The language she uses suggests that it is a duty or a responsibility she has to fulfil to promote the Luganda language and to protect it and more importantly shows the value she puts on her culture through language. Sajeda reveals her concerns about her

Luganda language disappearing and her desires to protect it through educating her children who she expects to pass it on to the next generation through the language she uses in her narrative. Her worries about the fading of the Luganda language also seems to push her to teach it to her children with the aim of “pass[ing] it to the next generation” to keep it alive. This shows the value she places on her language. The repetitive phrases such as “*If I don’t teach them the Luganda language*” not only emphasise the importance of the Luganda Language to Sajeda and the high value she puts on it but also shows her willingness to teach it to her children to limit the chances of it “fad[ing] away”. These are the values Sajeda instils in her children. However, English schools seem not to be aware of such important values that Black Ugandan British children bring with them to English schools. As these values are important to Black Ugandan British parents and their children, they need to be acknowledged and nurtured in English schools.

The valuing of the Luganda language, the positive attitude of promoting the Luganda language and the teaching of the Luganda language to Black Ugandan British children for cultural identity reinforcement are common practices amongst the families in my study.

It is a *shame* if they don’t speak Luganda because even though they are born in Britain, *they need to know* about their culture, so *we have to teach them* the language so that they know where they come from and if they go to Uganda to visit, they can communicate with other Ugandans in Luganda. (Sean)

Strengthening Ugandan cultural identity is clearly demonstrated through Sean’s narrative. His emphasis on providing cultural knowledge of the Luganda language to his children born in England suggests Sean’s reinforcement of the Baganda culture and identity to his children through teaching them the Luganda language. These findings

reveal that some of Black Ugandan British parents' reasons of focusing on providing Ugandan cultural knowledge to their children include understanding "their culture... [and] where they come from". The image of shame appears to describe Sean's worries or concerns about identity crisis that could arise from his children's lack of knowledge and understanding of Ugandan culture including the Luganda language. Sean tries to prevent this from happening through teaching his children the Luganda language. Like Sajeda, Sean also appears to have worries about the imagined loss of the Luganda language if "[he does not] teach [his children] the [Luganda] language". These worrying feelings seem to be shared amongst Ugandan families in my study and appear to push Black Ugandan British parents to promote their Luganda language as Dawud emphasised that "the children must learn Luganda" (Dawud). Black Ugandan British parents use similar words such as "*we have to teach them*", "*we must teach it*" which not only show the importance of promoting their language and preserving their culture but also seem to reveal their worries about the Luganda language "fade". Black Ugandan British parents seem to believe that the Luganda language "fade" may occur if Black Ugandan British parents become unsuccessful in promoting the Luganda language through teaching it to their British born children. Like Sajeda, Sean focuses on the Luganda language provision with the aim of providing his children with knowledge and understanding of their heritage and identity. Sean's narrative also reveals that he focuses on teaching the Luganda language for communication purposes and he aspires for his children to be able to "communicate" with "other Ugandans in Luganda". These findings seem to fit in well with Banks's suggestions that "the fundamental role of a language or dialect is group communication" (Banks, 1994, p.271).

Sean's narrative below also confirms this:

It is important that the children learn Luganda because we need to communicate with them and they need to communicate with the family members in Uganda.

(Sean)

These findings demonstrate the use of language as a tool for home and group communication (Banks, 1994). Sean emphasises the “importa[nce]” of the Luganda language being taught to his children and the need for his children to learn the Luganda language. Interpreting these findings, it appears that not succeeding to achieve this may be perceived by his relatives and Bagandan people in general as a loss of Bagandan identity, which may be viewed in a negative way in the Bagandan society. This also appears to influence Sean to teach his children the Luganda language so that they are able to communicate fluently in Luganda to meet his and Baganda people’s cultural expectations of speaking the Luganda language. This fluency not only leads to Black Ugandan British parents’ satisfaction as their children achieve a good command of the Luganda language, but also lead to British Ugandan children’s satisfaction as they feel confident about their Ugandan cultural identity. Black Ugandan British parents’ cultural input of providing their children with cultural knowledge and history of their culture in relation to the Luganda language aims at broadening British Ugandan children’s understanding of the Ugandan culture, the history of the Luganda language and the importance of preserving it and passing it on to the next generation. This is the cultural background Black Ugandan British parents bring to supporting their children’s education in England.

The findings from my study presented above may also be interpreted that the idea of valuing and teaching the Luganda language to Black Ugandan British children in England stem from the Black Ugandan British parents’ cultural background discussed in chapter 3. The use of the Luganda language as a tool to trace the Bagandan tribal origin

may also influence Black Ugandan British parents in my study to focus on teaching their Black Ugandan British children the Luganda language. It is also important to mention that language plays an important role in the identification of people from different tribes in Ugandan society and serves as a tool through which Ugandan people learn about their culture to develop a sense of self. This is important because the daily lives and activities of Ugandan people are linked to and determined by their tribal affiliation and associated culture. This also appears to influence parents in my study to send their children to supplementary schools to learn the Bagandan culture.

Across families, language appears to serve as a tool through which Black Ugandan British learn about their culture to develop a sense of self and Black Ugandan British parents use every opportunity to teach their children their Bagandan culture through language. As Samantha's narrative illustrates:

They go to ...East London, South London and lots of Ugandan groups teach Luganda and our culture to children. (Samantha)

These findings show how Black Ugandan British parents have different locations where they take their children to learn the Luganda language and how Ugandan people in England have come together to promote their culture including the Luganda language. This demonstrates the high value they put on their Ugandan culture and the importance of teaching Bagandan culture including the Luganda language to their children. These findings suggest that Black Ugandan British children come to English classrooms with their cultural knowledge and learning skills that schools should nurture. However, Black Ugandan British parents' input and the contribution they make towards their children's learning at a very early start of their children's education appear not be acknowledged or valued and is missed in the education discourse in England.

More findings from my study show how Black Ugandan British parents encourage their children to learn the Luganda language and more importantly how they promote their children's education through language. For example, their use of language centres to support their children's education as revealed through their narratives:

They learn Luganda with their friends at [D] centre, their teachers are very good...they also help them with reading and writing. (Sadim)

They also go to [Bynah school in East London] and the teachers try their best to teach the children Ugandan culture and Luganda language and they also teach them maths, science and English. (Hajra)

It is clear from Hajra's narrative that Black Ugandan British are supported in the national curriculum subjects such as maths, science and English at Bynah supplementary school. Sadim's narrative also suggests that the D-centre takes a similar approach to support Black Ugandan British children in the English subject. These findings highlight the role Black Ugandan British parents play in providing educational support to their children through supplementary education.

In regard to the Luganda language provision to British Ugandan children, these findings show how Black Ugandan British parents are proud of their history as a people, greatly value the Luganda language and therefore strive to retain their linguistic heritage. Abdelrazak argues that "the values of mother-tongue and supplementary education cannot be underestimated. The strong cultural input, including lessons in history and culture, give children a real sense of their position in society. As such supplementary schools and mother tongue schools are not in opposition to mainstream education, but rather they reinforce and enhance it" (Abdelrazak, 2001, pp.9-10). Evidence from Maylor et al's work suggest that "language schools were seen as providing something

extra that could not be provided in the mainstream [schools] (Maylor et al 2010,p.71). Analysing findings from my study it appears that none of the schools the Black Ugandan British parents' children attended taught the Luganda language, which may be one of the reasons that led parents in my study to promote it through their home environment and Ugandan community schools.

My study reveals a range of reasons influencing Black Ugandan British parents to teach their children the Luganda language and shows how they use language as an educational strategy to increase the chances of their children to secure decent jobs. As Dawud explains:

If my children get their degrees from here and are fluent speakers of Luganda I am very sure that if they don't get jobs here, they will get jobs in Uganda if they want to work there. (Dawud)

These findings show that through language, Black Ugandan British parents promote employment opportunities for their children. Similar findings have been found by Zhou and Kim (2006) and Francis, Archer and Mau (2008) in relation to Korean and Chinese parents and their use of supplementary schools. Abdelrazak emphasises the importance of promoting and teaching mother tongue languages and argues that the "benefits of learning one's mother tongue are numerous, and in an age of globalisation it would be short-sightedness not to benefit from the huge linguistic resources we have at our disposal" (Abdelrazak, 2001, p.10). Findings from my study presented above suggest that Dawud is aware of the benefits of bilingualism in a multilingual global society in an age of globalization and therefore seems to equip his children with language skills to broaden their employment opportunities in a globalized society. My study shows how Black Ugandan British parents in my study benefit from the huge linguistic resources available such as supplementary or mother tongue schools to promote their children's

education as well as their culture. However, this form of educational support Black Ugandan British parents provide to their children, input and contribution towards their children's educational success appear to go unnoticed. I now move on to the next section to discuss how parents promote their cultural/religious beliefs through supplementary schools.

5.3.6 Supplementary schools and promoting cultural/religious beliefs

Having discussed how Black Ugandan British parents promote their cultural/linguistic heritage as well as their children's academic achievement through supplementary schools, I would like to discuss how Black Ugandan British parents in my study promote their cultural/religious beliefs: and, how they reinforce their religious identities to their Black Ugandan British children through supplementary schools. In addition, I would also like to discuss how Black Ugandan British parents have developed support networks and how these support networks help them to support their children's education in England.

My study suggests that Catholic parents in my study visit different churches in London including a Ugandan church where they perform their Sunday and evening prayers. Visiting this Ugandan church is important to the Catholic families because it gives their Ugandan cultural identity more recognition. That is a feeling of ownership (our own church) which brings back memories of their experiences of going to and practicing in churches in Uganda. Catholic parents take their children to the Ugandan church to pray and to stress the idea of their 'collective identity' (Ogbu, 2003). Thus, even though their children are born in England and have a British identity, they have other identities such as Baganda and being a Catholic.

Religion is part of our lives. We go to the Ugandan church [in North London]...Many Ugandans attend this church. I take my children to this church because other Ugandan people go to the same church. Children must know their roots and how things are done in our culture. If we don't support our church, then who is going to do it? ...It's a good church because it has a funeral service facility and Ugandans also use it for special prayers and services if someone dies...I take my children to church because they must know God. How can you *survive* in this world without knowing God?...I grew up going to church with my parents and I know the peace religion brings to someone's life. (Susan)

These findings not only show how Black Ugandan British parents have developed social and cultural networks and how they support them through their struggles, challenges and times of difficulties but also show that Black Ugandan British parents promote their cultural aspect of religion through the Ugandan church. The last sentence in the above quote suggests an intergenerational strategy of promoting Ugandan religious culture from the first generation (Black Ugandan British parents' parents), to the second generation (Black Ugandan British parents) and to the third generation (British Ugandan children).

These findings show how this Ugandan family strives to bring up their children with Catholic values such as praying, respect and love. They seem to believe that their children need to know God and through religion, they reinforce this idea. This family seems to pursue internal peace through religion and seem to believe that the concept of God and faith lead to overcoming the challenges that they face in their daily lives. The language Susan uses in the above narrative indicates that without faith there is no survival. For Susan, faith seems to play a huge role in her continued existence. These feelings may be brought about by her experiences in England and the struggles she goes

through (see chapter 4). Interpreting findings from my study, it appears that these negative feelings deriving from their experiences in England also seem to lead parents in my study to draw even closer to God yearning for some sort of strength to carry on. The image in the above narrative seems to indicate a life and death feeling, which seems to be shared amongst Black Ugandan British parents. As indicated in Sean's narrative:

I take religion very seriously...I am trying my best to equip my children with both religious knowledge and knowledge they need to survive in this world.
(Sean)

These findings show how religion plays a major role and how religious beliefs give meaning to the families' lives. The image in Sean's narrative shows the value Sean puts on religion and illustrates that he does not take religion lightly. These findings can also be interpreted that his experiences associated with migration for example, asylum seeking experiences combined with his employment experiences in England also set him in motion to prepare his children through providing them with knowledge associated with faith and belief which he believes are important for his children to acquire. Sean and Susan use the same phrase such as "*survive in this world*" which indicates the role religion plays in Black Ugandan British parents' lives, how it helps them to go through their sufferings (see chapter 4 also see private education section below) and how it helps them to stay alive. They seem to reveal their emotions associated with their experiences in England through the image of survival.

Muslim parents have also developed support networks to support their children's education. As Dawud explains:

We go to the mosque every Friday; sometimes we go to the Ugandan Mosque in (north London) because the Imams preach in Luganda. It makes a difference when they preach in Luganda because Luganda makes it more interesting so, the attention or focus is greater. There are lot of scholars who preach about various things. At the Ugandan Mosque, we also get the chance to meet once a month, usually at the end of every month. This meeting is good, different speakers talk about the problems we face in London especially problems concerning raising children in UK. There is a young sheikh who talks to the children about the importance of listening to parents and elders, good behaviour and education. The children like him because they relate to him as he is a young sheikh. (Dawud)

These findings show how Dawud searches for a sense of belonging, connections to other Ugandan people, socialising and group or community support networks by going to “the Ugandan Mosque”. The idea of “a young sheikh who talks to the children about the importance of listening to parents and elders, good behaviour and education” show how older Sheikhs are passing on the preaching practice to the young so that they can also pass it on to the next generation in order to protect, preserve, or maintain their religious/cultural practices. It also appears that the older sheiks strive to reach out to the young generation through young sheiks with hope that they can work with them to support Black Ugandan British children who exist between two cultures. The phrase “speakers talk about the problems we face in London” appears to be a reassuring statement to Dawud as he appears to believe that other Black Ugandan British parents in England go through similar challenges. Talking about these experiences and discussing solutions in the mosque suggest a Ugandan support network aiming at supporting British Ugandan children’s education in England. However, these struggles and challenges Uganda parents go through and the strategies they develop to support them

through their challenges as they pursue their children's academic success appear not to be known. Findings from my study presented above suggest that this Ugandan Muslim family visits the Ugandan mosque for various reasons including praying, strengthening their Ugandan Muslim community in Britain and socialising by talking about issues that concern them in England, a concept of "solidarity develop[ed] in the context of struggle" (Sleeter, 2012,p.9).

Another reason for attending the Ugandan Mosque is that if a tragedy happens for example, a death of a Ugandan person, Ugandan people support the family members of the dead by gathering to pray for the dead, collect money, arrange the funeral whether in England or abroad in Uganda and stay with the family for some days. The announcing of the dead, Ugandan peoples' gatherings to support the family of the dead, money collection, praying and burying the dead are common practices in Uganda when someone dies. Family, friends and community support in times of challenges is a common practice in Uganda. Since this unity is difficult to be achieved within the wider British society given the negative portrayal of Muslims in general in England hence how they are demonised (Gillborn, 2008), Ugandan Muslim parents strive to get this unity through the Ugandan Mosque. Further, findings show that through visits to the mosques Ugandan Muslim parents share information about supporting their children's education in England and make connections in regard to their children's education as I shall discuss. The findings above also show how Ugandan Muslim parents brought the cultural value of religion to England.

Although they speak English fluently, their choice of visiting the Ugandan Mosque where the Imam and scholars preach in Luganda indicates that Ugandan Muslim parents do not only value their culture but also use this approach so that their children become aware of their collective identity- "a sense of who they are, the "we" feeling or feeling

of belonging” (Ogbu, 2003, p.173). Thus, Black Ugandan British parents’ children are born in England and have a British identity, they have other identities such as Bagandan and Islamic identities. The Ugandan Mosque reflects their Black and Islamic identities. Taking their children to the Ugandan Mosque is one way of reinforcing their collective identity as Black Ugandan British parents share their cultural experiences (language, religion) with their children as well as other Ugandan people. This shows that these experiences are not only shared within the homes but go beyond homes to include the Ugandan Muslim community-a common practice in Uganda. This is important, as parents believe that their children will share with and pass on these experiences to the next generation to keep their culture alive.

Data from my study showed an intersection of religion, discipline and Black Ugandan British parents’ culturalistic approaches to child rearing as they support their children’s education. This is discussed in detail below.

As well as visiting the Ugandan Mosque in north London, Muslim Black Ugandan British parents also visit or attend other mosques for various reasons including religious and educational reasons.

My children started going to the Madrassa at the age of five, it is for two hours a week. (Sadim)

I try my best as a parent to discipline my children and send them to the Madrassa. They learn a lot at the Madrassa and they teach them the values of love and respect, all the children at the Madrassa are well behaved because religion comes with love, respect, good behaviour and good personality. (Sajeda)

I would like to focus on Sajeda’s narrative as it clearly demonstrates the relationship between religion, discipline and child rearing in education support provision. Sajeda’s

practice of taking her children to the Madrassa shows how religion is important to her family. Disciplining her children and taking them to the Madrassa appear to be some of the strategies she uses to support her children's education in England. Discipline also appears to be important to Sajeda and she seems to believe that if her children's discipline is good they can succeed in school. This is reflected in all the families in this study regardless of religious persuasion because their Ugandan cultural background relating to discipline informs their beliefs about discipline and educational success.

My study suggests that this Ugandan Muslim family also brought their cultural value of raising children. In Uganda, parents, families, communities work together in the process of bringing up children. This concept of shared responsibility in child rearing appears to be missing within the wider British society and as a result, Black Ugandan British parents in my study regardless of their religious backgrounds link to their Ugandan cultural background of child rearing in the process of bringing up their children in England. Ugandan Muslim parents in my study use the Ugandan Muslim community to serve the purpose of this togetherness in child upbringing and to support them to achieve this.

The relationship between religion, discipline and child rearing is also evident in Ragina's narrative presented below.

I teach my children good manners, I also take them to church, they are humble and very disciplined. (Ragina)

My study shows how Black Ugandan British parents in my study reinforce 'good behaviour' at home, supplementary schools, churches, mosques, and community centres, which is transferred into mainstream schools. Analysing findings from my study it appears that Black Ugandan British parents' background from Uganda also contribute to ensuring that their children's behaviour is 'good'. My study also suggests

that across the board, Black Ugandan British parents in my study believe that if their children are well behaved, they will achieve academic success and this appears to be a powerful influence on their behaviour reinforcement. Hajra highlighted how through her culture, particularly through customs her children are able to attain:

Discipline, politeness, humbleness, respect, love and caring [qualities and Hajra seems to believe that] if they have good manners and all these things they will get far in life, they will listen in school and their behaviour is good they will learn and get high grades in school [which seems to lead her] to make sure [that her children] get this knowledge because[her] parents gave [her] this knowledge and has helped [her] a lot to survive in this challenging world.
(Hajra)

Given the cultural differences in child rearing, Black Ugandan British parents regardless of religious background expect their children to be well disciplined as such they extensively monitor who their children hang around with in England. This stems from the idea of respect for oneself and others. In Uganda, parents are strict in disciplining children and discipline centres on respect, love and care. In contrast, some parents in my study seem to believe that some children in England lack respect for themselves and others. As Ragina explained:

You see children on the bus who don't have respect for themselves and adults, they shout on the bus, sit on chairs anyhow and don't have respect for themselves and adults at all. (Ragina)

Given, Ragina's Ugandan cultural background, this sort of behaviour seems to be different from the behaviour of children in Uganda where behavioural focus is mainly placed on respecting oneself, family and community members as well as elders in the wider community in Ugandan society. This background seems to inform Ragina's

expectations of the children's behaviour and seems to lead her to interpret the behaviour of the children she sees on the bus in London in a negative way and as unacceptable behaviour.

Regardless of their religious persuasion, Black Ugandan British parents have similar behavioural expectations and strive to bring up their children born in England within their cultural behavioural expectations boundaries.

I do my job as a parent to help my children with their education, they know what good behaviour is and they know how we expect them to behave...I expect the teachers to do their job of teaching the children and making sure that they do well in school because if the behaviour is good, they learn better and this is how it is in Uganda...It does not matter how many children in the classroom, the children will behave and teachers do their job of teaching the children. (Sean)

These findings clearly show how Sean reinforces "good behaviour", his expectations of his children's behaviour and his aim of reinforcing "good behaviour". They also demonstrate how Sean associates "good behaviour" with education and how his Ugandan background informs his attitude towards his children's behaviour expectations and education. Sean seems to believe that if he reinforces 'good' behaviour, his children will be able to achieve academic success. His narrative above illustrates the shared responsibilities towards achieving this goal with his focus on behaviour reinforcement, his children's focus on meeting his family's behaviour expectations and the teachers' role to educate the children who come from the family and community where discipline is a focus of attention.

More findings from my study show the relationship between religion, discipline, child rearing and educational support provision with Black Ugandan British parents using

cultural strategies to promote their children's education. As illustrated through Dawud's account:

Children need to have a concept of God. *I take religion very seriously. Without religion, we are empty.* If the children are religious, *the job of bringing them up becomes easy* and they can become successful in everything they do. Religion is our focus and once that is sorted, their education is not a problem. (Dawud)

The image "without religion, we are empty" suggests the importance of religion to Dawud's family and appears to describe Dawud's inner feelings about religion and how it plays a major role in his life and what having faith means to him. The language he uses also seems to implicitly reveal the struggles and challenges he goes through as he raises his children in England where the child protection rules appear to be different from those in Uganda and how religion seems to support him through these struggles and challenges. Dawud seems to believe that without religion he has nothing left to hold on to. This belief may also be brought about by his experiences in England (see chapter 4). Faith appears to keep him alive and without it he feels that he has nothing. He strives to instil faith into his children. These findings also reveal that in Dawud's perspective, religion is the foundation of education and as such he quips his children with religious knowledge.

My study shows how Black Ugandan British parents not only associate religion with discipline but also show how they are firm with discipline and expect their children to have good behaviour and to conduct themselves well at all times.

They need to be religious... my children have good manners ... and they also get to meet their friends and socialise at [D-Centre]. (Sajeda)

In regard to "socialisation" mentioned in the above findings, these findings can also be interpreted that Black Ugandan British parents have adopted a concept of solidarity and

seem to feel a sense of belonging and “support each other ...to further their sense of themselves and their community” (Maylor et al., 2010,p.33).

Black Ugandan British parents believe that if their children’s behaviour is “good” in schools then, there should not be behavioural related problems from schools and therefore, their children should be able to achieve as expected (also see Hajra’s narrative above). This also comes from their Ugandan background where parents are very strict in terms of disciplining their children. In Bagandan culture, disciplining children is a responsibility of parents, families and the whole community.

More findings show the relationship between religion and discipline and how parents in my study use support networks to support their children’s education and how they use members of their family in the process of supporting their children’s education. As Sajeda explains:

My brother helps me a lot with my children. He is always there for them...they also go to the mosque...you can’t bring up children without practicing religion...It is very difficult especially here...They have to know God, if they know God, they will listen to you, they will respect you and they will be obedient and their behaviour will be good. (Sajeda)

In Uganda family members including extended families work together to raise children as well as offering educational support in all forms including reinforcing good behaviour and how children should behave in school, outside school and in the wider Ugandan communities. The findings presented above show how social capital is generated through Sajeda’s family network. In Uganda this form of social capital is generated through family and community networks as families and communities work together to raise children as well as supporting them in their education. Sajeda’s narrative indicates how she draws on familial capital as she supports her children’s

education. Sajeda's account illustrates how she values and appreciates her brother's efforts to assist her with her children. It also shows the importance of family in childrearing in a Ugandan context. It goes beyond the role played by the mother and father of the child to include roles played by brothers as indicated in Sajeda's narrative. In addition, sisters, aunts, uncles, elders in the community and Ugandan society as a whole all have a role to play in educating the child either informally or formally. As parents in my study miss this in England, they reach out to people within their Ugandan community, Ugandan community centres, mosques and churches to fulfil these roles.

Analysing Sajeda's narrative above, it also appears that because she is a single parent, her brother steps in to support her with her children, indicating that in Sajeda's family, male role models are not scarce. This seems to suggest that debates around single parents which partly blame the educational underachievement of Black children on the absence of male role models at the family level (fathers) (Sewell, 2009), need to consider the contribution brothers make towards the education of Black Ugandan British within their homes.

Yosso argues that "there [are] forms of cultural capital that marginalized groups bring to the table but traditional cultural capital theory does not recognise or value" (Yosso, 2005, p.77). It appears that the various forms of cultural capital that Black Ugandan British parents use to promote their children's learning are not recognised, not valued and appear to be missed in the education discourse in England. It is argued that "schools most often work from assumptions that people of color lack social and cultural capital in structuring ways to help disadvantaged students whose race and class backgrounds [is perceived to have] left them lacking necessary knowledge, social skills, abilities and cultural capital" (Dixons and Rousseau, 2006,p.168). These assumptions do not only put Black Ugandan British parents who have social and cultural capital at a disadvantage

in the English education system, but also make the contribution they make towards their children's education invisible.

According to Dixons and Rousseau,

Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977 argued that the knowledge of upper and middle classes are considered capital valuable to a hierarchical society. If one is not born into a family whose knowledge is already deemed valuable, one can then access the knowledges of the middle and upper classes and the potential for social mobility through formal schooling. Bourdieu's theoretical insight about how a hierarchical society reproduces itself has often been interpreted as a way to explain why the academic and social outcomes of people of colour are significantly lower than the outcomes of Whites. (Dixons and Rousseau, 2006, p.168)

My study confronts this interpretation in terms of explaining why the academic outcomes of Black children are significantly lower than the outcomes of White children by not only highlighting Black Ugandan British parents' valuable capital but by also demonstrating Black Ugandan British parents' use of their capital to promote their children's education. My study also challenges the cultural deprivation theory as Black Ugandan British parents positioned as working class parents in England use various forms of cultural capital to support and promote their children's education. The cultural deprivation theory is challenged by Archer and Francis's work, which shows how British Chinese students from working class backgrounds overcome a disadvantage of class by internalising high educational ambitions enforced by Chinese working class parents, which in turn enforces appropriate behaviour towards the education of children from a Chinese background (Archer and Francis, 2007). My study also challenges the cultural deprivation theory and highlights the importance of understanding the different

ways in which parents in my study support their children's learning and "recognition of the social economic and cultural factors that influence this" (Crozier, 2012, p.4). It also highlights the importance of acknowledging "social capital (networks and community resources)" (Burciaga and Erbsstein, 2010, p.4). My study demonstrates how Black Ugandan British parents intervene and seek alternative ways of supporting their children's education outside school in order to raise their educational, academic or National Curriculum levels. Furthermore, my study not only show Black Ugandan British parents' concerns about their children's education levels in mainstream schools has also led them to support their children's education through supplementary schools but also show the role of supplementary schools in raising Black children's achievement.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter revealed Black Ugandan British parents' emotions, anger, suffering and racialised experiences as they support their children's education in England. Findings from my study appear to raise fundamental questions about the government's agenda of raising standards for all children in England schools and promoting inclusion in English schools and further question the monitoring and implementation of government educational policies such as the "1997 *White Paper Excellence in Schools, raising standards, promoting diversity [and] achieving results* (John, 2006,p. 25), "*the Green paper: Schools-Building on Success: raising standards, promoting race equality, valuing diversity, achieving results*" (John, 2006,p.26) and the Government's focus on providing working class and Black children "with quality educational opportunities for their self-development, for achieving academic success, and in preparation for the labour market" (John, 2006,p.25). The chapter also highlighted how policy developers

need to consider the issues raised in this chapter and the factors that influence the way Black Ugandan British parents support their children's learning.

The chapter provided an insight into how Black Ugandan British parents understand parental support of children's learning, the factors that influence the educational support provided to Black Ugandan British children and calls for understanding parents' support of children's learning from Black Ugandan British parents' perspective within their families and communities. The chapter discussed how Black Ugandan British parents play an important role in their children's education, how they engage in a range of educational strategies to support their children's learning in England. These educational strategies include listening to British Ugandan children's educational experiences, encouraging and motivating Black Ugandan British children to concentrate or focus on their education. Amongst the many strategies used by Black Ugandan British parents to support their children's education are speaking or talking to Black Ugandan British children about the importance of education and the need for them to succeed in their education, using older siblings to support the young ones in their education, as well as purchasing educational resources to promote their children's education. Reinforcing 'appropriate' behaviour and good manners as well as reminding their Black Ugandan British children of what is expected of them in terms of education and behaviour are strategies parents use to promote their children's education. Black Ugandan British parents also use a range of cultural strategies to support their children's education for example, use of cultural centres to promote their cultural identity as well as promoting British Ugandan children's education. The chapter revealed how Black Ugandan British parents have developed support networks to support their children's education. It also discussed how parents in my study employ a range of educational strategies to promote

their children's learning such as visits to schools, private education, private tutoring and supplementary schools.

Various factors that influence Black Ugandan British parents' educational strategies as they search for their children's academic success have also been highlighted in this chapter. These factors include British/Ugandan experiences in English schools, raising British Ugandan children's education attainment, Black Ugandan British parents' cultural background, promoting Ugandan culture (language, religion) and resisting racism in English schools. Black Ugandan British parents use educational strategies to achieve the same goals of enabling their children to succeed in their education.

This chapter showed the relationship between culture and education and highlighted the importance of understanding Black Ugandan British parents' cultural backgrounds in influencing their ways of supporting their children's education. For example, their use of supplementary schools to raise their children's attainment levels as well as promoting their Ugandan culture (language, religion). We have also seen how Black Ugandan British parents' cultural and educational backgrounds and their employment positioning both in Uganda and in England interrelate or intersect in influencing their use of educational strategies. The chapter highlighted the importance of valuing cultural knowledge, skills, abilities and contacts possessed by socially marginalised groups that often go unrecognised and unacknowledged (Yosso, 2005).

While regular visits to schools have been strongly viewed as a White middle class practice in Britain (Moore, Chapman, Aiken and Langley, 2009, 2010), Black Ugandan British parents' visits to schools appear to be unheard of. The "universalizing theme of the discourse" (Reay, 1998, p.10) relating to the middle class and their regular visits to schools and the perceived Black working class's rare visits to schools to discuss their children's progress not only put Black Ugandan British parents in my study at a

disadvantage in the English education system, but also makes their contribution towards their children's education outside school settings unknown. This theme also appears to distract attention away from the inequalities in the English education system that lead Black Ugandan British parents to develop educational strategies to support their children's education outside British mainstream schools. Crozier states that "...this 'one size fits all' approach masks the complexity of needs, the roles that ethnic minority parents are playing or the constraints that impede their involvement" (Crozier, 2010, pp.329-341). My study confronts assumptions that "the working arrangements of low income parents (e.g. both parents working, multiple jobs...) hinder the development of connections with schools" (Murphy, 2010,p.195) and suggest that Black Ugandan British parents' working class positioning in England does not hinder their development of connections with schools. Rather, factors including racism in English schools appear to affect Black Ugandan British parents' connections with British schools.

My study also challenges "research [that] reveals that parents who are poor and of color tend to participate less actively in their children's schooling than white, middle-class parents" (Villegas and Lucas, 2002,p.41) and assumptions that "high income parents are much more likely to attend school events... than are low income parents" (Murphy, 2010,p.195). My study demonstrates that like White middle class parents, Black Ugandan British parents have cultural capital, which can be used to highlight the positive attitudes towards education. However, less attention is paid to this form of cultural capital that makes the education achievement of children from Ugandan backgrounds possible at the expense of Black Ugandan British parents who cater for inadequacies and inequalities in English schools. My study suggests that parents' support of children's learning goes beyond reading to children and taking them to the

museum to include parents' support of children's learning within Black Ugandan British parents' homes, communities and the wider community.

Chapter six: Conclusions

6.1 Introduction

The main aim of my study was to explore how Black Ugandan British parents support their children's learning. The key research questions my study set out to answer are re-outlined below:

1. What issues do Black Ugandan British parents face as they support their children's education?
2. What parental strategies do Black Ugandan British parents use to promote learning and academic success amongst Black British Ugandan children?
3. What are Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of interacting with English schools in reference to supporting their children's education?

There are a number of conclusions from this study and they will be drawn by pulling together the major issues revealed through the Black Ugandan British parents' narratives presented across this thesis. As different chapters have provided a deeper understanding of Black Ugandan British parents' experiences through their narratives presented across the chapters in detail, this chapter does not intend to represent their narratives in detail. Rather, it intends to draw together the major conclusions from my study and secondly, discuss important contributions that my study makes or brings to the field of education. I begin by discussing how my study contributes to knowledge and what makes my study original. A detailed discussion of the key findings, conclusions derived from my study, how my study adds to the literature and contributes to knowledge will follow.

6.2 Contribution to knowledge

The study makes an original contribution to knowledge in three ways. First the study contains new knowledge and insights about Black British Ugandan parents with refugee/asylum-seeking status in England, and the ways in which their backgrounds (e.g. class, culture, linguistic, religious), education, employment and racialised experiences in Uganda and England are drawn on to use multiple strategies (within and outside the home and external to the UK) to support their children's learning in pursuit of successful educational and employment outcomes. As such, the findings add to the parental involvement/parental behaviours literature and extend knowledge about Black, but particularly Black Ugandan parental involvement behaviours (including their interactions with their children at home as well as with English schools), and their children's educational experiences in the English educational system.

Secondly, the study shows that the identities of Black Ugandan British parents with refugee/asylum seeking backgrounds are complex. The parents in my study have double class identities (working and middle class) which intersect with their culture and gender to influence the types of educational support they provide to their children and the educational strategies they employ. Though in lowly paid working class employment positions in England, this study found that Black Ugandan British parents bring their middle class aspirations, educational and employment experiences from Uganda to supporting their children's education in England. Their embedded middle class backgrounds/identities inform their use of social and cultural capital, and educational strategies such as private education, private tutoring and networking which are deemed to be White middle class educational strategies. Thus the study findings add to the class identity literature, classed educational strategies literature (e.g. Lareau, 2002, 2003,

2011; Moll et al., 1992) and current debates about the impact of Black middle class parental identities (e.g. Gillborn et al., 2012; Rollock et al., 2015) on Black children's educational experiences/outcomes.

Thirdly, the study adds significantly to the growing literature (e.g. Crozier and Reay, 2005, Crozier and Davies, 2007, Rhamie, 2007, Gillborn, 2008, Richardson, 2005, 2007, Vincent et al, 2011, 2012, Rollock et al., 2011, 2015, Gillborn et al., 2012, Ball et al., 2013, Davidson and Alex, 2012, Andrews, 2013, Demie, Mclean and Lewis, 2006, Demie, 2013, Strand, 2008; Maylor 2014) which has sought to challenge stereotyped deficit discourses about Black parents (as a group, and particularly Black Caribbean) in the UK not valuing education, lacking commitment to and being disinterested in supporting their children's education, and having a culture and live in single parent households which leads to the educational failure of Black children. My research illustrates in-depth through CRT how Black Ugandan British parents culture (including cultural expectations, values and ways of being) influences the way they support their children's learning in their home environments. Furthermore, it demonstrates that not only are Black Ugandan British parents interested in their children's education and value education greatly (and evidence this through the immense time and finances they input), but that they (including those who are single parents) go to extraordinary lengths to support their children's educational attainment. This includes stepping outside of their cultural boundaries of not challenging authority, and also being prepared to risk their own asylum-seeking status/British citizenship claims to access the best education and educational outcomes for their children. I now move on to discuss the key findings and conclusions derived from my study and how my study adds to the literature and contributes to knowledge.

6.3 Black Ugandan British parents' interest in and commitment to education

In exploring Black Ugandan British parents' interest in and commitment to education I begin by concentrating on Black Ugandan British double class identities and how they influenced their parental educational support in the next section.

6.3.1 Black Ugandan double class identities and parental interest/commitment to education

Black Ugandan British parents have double class identities and the class and education and class and employment chapter discussed the Black Ugandan British parents' double class identities, which are informed by:

- i) a middleclass identity from Uganda given the education (private education) the study parents' had and the jobs that they did in Uganda (such as accountancy), combined with the lifestyles they had, and
- ii) a working class identity in England owing to the jobs that they do in England (such as cleaning).

These double class identities have a huge influence on the way the parents supported their children's learning and informed the nature and level of educational support they provided to their children and the educational strategies they used to support their children's learning (see chapters 4 and 5). My study located the pressure parents put on their children to achieve academically through their middle and working class narratives. While the parents' former job positioning in Uganda influenced parents to push their children to achieve academically to secure well paid jobs and live a 'good' lifestyle, their job positioning in England pushed them to support their children's education to the highest level to protect their children from doing low status, low paid

jobs (see chapter 4 for a detailed understanding of the parents' job positioning and how it informed the way parents supported their children's education particularly in relation to school choices). The parental involvement and educational strategies chapter also provides us with an understanding of how the parents' job positioning influenced the way they supported their children's education and how it informed the nature/level of educational support they provided to their children. This study has brought to the forefront Black Ugandan British parents' double class identities and the huge influence they have on their ways of supporting their children's education which were previously unknown. My study highlights class complexities as Black Ugandan British parents in working class positions such as cleaning in England bring their middle class background to supporting their children's education, for example, their use of private education to support their children's education. Research would suggest that Black Ugandan British parents are not the first Black parents to use private education to support their children's learning (see Archer, 2010a). What is different here is what informs Black Ugandan British parents to send their children to private schools. It is their middleclass class background that informs them to send their children to private schools. Chapter 4 discussed how parents in my study were educated in private schools in Uganda and how this influenced the way they supported their children's learning for example, by sending their children to private schools in England and Uganda (see chapter 5). However, their middle class educational backgrounds and how they inform the nature and level of educational support they provide to their children are not known.

Across families, parents strived to support their children's learning so that they could in the future live a middle class lifestyle similar to the lifestyle they lived in Uganda, for example, being able to go to the theatre, living in big houses, owning cars, being able to socialise with middle class people and people perceived to be 'important' in society

such as politicians and people in high status and well paid professional jobs. To achieve this, parents believed that their children needed to gain qualifications such as degrees which would lead their children to gain high status and well paid professional jobs. My study calls for an understanding that the double class identities of Black Ugandan British parents influence the way they support their children's education and should be acknowledged given the contribution parents in my study make towards their children's education.

Parents shared their experiences that indicated that their job positioning in England had a huge influence on the way they supported their children's education for example, Sadim expressed feelings of worthlessness when he described how "they [his employers] treat [him] like [he] do[es]n't have any education at all" which indicated his feelings of emptiness, being seen as a person without qualifications and who has nothing to present to get positions worthy of his qualifications and prior Ugandan work experience. Across families, parents expressed anger and feelings of being degraded and devalued in British society for example, Everim expressed anger that derived from doing low status, and low paid jobs such as cleaning that do not require educational qualifications and/or valuable prior work experiences. Frustrations from her work experience in England combined with doing jobs that are not worthy of her educational qualifications and work experiences in Uganda led her to believe that "*without education, someone is empty* and life [is] difficult". These feelings of worthlessness and emptiness that were common amongst parents in my study lead me to conclude that Black Ugandan British parents' job positioning in England influenced the level of the educational support they provided to their children so that their children do not go through similar experiences.

Chapter 4 discussed the parents' employment experiences in England and provided us with an understanding of what parents in my study go through to accumulate money to support their children's education. These experiences included parents being exploited by their managers at their work places. The chapter went further to show how racism in the British employment system coupled with the devaluation of the parents' qualifications and previous employment experiences (in Uganda) contributed to parents' job positioning in England (cleaning jobs). Research would suggest that my study parents are not the only Black parents to encounter racism in their workplace (see Vincent et al. 2013) or to have their qualifications devalued in the British employment system (see Mitton and Aspinall, 2011). Research would also suggest that my study parents are not the first parents to be exploited at their work places (Evans et al, 2005) or to use the money they earn from such exploitation to support their children. What is different here is what informs that exploitative work experience and it is because of their refugee/asylum seeker background and lack of recognition of their former qualifications which makes it difficult for these parents to get better jobs. Importantly, it is their asylum seeking background which makes their voices remain silent in English schools (as they fear the consequences of speaking out e.g. refusal of their asylum application) and unheard of until now through this thesis where their identity and confidentiality is protected.

In the next section, I discuss Black Ugandan British parents' cultural capital which they use to support their children's education.

6.3.2 Black Ugandan British parents' cultural capital/social capital and parental interest in education

This study has drawn attention to the complexity of understanding the term cultural capital from "the traditional interpretations of Bourdieuan cultural capital theory

(Bourdieu and Passeron, 1977)” (Yosso, 2005, p.70) and through “an alternative concept called community cultural wealth” (Yosso, 2005,p.70), highlights how Black Ugandan British parents demonstrated their interest in and supported their children’s education through their use of various forms of cultural capital. These forms of capital include aspirational, linguistic, familial, navigational, resistant capitals (Yosso, 2005) and persistent capital (Maylor, 2014) (see chapters 4 and 5). My study’s parents use of these capitals is in contrast to the deficit discourse around Black immigrants particularly Gewirtz et al’s arguments that irrespective of social class, immigrants to Britain have cultural capital, which is in the wrong currency (Gewirtz et al., 1994a, 1994b). Chapter one also discussed how Black “working class parents [are perceived to] lack institutionally valued forms of capital or have the wrong sort of capital” (Wright, Standen and Patel, 2010, p.31). In addition, it is argued that Black immigrant families/parents lack cultural capital to support their children’s education and “lack familiarity with social institutions, like schools” (Bamford, 2014, p.12). My study confronts these arguments and adds to the class and educational debates by highlighting that the parents in my study who are immigrants, who have an asylum seeking background and who are in working class employment positions such as cleaning, nevertheless have middle class cultural capital which they use to support their children’s education.

It appears that understanding the term cultural capital from the cultural reproduction perspective that suggests that middle class parents are in possession of a legitimized cultural capital in the form arts, cultural taste which then is delineated in contrast to working class parents who are perceived to lack cultural capital or the right sort or taste puts Black Ugandan British parents who possess various forms of cultural capital at a disadvantage. These parents’ interactions with English schools demonstrate that English

schools are unaware of Black Ugandan British parents' cultural capital and therefore, their cultural capital is invisible to schools and consequently is not acknowledged. Since in schools the prevailing cultural climate is the upper and middle class (Bourdieu and Passeron, 1990, Kalmijn and Kraaykamp, 1996), Black Ugandan British parents in working class positions in England are automatically perceived by schools to lack cultural capital to support their children's education. This negative perception is problematic because it may extend to British Ugandan children, and as a result may be associated with British Ugandan British children's attainment in English schools, making generalisations that Black Ugandan British children from working class background attain worse results because their parents lack cultural capital, which as this study has shown is inaccurate.

In the next section, I draw conclusions from my study relating to the first research question of this study and therefore, I now move on to discuss Black Ugandan British parents' educational strategies which they use to support their children's learning.

6.4 Black Ugandan British parental educational strategies

Black Ugandan British parents' narratives presented across this thesis reveal their experiences of supporting their children's learning in England and the educational strategies they employ to support their children's learning. These educational strategies include networking, sending their children to supplementary schools, accessing private education in Uganda along with private tutoring in England and visiting their children's English schools. My study makes an important contribution by providing an understanding of Black Ugandan British parents' educational strategies and their contribution towards their children's learning in England. I now move on to discuss the educational strategies parents in my study use to promote their children's learning.

6.4.1 Networking

My study suggests that parents have networks they have developed within their place of religious worship, the Ugandan and wider community, and abroad to support their children's learning. These networks are important to parents because they help them to support their children's learning for example, chapter 4 discussed how parents developed networks through their places of worship and how these networks helped parents in the process of choosing schools for their children. Their social networks within their communities and through their places of worship enabled them to place their children in the 'best' institutions which they believed would provide a good education to their children. The parental support of children's learning and educational strategies chapter also discussed how some parents have developed networks through their places of worship, for example, Muslim parents sent their children to mosques with the idea of educating the 'whole child' hence, providing them with their spiritual needs as well as improving their children's academic levels. The influence this had on their children's academic attainment was discussed in chapter 5 where it was argued that Black Ugandan British children's academic levels were raised through attending mosques.

The parents' networks within their local Ugandan community and the wider Ugandan community supported them to support their children's learning for example, by sharing information about supplementary schools (discussed below); parents were able to send their children to supplementary schools to promote their learning. It is important to acknowledge previous research such as Rhamie (2007) which suggests that Black parents use networks to promote their children's education. However, my study takes Rhamie's study a step further by highlighting the differences in circumstances under which my study parents network. It is important to note that my study parents have an

asylum seeking background (see chapter 1). As they sought asylum in England, it is not safe for them to travel to Uganda. The risks they take to network here (in England) and abroad (in Uganda) that enable their children to travel to Uganda and to place them in private schools in Uganda further suggests that Black Ugandan British parents in my study are not only highly committed to their children's education but also make financial sacrifices and invest heavily in their children's education. The risks they take to network and to actually send their children abroad to Uganda not only suggest the differences in circumstances under which my sample of parents network but also suggest the differences under which my study parents support their children's learning. The next section focuses on how and why parents used supplementary schools as an educational strategy to support their children's learning.

6.4.2 Supplementary schools

Before I continue, I would like to acknowledge previous work that identified the importance of supplementary schools in promoting Black children's education (see Abdelrazak, 2001, Cork, 2005, Maylor et al., 2010 and Andrews, 2013). My study adds to these studies by highlighting the intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1993) of the driving forces behind the use of supplementary schools for example, chapter 5 demonstrates how Black Ugandan British parents' culture (religion, language and customs) and double class identities intersect in influencing parents to use supplementary schools to promote their children's learning. Chapter 5 went further to demonstrate how gender and culture intersect in influencing the nature and level of educational support parents provided to their children for example, chapter 5 shows how Black Ugandan British women in my study push their girls to go to university to protect them from traditional arrangements in the Bagandan culture in a Ugandan patriarchal society where women have traditionally been marginalised and perceived to be inferior to men which

consequently resulted in women engaging in domestic roles and engaging in childrearing activities within their homes or communities.

It is important to note that the women in my study were engaged in employment roles such as accountancy prior to coming to England. This suggests that women in my study are engaged in pursuing gender equality, are persistent and this is indicated in their narratives in particular about the extra support they provided to their girls to acquire an education so they can have roles outside of the home (see chapter 5). Chapter 4 also shows how culture (religion and Ugandan culture of valuing education) intersects with Black Ugandan British parents' double class identities in influencing the parents' actions and their use educational strategies for example, in school choices. I argue that the intersectionality of these factors and the driving forces behind their educational strategies such as supplementary schools and additionally the contribution Black Ugandan British parents make towards their children's education need to be acknowledged. Chapter 5 shows the role supplementary schools played in raising Black Ugandan British children's academic achievement by providing academic support in the National Curriculum subjects such as maths, English and science. Chapter 5 also discussed how parents in my study network to support each other. For example, Sean shared his experience of supporting his children's learning and how his "friend" shared information about a supplementary school in north London where he "took [his children] because the cost at [Waltham-a supplementary school in north London] was cheaper than paying a private tutor [and how he was] happy with the results because there [was] a big change in their levels in maths, English and science" (sean). This suggests how parents' network and make interventions through supplementary schools. However, English schools seem to be unaware that parents in my study support their children's learning outside mainstream schools. More so, as the parents' efforts, input

and contribution towards their children's education through providing supplementary education go unnoticed, English schools seem to get the credit for the progress of Black Ugandan British children's learning. Black Ugandan British parents' use of supplementary schools that have led to the significant progress of their children's education in English mainstream schools are not highlighted in educational debates. My study provides an understanding of parental support of children's learning from Black Ugandan British parents' perspective. However, the nature of educational support Black Ugandan parents provide to their children is not recognised. My study suggests the need to understand the role British Ugandan parents play in their children's learning and the added value in relation to raising the academic attainment of their children and reinforcing their cultural identity.

Having discussed Black Ugandan British parents' use of supplementary schools to support their children's learning and the intersectionality of their cultural and double class identities in influencing their use of supplementary schools, I move on to discuss private education as it was found to be one of the educational strategies parents in my study used to support their children's learning.

6.4.3 Private education

My study suggests that Black Ugandan British parents use private education as an educational strategy to support their children's learning and that it was a common educational strategy amongst these parents. My study highlights the complexity of assigning class and viewing private education as only a white middle class practice. In regard to private education, I would like to highlight the difference between my sample of parents and white middle class parents. Unlike the white middle class parents who are in middle class jobs in England, my sample of parents are positioned as working class in England and do jobs such as cleaning. However, despite their job positioning in

England, the parents in my study use private education to support their children's education because their middle class background from Uganda and experience of private education informs them to access private education for their children. Additionally, their working class positioning in the UK influences them to use private education to promote their children's education (so that their children achieve academically) and protect them from low paid jobs they have found themselves in. My study suggests how Black Ugandan British parents in working class positions bring their middle class identities and aspirations to supporting their children's learning in England. It also shows the intersection of their double class identities in influencing their use of private education. Furthermore, it shows the intersection of their double class identities with their cultural identities such as value for education in influencing them to use private education. The parents' narratives highlight a range of factors that influenced them to use private education to support their children's learning. These include school factors such as Black Ugandan British children's behaviour and experience of racism in English mainstream schools. It is important to note that my study is not the first study to reveal racism experienced by Black children in English mainstream schools (Sewell, 1997, Blair, 2001b) and it is not the first to show that racism informs Black parents to seek alternative ways of supporting their children's education for example, using private education (see Archer, 2010a). Here, I would also like to revisit my introductory chapter where I discussed Archer's work (2010a) on the educational practices of minority ethnic, middle class families including the Black middle class educational practices in the UK in light of my study findings. To begin with, the difference between my sample and Archer's sample is that my sample of parents were not in professional and managerial occupations or business owners/entrepreneurs in the UK as the parents in Archer's study were. This employment

difference is also noticeable in Ball et al's (2013) and Vincent et al's (2011) study participants who were in professional and managerial roles and enjoying higher incomes than my study parents (see chapter 4 for a detailed understanding of Black Ugandan British parents' job positioning in England). Secondly, the circumstances under which these Black Ugandan British parents operated to send their children to private schools to Uganda are also different (see networking section above). Thirdly, the home factors such as the perceptions of private schools in Ugandan society (see chapter 5) also contributed in my study parents using private education to support their children's education.

Archer's study (2010a) also suggests that my study parents are not the first parents to experience problems in English schools and to find themselves unable to challenge English schools or to challenge low teacher expectations of their children's education. The difference here lies in what informs Black Ugandan British parents' inability to challenge the school authority and teachers. It is the Ugandan cultural value of respect for authority, and their asylum seeking background that inhibit these parents from challenging schools about the racial incidents affecting their children's education

The next section will also illustrate the intersectionality of Black Ugandan British parents' cultural, class and employment backgrounds in influencing parents' use of private tutoring which is also deemed a white middle class strategy to support their children's education.

6.4.4 Private tutoring

My study calls for an understanding that Black Ugandan British working class parents in a UK context (see chapter 4) use private tutoring and invest heavily in their children's education by providing high quality educational support to their children. It suggests that like white middle class parents in England, Black Ugandan British parents use

private tutoring to support their children's education and "value cultural assets or capital such as knowledge, qualifications and achievement" (Moore et al., 2010, p.37). My study also challenges Evan's arguments that "working class children ...are less likely to benefit from the same degree of strategic parental support as their middle class peers" (Evan's 2007, p.13). Parents' accounts in chapter 5 show how their children benefitted from private tutoring and how their levels improved for example, Dawud disclosed how his use of private tutoring helped his children's "grades [to go] up". Similarly, Samantha also talked about how she used private tutoring and how she saw "improve[ments in her children's] grades". My study highlights class complexities in educational support provision as Black Ugandan British parents in working class positions in England use educational strategies that are considered to be White middle class educational strategies. The next section draws conclusions from my study and the second research question of my study is at the centre of the discussion.

6.4.5 Visits to/interactions with English schools

Amongst the educational strategies parents in my study employed to support their children's learning is visits to their children's English mainstream schools. In chapter one, I discussed Gillborn et al's work on the Black middle class educational strategies and their experiences of interacting with schools. The difference between Gillborn et al's study and my study is that my sample of parents' experiences of education as children are different from parents in Gillborn et al's study because my sample of parents were educated in Uganda as children where they did not experience racism as children in the Ugandan education system. Their accounts of their private education in Uganda presented in chapter 4 suggest that they did not experience racism in Ugandan private schools. This further suggests that their vision of English schools when they came to England and prior to their children starting their educational journeys in

English schools was different from their view now given their accounts in chapters 4 and 5. The parental support of children's learning and deployment of educational strategies chapter suggests that like parents' in Gillborn et al's work Black Ugandan British parents experience racism in English schools that also put their children at a disadvantage in the English education system. Another difference between parents in my study and parents' Gillborn et al's study is that schools are aware of the professional backgrounds of the Black middle class parents in Gillborn et al's study because their occupations in the UK informs schools of what jobs parents do. However, my sample of parents' professional backgrounds from Uganda and additionally, the middle class identity they bring from Uganda to support their children's education are not known by schools because their working class positioning in the UK informs schools of the low status, low paid jobs parents in my study do in England. Although Black Caribbean middle class status offers no protection to either Black Caribbean middle class parents or their children against racism in English schools (see Gillborn et al, 2012, Rollock et al, 2015), I argue that the invisibility of Black Ugandan British parents middle class identity from Uganda coupled with their working class positioning in England also contributes to the higher level of racism parents in my study and their children experience in English schools (see chapter, 5). What is even more disturbing is that because of their cultural value of respect for authority and their asylum seeking background parents in my study are unable to challenge this high level of racism that informs them to seek alternative ways of supporting their children's education as seen in chapters 4 and 5). I also argue that the intersection of their race and class coupled with their culture that inhibit them to challenge the racism they and their children experience in English schools makes them and their children more vulnerable and subject to racism in English schools.

As well as highlighting issues/problems parents faced during their engagement with and their interactions with English mainstream schools (see chapter 5), my study highlights the parents' inability to challenge schools/teachers. Research shows that my study parents are not the first Black parents unable to challenge mainstream schools (see Archer, 2010a). The difference here is that the Black Ugandan British parents' cultural value of respect for authority and their asylum seeking background hinders them to challenge English mainstream schools and the teachers in English mainstream schools. The parents' narratives in chapter 5 demonstrate the intersection of the parents' Ugandan cultural value of respect for authority and their asylum seeking background in affecting their ability to challenge schools about their children's education. Whilst the Ugandan cultural value of respect for authority affects parent-teacher interactions, visits to schools are also affected by parental asylum seeking background where parents fear their asylum seeking background being exposed. It is important to note that some parents have relatives and friends who are still waiting for decisions about their asylum seeking applications and therefore, parents still live with anxieties about the asylum seeking process. The recent discourses about refugees/asylum seekers in Europe including England may also contribute to more anxieties as parents reflect on their asylum seeking processes. Notwithstanding, while culture is an inhibitor, one of the parents went against the Ugandan cultural expectation and challenged schools (see chapter 5) which indicate that while culture is an inhibitor parents with an asylum seeking background are prepared to challenge.

My study shows how across families parents expressed feelings of anger, being intimidated and their inability to challenge the school authorities. These feelings were located in their narratives about their experiences of interacting with schools through school visits presented in chapter 5 and their accounts. This is interesting because given

that parents in my study have middle class backgrounds, one would expect them not to feel intimidated by teachers/schools yet their feelings of intimidation can be accounted for by their working class employment positions which make them feel intimidated by teachers who are seen to be knowledgeable and have higher status. This is another example of class complexity highlighted by my study. When sharing their experiences of interacting with schools, parents also highlighted issues that they felt needed challenging such as inequalities in the curriculum and lack of proper implementation of educational policies in schools to address the educational inequalities Black British Ugandan children experience in school. This leads me to conclude that these issues inform the parents' actions of seeking alternative ways of supporting their children's education outside English mainstream schools and to develop alternative educational strategies such as private education, private tutoring, supplementary schools and boosting their children's confidence to support their children's education rather than challenging the school authorities about their children's learning. I argue that Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of interacting with schools, the challenges that they face and the factors that affect the way they interact with schools are not known.

Although parents visited schools to support their children's learning, many experienced problems during school visits (see chapter 5) which suggests that it is difficult to engage with English schools as seen above (also see chapter 5), yet, their engagement with schools shows the importance of education to them and of course they also engage with Ugandan schools, supplementary schools and a range of valuable educational strategies (see chapter 5 for a detailed understanding of valuable educational strategies). However, these valuable educational strategies go unnoticed and therefore, unacknowledged. While the white middle class educational strategies such as visits to schools are

“perceived to be normal, desirable and possible” (Archer and Francis, 2007, p.36), Black Ugandan British parents’ visits to schools go unnoticed.

Having discussed the educational strategies employed by Black Ugandan British parents to support their children’s learning, I revisit my introductory chapter where I discussed Lareau’s concept of ‘concerted cultivation’ and how middle class parents engage in a childrearing approach known as ‘concerted cultivation’ while working class parents engage in a childrearing approach known as an ‘Accomplishment of Natural Growth’. The same chapter discussed Black middle classed educational strategies identified by Vincent et al., 2011, see also Vincent et al., 2012, Gillborn et al., 2012, Ball et al., 2013 and Rollock et al., 2015). I begin with the former.

6.5 Concerted cultivation/accomplishment of natural growth/Black middle classed educational strategies in England

Lareau argues that middle class parents’ concerted cultivation foster their children’s talents and abilities through organised activities such as music, theatre and sports. These organised activities are believed to foster middle class children’s skills, behaviours and attitudes which lead to greater school success (Carolan, 2015) and provide a wide range of opportunities for middle class children’s educational and social success (Lareau, 2002, 2003, 2011). By contrast, Lareau argues that unlike middle class parents, working class parents engage in a child rearing approach known as an Accomplishment of Natural Growth and focus on providing their children with food, shelter, love, keeping their children safe, reinforcing behaviour and paying attention to kinship (Lareau, 2002, 2003, 2011). My study takes Lareau’s study a step further to suggest that parental engagement in concerted cultivation or an Accomplishment of Natural Growth is not specifically attached or fixed to specific social classes. My study highlights that firstly,

it is the intersectionality of Black Ugandan British parents' double class identities that informed their engagement in concerted cultivation and an Accomplishment of Natural Growth (see chapters, 4 and 5). Their double class identities are used interchangeably in informing parental actions of engaging in organised leisure, educational and cultural activities aimed at promoting children's learning and cultural identities. Black Ugandan British parents in working class positions in the UK use a concerted cultivation approach in child rearing and educational provision/support which highlights the problems in Lareau's concept of concerted cultivation being understood only as a middle class practice. Furthermore, my study also shows that the concerted cultivation concept goes beyond fostering children's talents by incorporating organised activities for example, leisure activities such as music, theatre and sports (Lareau, 2002, 2003, 2011) into middle class children's lives to include a range of organised leisure, academic and cultural activities (see chapter 5) which Black Ugandan British parents use to enhance or promote their children's learning.

My study suggests that understanding the effects of concerted cultivation and an Accomplishment of Natural Growth on children's outcomes from only Lareau's perspective is problematic for example, unlike working class parents in Lareau's study, my sample of parents did not think that providing food and shelter is enough to guarantee prosperous growth and success and this is evident in their narratives and the range of activities and educational strategies they employed to support their children's education (see chapter 5). Black Ugandan British parents in working class positions engaged their children in a range of outside of school activities such as supplementary schools, private tutoring, sports, music, drama, language, religious and academic activities where Black Ugandan British children were supported in the National Curriculum subjects such as maths, English and science which suggests that specific

social class is not attached or fixed to a specific child rearing approach as Lareau identified in her study. Secondly, it is the intersectionality of a collective set of organised leisure, academic and cultural activities that enhance Black Ugandan British children's academic abilities and learning (see chapter 5). However, Lareau seems to imply that it is only specific sets of organised leisure activities such as music, theatre and sports that enhance children's abilities and consequently, determine middle class children's academic success or outcomes.

It is also important to mention that unlike parents in Lareau's study, my sample of parents exist between two class identities (middle and working class). Although their former middle class identity influenced them to engage in concerted cultivation, their use of the concept of concerted cultivation was not simply a classed strategy of parenting privileged middle class parents in Lareau's study engaged in but their children's experiences in English mainstream schools for example, racism and inequalities in the English system which influenced them to use the concept of concerted cultivation (see chapters 4 and 5) as they pursued their children's academic success. The organised activities out school (see chapter 5) suggest how Black Ugandan British parents equipped their children with different forms of knowledge including cultural knowledge as they promoted their children's learning and academic success.

Furthermore, Lareau argues that middle class parents also focus on developing their children's language use and abilities to interact with adults and social institutions and parents stress the importance reasoning with children and they teach their children to solve problems through negotiation hence, developing children's confidence to see adults as relative equals (2002, 2003, 2011). In other words, according to Lareau, concerted cultivation emphasises the importance of developing children's reasoning skills and parents equip their children with skills that enable them to effectively interact

with adults and people with authority in institution such as schools. They also teach their children to transmit reasoning and negotiation skills needed when interacting with professionals such as teachers in schools and they not only become familiar to the ways of tailoring the conversations between them and the professionals to suit their needs and interests, but also become confident when interacting with parents and adults in society (2002,2003, 2011). Middle class parents who engage in concerted cultivation make sure that their children are not excluded from any opportunity that might eventually contribute to their advancement (2002, 2003, 2011). Lareau suggests that language use is a very important aspect of a concerted cultivation approach and aimed at instilling an idea of ‘entitlement’ in middle class children (see chapter 1) when they are interacting with schools and social institutions. It is important to point out that parents in my study did not instil the concept of children seeing themselves as relatively equal to adults, did not develop their children’s confidence to see adults as relative equals and did not coach their children to be assertive and tailor conversations between them and professionals to suit their needs because their Ugandan cultural value of respect for authority informs them not to and hinders them to challenge those in authority.

It is also important to note that my sample of parents have an asylum seeking background and were not in professional middle class jobs as the middle class parents in Lareau’s study. Their working class positioning in England (see chapter 4) coupled with their asylum seeking background affected their confidence and consequently, my sample of parents used a different approach for example, coaching their children to focus on their education and sought alternative ways of supporting their children’s learning outside English mainstream schools including sending their children to private schools abroad to Uganda. One would expect my sample of parents to do something similar given their former middle class backgrounds, however they engage in directives

(see chapter 5) which is reflective of the complexity of class identity. When it came to educational support and educational guidance, Black Ugandan British parents did not negotiate with their children, they directed their children to do what the parents believed was the 'best' for their children (see chapter 5). These directives seem to suggest that in some cases my sample of parents used directives similar to the working class parents in Lareau's study who used short directives to their children as they engaged in the concept of Accomplishment of Natural Growth. However, unlike parents in Lareau's study, Black Ugandan British parents positioned as working class parents in England provided explanations for what they directed their children to do especially, when offering educational guidance such as going to universities and to acquire a degree, and the type of activities they got them to engage in. This also contradicts with Lareau's arguments that working class parents focus solely on providing food, shelter, love, keeping their children safe, reinforcing behaviour and attention to kinship (siblings, cousins and other family members) rather than engaging their children in organised leisure activities outside schools (Lareau, 2002, 2003, 2011).

Having discussed the limitations in understanding Lareau's concepts of concerted cultivation and Accomplishment of Natural Growth in light of findings from my study, I move on to discuss how my study relates to Vincent et al's (2011) work about middle classed educational strategies (which I suggest have similarities with Lareau's concept of 'concerted cultivation') (see also Vincent et al., 2012 as well as chapter one of this thesis for a detailed understanding of why I am suggesting that there are similarities with Lareau's perspective on concerted cultivation). It is important to note that my study goes a step further to suggest the complexity of assigning class and associating specific social classes to specific educational support provision.

In chapter one I discussed a range of strategies employed by Black middle class parents in England however, it is important to note that firstly, my sample of parents were not positioned in professional and managerial jobs as parents in Vincent et al's study. Black Ugandan British parents were positioned in working class positions (low status and low paid jobs see chapter 4) which, suggests they experienced hardships to get money to promote their children's learning through organised activities outside of English mainstream schools. Secondly, Black Ugandan British parents' working class positioning in England coupled with their Ugandan cultural value of respect for authority and their asylum seeking background hindered them to "establish a dialogue of equals- a conversation-with school staff" (Vincent et al.,2011,p.7). Thirdly, as these factors affected my sample of parents, they did not "find it necessary to actively demonstrate their knowledge about education, their interest and their capability as parents to white teachers and other school staff in order that they be engaged with as equals" (Vincent et al.,2011, p.7). Instead, they demonstrated their interest in their children's education through engaging in organised activities (as illustrated above) outside school, within their homes, Ugandan community and wider community and additionally sending their children to private schools abroad.

The concept of 'concerted cultivation' affords a further opportunity to highlight the complex nature of classed identities in this study. As part of this it is important to note that despite having a middle class background my sample of parents did not "presume an entitlement, both to a good education for their children and to educational success [like] the white middle class parents [because like the Black middle class parents in Vincent et al's study, my sample of parents were] there to protect their children [from racism in English schools], the labour market and the wider society on account of their race" (Vincent et al., 2011, p.7). Parents in my study like the Black middle class parents

in Vincent et al's study "recognise[d] that they do not have the same security as their white [middle class] counterparts" (Vincent et al., p.7) because of their experiences of racism in English schools and the labour market, and the struggles they encountered as they pursued their children's academic success. My study like Vincent et al's study and Archer' study (2010a) highlight "the continued existence of institutional racism in the English school system [and supports Vincent et al's arguments that] there is, therefore, an urgent need for greater [understanding of] intersectionality in contemporary education; race inequality is not explicable in simple class terms and a focus on social-economic difference alone is insufficient" (Vincent et al., 2011, p.10). In regard to the extracurricular activities Black middle class parents in Vincent et al's study (2011) engaged in as they supported their children's education, my study builds on their work and adds the cultural activities within the Bagandan culture such as language activities and other activities that not only strengthened Black Ugandan British understanding of their cultural identity but also provided Black Ugandan British children with different forms of knowledge and skills. For example, in addition to language activities, Black Ugandan British parents provided their children with knowledge and skills through Bagandan cultural activities such Bagandan cooking activities. Black Ugandan British children also learn about the Ugandan art work within their homes (see chapters 3) engage in religious activities on a daily basis within their homes, Ugandan community and the wider community (see chapter 5). My study supports Moll et al's (1992) concept of 'funds of knowledge', builds on their work about 'funds of knowledge' discussed in chapter 1 and highlights how English schools can draw on 'funds of knowledge' within Black Ugandan British parents' homes and communities. English schools are unaware of these Black Ugandan British parents' knowledges and therefore, miss out on the resources from the Black British Ugandan family homes and

communities which can be incorporated in the English curriculum and teachers' planning to enhance the children's learning (see chapters 3 and 5). My study supports Moll et al's suggestions about the need to not only use parents as classroom resources but to also value the knowledges from the Black Ugandan British homes Black Ugandan British children bring with them to English schools.

The next section draws conclusions on Ugandan culture and parental educational aspirations.

6.6 Ugandan culture/parental aspirations of children's education

My study builds on other studies that suggest that Black parents value education and have high aspirations of their children's education (see Crozier and Reay, 2005, Crozier, 2005, Vincent et al., 2011, Rollock et al., 2015, Ball et al., 2013, Gillborn et al., 2012 and Archer, 2010a). My study adds to these studies by highlighting that Black Ugandan British parents come from a culture which prepares and expects children to look after the elderly and chapter 5 discussed the Ugandan cultural value of looking after the elderly as a powerful influence on the way parents supported their children's education. This cultural factor led parents to aspire for their children to achieve highly academically and to become well positioned in highly paid and professional jobs so that they are able to meet this cultural obligation and take on the responsibility of looking after their parents during their old age. I argue that English schools are not aware of the influence this Ugandan cultural value of looking after the elderly has on the way British Ugandan Black parents support their children's education and how it informs their educational strategies because there is no ethnographic study (other than mine) that has specifically focused on Black Ugandan British parents within their home environments to identify the factors such as this Ugandan cultural factor that influences Black

Ugandan British parents' to value education so highly, and to aspire for their children's education. Ugandan culture values education and parents valued their children's education for various reasons including securing 'good' professional jobs with the idea of securing income as their narratives indicate (see chapter 5). This value for education also influenced parents in my study use of a range of educational strategies outside English mainstream schools to support their children's education as seen above. However, Black parents have been perceived to have low aspirations of their children's education (Davidson and Alexis, 2012, Wright, Standen and Patel, 2010, Andrews, 2013). My study confronts such arguments and highlights the need to understand Black Ugandan British parents' high aspirations they bring to supporting their children's learning. For example, Black Ugandan British parents' aspirational capital means they strive to support their children to achieve academically beyond degree level (see chapter 5) which suggests that they have higher aspirations of their children's education.

In the next section, I revisit the parental support of children's learning and parental involvement in children's education definitions discussed in my introductory chapter. This will help us to identify whether Black Ugandan British parents' understanding of parental support of children's learning and parental involvement in children's education is similar to parental support of children's learning and parental involvement in children's education from the school perspective or differs.

6.7 Parental support of children's learning/parental involvement in children's education definitions

Literature examining parental involvement would suggest that parental support of children's learning refers to how parents' support their children's learning for example, reading to their children (Sammons et al, 2007) or taking them to the museum. Parental

involvement in children's education is understood as "parents coming into schools informally; say for a coffee and biscuits, as well as more formally, such as meeting with teachers or taking part in their children's education through classroom participation" (Lall, Campbell and Gillborn 2004, p.1) or parents attending parents' evenings in schools (Desforges, 2003) and being involved in the governance of schools (Harris and Goodall, 2007, DCSF, 2009). In regard to the wider debates about parental involvement in children's education, my study adds to these debates by highlighting the different ways in which parents in my study are involved in their children's learning and the contribution they make towards their children's education due to their involvement in their children's education. Furthermore, my study suggests the need to understand how Black Ugandan British parents' double class identities influence types and the level of parental educational support (see chapters 4 and 5).

Considering the various educational strategies parents in my study use to support their children's learning and the nature of educational support they provide to their children, I argue that these definitions are narrow and my study suggests that the term parental support of children's learning goes beyond parents' support of children's learning described by Sammons et al above such as reading to the children and also goes beyond taking children to the museums to include Black Ugandan British culturalistic approach to supporting the children's learning.

6.8 Government policy on parental involvement/parental support of children's learning

I also argue that at policy level, there is a need for a better understanding of how Black Ugandan British parents support their children's learning, the educational strategies they employ and the contribution they make towards their children's education. There is a

need for schools to not only become aware of what parents in my study do outside English mainstream schools to support their children's education but should also value the parents' efforts and contribution towards their children's education. Acknowledgement of their educational strategies would lead to an understanding of the parents' input, efforts and the role Black Ugandan British parents play in raising their children's academic achievement in English mainstream schools. The parents' narratives presented in chapters 4 and 5 also question the implementation of *The schools White Paper Higher Standards, Better Schools for All* (DfES, 2005c) which "seeks to increase parental choice, responsibility, power and involvement" (Reynolds, 2005,p.17) and which seeks to "create a schools system shaped by parents which delivers excellence and equity-developing the talents and potential of every child, regardless of their background...one that will empower parents and give schools the freedoms and incentives to focus on the individual needs of every child" (DfES, 2005c,p.19).

My study demonstrates how Black Ugandan British parents use other avenues to choose schools for their children, and how their networks developed through their churches and mosques support these parents in their school choices (see chapters 4 and 5). Parents took responsibility for their children's education by choosing the 'best' schools for their children, and their nature and level of involvement in their children's education is evident through their narratives. In the many narratives presented across this thesis, there was no indication that parents in my study were empowered in English schools nor was there an indication that English mainstream schools focused on Black Ugandan British children's individual needs for example, supporting them through the challenges they experienced in English schools such as behavioural problems and academic problems (underachievement). The parents' accounts presented in the parental support of children's learning and educational strategies chapter clearly show how

parents in my study felt that there was a need to act and resolve their children's behavioural and underachievement problems by intervening and seeking alternative ways of supporting their children's learning outside English mainstream schools. My interpretation of their narratives particularly in relation to their children's experiences in English schools, their experiences of interacting with English schools combined with the interventions they made to support their children's learning outside the English mainstream schools lead me to conclude that parents in my study seem to be outside the category of parents *The schools White Paper Higher Standards, Better Schools for All* (DfES, 2005c) aims to empower. In the next section, I discuss conclusions drawn from my study about language, educational support provision and educational attainment.

6.9 Language and educational support provision/language and family structure

One of the explanations that have been used to explain the differences in educational attainment between ethnic groups is cultural factors such as language (Bhattacharyya, Ison and Blair, 2003) and family life. My study challenges this explanation as Black Ugandan British parents and their children speak English to a high degree of proficiency. Black Ugandan British parents are fluent speakers of the English language since English was the medium of instruction in the parents' previous schools in Uganda and it is the official language in Uganda (see chapter 3). Additionally, Black Ugandan British parents' children were born in England and they have a very good command of the English language and therefore, language is not an issue and should not be perceived as a barrier to their academic success. In other words, my findings lead me to argue against assumptions that children who come from households in which English is not the main language underachieve academically because of a language barrier. The above

explanation, generalisations and such assumptions appear to put Black Ugandan British parents at a disadvantage in the English education system as they may be judged based on their parents' backgrounds of having a second language without schools/teachers realising that English is the official language in Uganda. My study adds to the language and educational support/attainment debates by highlighting that although Black Ugandan British parents' have a heritage language (Luganda), it does not in any way serve as a barrier to their children's education or hinder their children's academic process.

In regard to family life, my sample of parents represented a range of family types, organisation and status. While there are married couples amongst the families, some are single parents. My study suggests that regardless of the status, nature or types of the families and the number of children they have (in this study they ranged from 2-7), Black Ugandan British parents support their children's learning. Their narratives show how they supported their children and their family life seemed not to be an issue or barrier in supporting their children's learning. Rather, factors such as racism affected Black Ugandan British children's academic achievement as seen in chapter 5. Their asylum seeking status was also particularly important as it affected the ways they responded to their children's schools.

6.10 Strength and limitations of the study

This study has a number of strengths. One of the main strengths is that a detailed exploration of Ugandan parental support led to in-depth information and provided a deeper understanding of the issues Black Ugandan British parents faced as they supported their children's learning. Ethnographic interviews combined with long term observations not only allowed me to gain a deeper understanding of what they do to support their children's education but also led to an understanding of how they live their

lives, the things they value and the challenges they face as they support their children's education. This detailed information and expression of their feelings through ethnographic interviews and long-term observations would not have been achieved through a survey due to the tendency of surveys to seek general rather than in-depth perspectives and lack of long-term interactions with the participants. This broader understanding would not have been achieved through a survey.

Although my sample size may be seen as a weakness of my research as findings from a small sample are not generalisable compared to findings from larger samples in quantitative research (Scott and Usher, 2011), it was a strength in my view because I was able to focus on the families under study in detail. The data analysis of findings from a small sample allowed me to concentrate on data from every family and through a thorough interrogation of data I was able to gain a deeper understanding of Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's learning.

My multiplicity of identities (discussed in chapter 1) combined with sharing similar experiences such as migration and cultural heritage with the participants, being part of the Ugandan community in England and being known in the Ugandan community were also strengths of my study because they placed me in a better position to access the participants, and to conduct this study at this level and obtain such rich data from the participants. In addition, my Ugandan culture also partly facilitated the process of interpreting, understanding and making sense of the data that emerged from the field. I contend that a non-Ugandan person would not have been able to conduct this study at a similar level as I have done due to the limited understanding of Ugandan culture for example, language, religion, customs and rituals. A non-Ugandan person would have used a different lens to interpret the data and would probably have missed out on the

detailed Ugandan cultural aspects that informed the nature and level of educational support parents provided to their children and the educational strategies employed.

While my Ugandan background was for the most part a strength it could also be argued that in part it was a limitation as my sample of parents, though sharing class and cultural identity did not share every aspect about their lives with me. For example, parents did not share their asylum seeking background in great detail with me given their vulnerability and on-going political debates in England concerning asylum seekers and refugees (see chapter 1). Furthermore, being a PhD student conducting research about their experiences of supporting their children's learning suggested some sort of professional identity on my part, and this may also have limited what my participants were prepared to share and at what level. This brings me to discussing another limitation of my study, which relates to the recording of data. My methodology chapter highlighted how the study parents became anxious and refused to be tape-recorded during the interviews. Tape recorded data would have been more accurate than data taken through note taking because tape recorded data would have recorded the exact and actual words the parents said. Tape-recording would have been beneficial particularly during the data analysis and interpretation of the data because listening to the parents voices and tone of voices time and time again during the data analysis and interpretation process would have helped me to recapture their feelings and emotions about their experiences in greater depth. In addition, tape-recording would have saved the amount of time I spent taking notes and cross-checking with parents to ensure that they were happy with the data that I recorded during my note-taking and kept for analysis.

Another limitation of my study relates to time constraints. It was time-consuming particularly, travelling to the furthest of the two London boroughs to collect data. Where I lived local to the participants this put me in a better position to travel to the

participants' homes because the journeys to the families were shorter and less expensive than the journeys I made to the other borough which was some distance away. Having more families in my study living in the borough nearest to me than in the other resulted in greater amounts of data collection in the borough local to me due to the distance and time constraints of travelling across London. However, it is important to mention that distance was not the only factor which contributed to a lack of data collection. Data was not collected from one family in the borough local to me owing to the participant's personal problems which led me to having to stop the interview on one occasion and listen to her problems. While on the one hand this might be considered a limitation of the study, on the other, it might also be seen as a strength in that sharing background and given my research experience, I was valued by the participant concerned as someone able to listen and display empathy. The level of trust the participant had in me also meant that after listening to the participant's problems I was able to rearrange the interview for another day.

A further limitation is that although my study has provided some understanding of Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's education in England, the study findings cannot be considered representative of all Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's education in England as I focused on only two London boroughs and 10 families across the two boroughs. Using my findings to make generalisations that all Black Ugandan British parents' experiences in England are the same as Black Ugandan British parents' experiences in my study may not represent a true picture of all Black Ugandan British parents' experiences in terms of how they support their children's education. Therefore, conducting research on Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their

children's education in England on a larger scale in all London boroughs at the least, and the whole of England at the most may, help to evaluate whether my findings are applicable to other Ugandan parents living in England.

6.11 Areas for further study

In this section, I attempt to evaluate my work by pointing out and highlighting the areas for further research.

Exploration of British Ugandan children's experiences after their secondary schooling hence at university level will be of paramount importance as it may help in identifying whether their university experiences are different from their secondary school experiences, which I learned through their parents' narratives.

Secondly, exploration of British Ugandan children's experiences after completing their education and they are in employment will help with the process of evaluating the impact of Black Ugandan British parents' input in their children's education and to evaluate whether British Ugandan children's experiences in British employment sectors are different from their parents' experiences. This will help to highlight whether there are similarities or differences between the first-generation employment experiences (in this case, Black Ugandan British parents) and the second-generation experiences (in this case, British Ugandan children).

Exploring British Ugandan children's experiences will also help the process of evaluating whether Black Ugandan British parents' achieved their aims or objectives of educating their children to the highest level in terms of achieving or gaining educational qualifications for example, university qualifications and reproducing a generation of

middleclass children positioned in high status, well paid professional jobs they strived for.

As British Ugandan children exist between two cultures, which are the British and Ugandan cultures, evaluating how British Ugandan children negotiated with their parents given their multiplicity of identities, how they met the cultural expectations of their parents considering their British identity as they were born in England, how they strike a balance between popular music (see chapter 3) and their education and; how they control peer pressures in regard to the popular culture for example, the latest music, movies and the discussion of people in the music and film industries should form a separate strand.

6.12 Recommendations

Before setting out recommendations, I acknowledge that my study is constrained by the small number of Ugandan families included in the study. Notwithstanding, my study revealed important issues that need to be addressed which are discussed below.

Firstly, at school level, there is a need to acknowledge Black Ugandan British parents' culturalistic approaches to supporting their children's education particularly, their various forms of parental involvement and the factors that influence their involvement. Schools need to gain a better understanding of the parental backgrounds of the children attending their schools, and specifically find different ways of interacting with Ugandan parents. This is needed as schools are unaware of what Black Ugandan British parents do to support their children's education outside British mainstream schools hence, within their homes, the Ugandan community and the wider community. Awareness and acknowledgement of the nature of parental involvement Black Ugandan British parents engage in and the driving forces behind their parental involvement may prevent

schools/teachers from generalising that Black parents are not involved, lack interest in and place a low value on their children's education.

Secondly, at government level, there is also a need for those who develop education policies to be aware of the different types of parental involvement and additionally, a range of educational strategies including cultural educational strategies when developing education policies aiming at involving parents in children's education. This awareness is important as it can help to consider Black Ugandan British parents' culturalistic approaches when defining the term parental involvement for example. It can also help in developing strategies about how schools can reach out to Black Ugandan British parents and draw on their valuable resources to raise the academic attainment of British Ugandan children in England. It is important to note that schools/teachers recognise that the category Black African is broad. The government recognises this by the number of ethnic/language categories they allow schools to report to i.e. school ask this background information including religious background. However, in terms of reporting GCSE outcomes, SATs results this is narrow (though they know that Nigerian and Ghanaian students perform better than e.g. Somalian students). My study emphasises that even though schools collect the ethnic background data of their students and knowledge exists about refugee and asylum seeker students, schools do not really have a nuanced understanding of the Black African category in all aspects. My study suggests that that one size does not fit all and therefore, it important to understand how Black Ugandan parents support their children's learning. My study further highlights the need for schools/teachers to develop a more positive attitude towards British Ugandan children and their parents. This may lead to schools/teachers, British Ugandan children and Black Ugandan British parents working towards a common goal of raising the academic attainment of British Ugandan children in

England, which may also help in closing the gap of underachievement of Black children in England.

Thirdly, it is also important to incorporate the Black Ugandan British parents' culturalistic approaches in teacher training education courses so that teachers in training become aware of this approach as they prepare to teach in schools where there is a diverse intake of Black children including British Ugandan children (see Maylor 2014 with regard to teacher training and educating about Black children). Qualified teachers should engage in continuing professional development programmes, which cover issues of race, equality and inclusion. These programmes should cover issues related to cultural awareness and the home factors that influence Black Ugandan British parents' parental involvement such as value for education and the underlying factors behind their value for education including their Ugandan cultural value of looking after the elderly. The school factors that affect British Ugandan children's education at secondary level including racism, low teacher expectations, exclusions of British Ugandan children from British mainstream schools also need to be addressed. Educational programmes that aim at reminding teachers of their legal duties with regard to diversity, inclusion and equal opportunities should be designed to help teachers reflect on their practices to improve the educational attainment of British Ugandan children in English schools. Schools/teachers need to implement The Equality Act (2010) guidelines as it emphasises that "schools cannot unlawfully discriminate against pupils because of their sex, race, disability, religion or belief or sexual orientation" (The quality Act, 2010, p.5). Schools/ teacher should also pay particular attention to section 1.5 and sections 1.16-1.25 of the Equality Act (2010). The "Act makes it unlawful for the responsible body of a school to discriminate against, harass or victimise a pupil or potential" (The

Equality Act, 2010, p.7, please see Equality Act, 2010 for a detailed understanding of how this Act applies to schools, teachers and pupils/students).

Fourthly, Black Ugandan British parents' contribution towards their children's education and their efforts to raise the academic attainment of their children need to be known and acknowledged. This should help to eliminate schools/teachers' negative perceptions of Black Ugandan British parents from an asylum seeking background (as having cultural capital in the wrong currency, lacking interest and time to engage in their children's education, and placing a low value on education). Schools/teachers should embrace and value Black Ugandan British parents' culturalistic approaches towards educational support provision, draw on Black Ugandan British parents' valuable resources and work together towards a common goal of supporting Black British Ugandan children's academic success.

More so, there is a need to acknowledge and embrace Black Ugandan British parents' culturalistic approaches to supporting their children's education, their engagement in various forms of parental involvement, their employment of a range of educational strategies and their efforts to accumulate capital to support their children's education. As well as acknowledging Black Ugandan British parents' forms of parental involvement, educational strategies and capital nurtured through community cultural wealth and the huge difference they make towards their children's education within their homes, community and wider community, there is a need to support Black Ugandan British parents in their efforts to make a difference to their children's education within their communities.

Fifthly, my study suggests that Black Ugandan British parents' school and teacher relationships need to be developed towards a more positive relationship in order to

bridge the gap. Schools need to reach out to Black Ugandan British parents and draw on their valuable resources to raise the educational attainment of British Ugandan children.

Sixthly, class emerged as a salient issue, there is a need to understand how Black Ugandan British parents' middleclass backgrounds influence the way they support their children's education. The invisibility of Black Ugandan British parents' middle class background coupled with their working class positioning in England may also add to the generalisations that Black working class parents lack interest and time to engage in their children's education because of the nature of their jobs –low paid shift work. Therefore, the visibility of Black Ugandan British parents' middleclass backgrounds may reduce these generalisations. Moreover, my study suggests that Black Ugandan British parents' employment patterns (low paid, low status jobs, one-two jobs) do not in any way hinder their involvement in their children's education.

Issues that have led Black Ugandan British parents to be in working class positions in England such as the racial discrimination in the UK employment system, coupled with the asylum seeking process need to be addressed. The devaluation of Black Ugandan British parents' qualifications and their Ugandan working or employment experiences also need to be addressed. Closer monitoring of employment policies such as equal opportunity and antiracist policies may help to eliminate the racial discrimination in the UK employment system that have put Black Ugandan British parents at a disadvantage in the UK employment system. It is equally important to monitor closely the health and safety policies, the wellbeing of employees at work places and the employees' payment conditions as it may help to eliminate the inequalities in the UK employment system such as racism and exploitation that affect Black Ugandan British parents in British employment. These issues need to be understood in order to highlight the hardships, sufferings and the overall experience of what Black Ugandan British parents go through

to accumulate capital to support their children's education. My study also highlights the need for schools and education policy makers to acknowledge Black Ugandan British parents' middle class backgrounds and the contribution they make towards the education of Black Ugandan British children in England.

Seventhly, a review of the asylum seeking process (coming to the decisions of asylum seeking applications quicker) combined with valuing Black Ugandan British parents' qualifications and their Ugandan work experiences should help in improving Black Ugandan British parents' employment prospects and save future asylum seekers from Uganda (if any) from going through similar experiences as the parents in my study.

Eighthly, my study calls for a broader understanding of Lareau's concepts of concerted cultivation and an Accomplishment of Natural Growth to include the intersectionality of Black Ugandan double class identities and cultural identities which inform parental actions of engaging in concerted cultivation and an Accomplishment of Natural Growth in promoting children's academic outcomes as they pursue their children's academic success.

Ninthly, my study calls for an understanding of Black Ugandan British parents' double class identities and how they intersect in informing Black Ugandan British parents' child rearing approaches and how they influence what they do to support their children's learning outside of English mainstream schools.

Finally, my study calls for the need to broaden parental involvement definitions to include the many ways discussed above in which parents in my study support their children's education. There is a need to acknowledge Black Ugandan British parents' culturalistic approaches towards supporting their children's learning outside English

mainstream schools for example, their use of supplementary schools and their network systems.

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Appendices

Appendix A

The process of obtaining consent involved writing letters to all the participants. Participants were reassured of confidentiality and anonymity in a letter.

Letter of consent for participants

Dear

Thank you very much for allowing me to visit your home and getting to know you. I appreciate the time you have allocated to this research and the commitment to help me conduct this study in your home environment.

I am a PhD research student at London Metropolitan University seeking to understand the Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's learning within their home environments. I am conducting a research study to explore Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's learning within their home environments. This research is important to the Ugandan community as there is no research done in this area and your contribution is highly appreciated.

The study has a number of key aims.

1. To understand Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children in their home environment.
2. To analyse the parental strategies used to promote learning and academic success amongst Black Ugandan British children.
3. To theorise the relationship between British/Ugandan children's learning at home and learning in school settings.
4. To analyse the interactions between Black Ugandan British parents and schools.

Your participation will involve sharing your experiences of supporting your children's learning within home environments, providing information about the strategies you use to promote learning and academic success of your children and providing information about the way you interact with schools in reference to supporting your children's learning. The information provided will be confidential and therefore will not be identification as yours. In the process of collecting data, your participation will involve being interviewed, observed and tape recorded by the researcher. Your participation will also involve in engaging in discussions with the researcher while the researcher is taking notes. However, it is important to mention that your participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no consequences. The information obtained during the course of the study is for research purpose only. The results of the study may be published but your name will not be used and therefore the information you will provide during the research will not be identified as yours.

If you currently have any questions concerning this research study or have any questions about your rights as a participant in this research, I am willing to provide more answers. Alternatively, if you get concerns at a later stage, please contact me on 07930300102

Thank you very much.

Yours sincerely

Waliah Musoke

I give my consent to participate in the above study.

----- (signature)

----- (date)

Please complete the informed consent form.

An ethnographic study exploring Black Ugandan British parents' experiences of supporting their children's learning within their home environments.

This form is to be completed independently by the participant

Name-----

	Yes	No
I have read and understood the information attached to the sheet and have had the opportunity to ask questions		
I have had the information sheet explained to me and have had the opportunity to ask questions		
I understand that I can withdraw from the study at any time without having to give any reasons		
I understand that withdrawing from the study will not affect me in any way		
I am aware of, and consent to tape recording of my discussion with the researcher.		
I am aware of, and consent to the researcher taking notes during the course of the discussion		
I agree with the publication of the results of this study. I understand that I will not be identified in the publication.		
I give consent that I would like to be involved in this research		

Appendix B

Interview schedule questions

Employment/Class

- 1) Can you please tell me about your experience of settling in the UK?
- 2) Can you please tell me more about your family particularly your children?
- 3) Can you please tell me about your employment history?
- 4) Can you please tell me more about the job you did in Uganda?
- 5) Can you please tell me more about the job you are currently doing? Or can you please describe what you at your work place?
- 6) Can you please tell me anything else about your typical day?
- 7) Can you please tell me about what you do on the days you do not go to work?
- 8) Can you please explain to me how you got the job you currently do?
- 9) Have you had any difficulties with finding a job similar to the job you did in Uganda? What are some of the challenges you have faced?

Education/Class

- 1) Can you please tell me about yourself and your education background?
- 2) What level of education do you have?
- 3) Can you please tell me about your education experience in Uganda?
- 4) Can you tell me more about the schools your children attend?
- 5) Is there anything you would like to add?
- 6) Can you please tell me about how your children managed to get into the schools they attend?
- 7) Can you please tell me about your children's learning or education?

Educational strategies/parental support of children's learning/Culture

- 1) Considering the parents' role in children's education in Uganda. Are there any similarities or differences between what parents in Uganda do to support their children's education and what you do as a parent in England now to support your children's education?
- 2) Can you please tell me about what you expect from your children and their education?
- 3) Can you please tell me the things you expect the schools your children attend to do to meet your expectations and your children's education expectations?
- 4) Can you please tell me more about the kind of things or activities that you do to support your children's learning and why you engage in those particular things or activities?
- 5) Can you please describe to me other ways in which you support your children's education and why you engage in such ways to support children's education?
- 6) Is there anything you would like to add?

- 7) Can please describe to me the ways in which you and the staff at your children's schools work together to promote your children's learning?
- 8) Can you please tell me about your children's experiences in the schools they attend?
- 9) Can you please share with me your experiences of communicating or interacting with your children's schools, teachers and school staff?
- 10) Is there anything you want to say or anything you think is important for me to know?

Appendix C

Examples of interview notes

Interviewer (I)

Participant (P)

Interview – Famisa (pseudonym)

I: Can you please tell me about your experience of settling in the UK?

P: Ummm, err... where do I start? I have a lot to say.

I: I am interested in what you want to say and I would like to hear more about your experience please.

P: Ummm, err ...My life changed the day I landed at Gatwick airport, I didn't suffer high blood pressure in Uganda but I have high blood pressure now. It was difficult to cope with the changes.

I: I am sorry to hear about this. What led to this health problem?

P: Aa hh... So many things have happened in my life from the day I came here.

I: Please tell me a little bit more about what happened in your life since you came to England and I would like to hear more about the changes you mentioned earlier.

P: Ummm, err...everything is different, it is a big change, the food, the jobs, the life, everything changed and I am stuck. I have done cleaning jobs in London and I have a back problem. I have done cleaning jobs for years, the lifting, the mopping, collecting rubbish, cleaning toilets. Aah err. I had enough and I left because my back was so painful, I was crying every day. I work in a nursing home as well as door-to-door care work. I do help the elderly people. I work very hard for very little money. What I have seen here is that it is difficult for Black people to get good jobs. Wherever I work, I can't believe what I see and what is going on. Black people do cleaning jobs, whether they have qualifications or experience, it doesn't matter. It is set that Black people do cleaning jobs here, cleaning is for Black people, it is for us full stop. I can't believe that I am doing these jobs; it is so embarrassing and frustrating but what can I do, I am stuck. I don't want my children to do cleaning jobs, I pray and I will do everything I can so that my children go to university and get good jobs. For me, my life is done, that's it, I will always remember the good life I lived in Uganda and the good job I did. My dream now is to see my children in good jobs and I do everything I can to help my children to succeed in their education so that they get good jobs. For me, everything is on hold until I see my children graduate and in good jobs. The little money I get I make sure I buy revision books for my children from WH Smith; I pay a private tutor, they have a computer at home just for studying and I do other things to help my children because I want them to do well in their education.

I: Thank you very much for sharing your experience with me. I would like to give you the opportunity to add anything to what you have shared with me.

P: Um err... When people see me doing these jobs, they think that that is what I can do but I can do better than that (gets emotional and makes a big sigh).

I: Take your time please and we will continue when you are ready.

P: Oh no, no. I am alright but sometimes it is hard to cope with the fact that I am doing these jobs and have no hope of getting out of this. I just thought of the job I had in Uganda and that is why I said that I can do better. I should not be doing the jobs I do now but what can I do, that is what is available for me and I have to live, pay bills, rent, support my children and I have other responsibilities too.

I: Thank you very much for this information. I am interested to hear more about the job you had in Uganda. Please tell me more about the job you did in Uganda?

P: Yeah, I had a very good job in Uganda but when people see me doing these jobs here, they think I am not educated and they think that that is what I can do. In Uganda, I was the undersecretary of the minister of finance in Uganda. I was paid very good money and life was good. I am telling you life was good and if I say life was good, I mean life was good. I was happy with my job and life was not stressful.

I: Please tell me more about the job you did in Uganda and can you please explain how your salary fit in together with your life style?

P: It was a big post and to get through to me in my office, one had to go through security checks. I worked very closely with the minister of finance who was my boss and at times I took on some of his roles. He instructed me on what to do and I did what I was instructed to do. This often happened on the days he would not be in office, he would tell me what to do and I did what he told me to do. I learnt a lot from him and it was a very good experience. I enjoyed it. I had a car and a driver; I met very important people and had a lot of contacts with the rich and educated people that were very useful in my life. We used to go to the theatre on weekends and sometimes we spent weekends in Kenya or Tanzania. We would leave Uganda on Friday evening and came back on Sunday evening, ready to start work on Monday morning. Money was not a problem. I thank God for those moments. I lived a good life and stress free life. It was good and those moments will never get out of my mind. I tell my children about the job I had in Uganda and I tell them that they have to study, graduate and get very good jobs. I also tell them about the jobs I am doing here and how Black people do cleaning jobs here. They know because they see it, it is around them, cleaning the streets, cleaning taking place on the underground and over ground stations. Black people do cleaning jobs, we all know that.

I: You mentioned how you have done cleaning jobs in London and how you work in a nursing home. Please explain to me why you got jobs in these sectors rather than in

other sectors for example, the Civil service sector given your experience in the Ministry of finance in Uganda?

P: Working in the civil service here in the UK? I have given up on that because it will never happen here. Employers play politics here, it is all politics. If they are really open to everyone and not only some people, why are they asking for ethnic background on the job applications? What has ethnicity got to do with what it takes to do a job? It is all for discriminating about Black people especially foreigners and not all foreigners but the Black foreigners suffer in this country. I tell you we suffer. The moment they see your name, you know we have long names, they don't want to know. One day, I applied for an admin job, filled in the form and posted the form back, thinking that I will get that job so that I escape the cleaning job I was doing. I didn't get a response, so I decided to call them to inquire about the progress of my application, do you know what happened?

I: No. Please tell me what happened.

P: The man told me that they were looking for someone with UK experience. There is always something to say, if it is not the accent, it is the qualification, we can't win. It is frustrating when you speak English and people make you feel that they speak it better than you do just because you were not born here. They don't know we learnt English in Uganda and sometimes people just look at you and think that you can't speak a word of English. What can I do? I can't change anything. The only hope I have is for my children to get good jobs and my dream is my children to get good professional and well paid jobs and I am working hard on that. I will not allow anybody to be in the way of my children's education and I am determined not to make it happen.

I: I am sorry to hear about this negative experience. You mentioned that you will not allow anybody to be in the way of your children's education and that you are determined not to make it happen. Please tell me more about that.

P: [Famisa makes a big sigh and says] It is different here you know. Here you have to watch everything happening in school and listen carefully to what your children are telling you. Back home the teachers do what they have to do and parent trust the teachers teaching their children. Here, I have lost trust in the school. Problem after problem. I took [Bosco] to a secondary school in Ugandan because the teachers were saying that his behaviour was bad...he was expelled from school because of his behaviour.

I: How did you feel about that?

P: I was shocked that he was expelled. It puzzled me so much that my mind went blank as I was thinking of what to do next. I wanted him to be in school, study, get his grades and go to university but those teachers were in the way. What I did was to take him to a private school in Uganda because I wanted him to stay in education as you know for us education is important and if our children become successful we are happy and proud.

Unfortunately, those teachers wanted to spoil my son's future by sending him on the street because if he is not in school what happens next? We all know what happens to Black boys on the streets here; it is in the news papers every day. If they expel them from schools like what they did to my son, they are causing serious problems to our children. I couldn't sleep, I had to take him to a private school and I am glad I did. It is the best decision.

I: Thank you very much for sharing your son's experiences about his education, your experience and how you managed to deal with that problem. In my next visit, I would like to know about what the school did before they expelled your son. I would also like to know whether you were informed about and aware of the school's behaviour policy. In addition, I am also interested in knowing whether the school followed the school behaviour policy before your son was expelled please. I would like to end by thanking you for the time you have given today and the important and valuable information you have provided.

(...)

Interview – Sadim (pseudonym)

I: Last time you shared your daughter's educational experiences in her school. Please tell me more about her experiences and the things you expect the school to do to meet your expectations and your daughter's education expectations?

P: [Sarah] left primary school with all her grades above average she is a very clever girl and enjoys learning, she likes to read books and I buy books for her to read. She is also very good at maths. She did well in Year 9 SATS and she also achieved level 7 in maths in year 9 but then in year ten problems started.

I: Please tell me more about the problems?

P: That teacher just didn't like her [frustrated facial expression]

I: What did the teacher do that lead you to say that?

P: She did things that were not nice to [Sarah].

I: Yeah...what things? Can you please give an example?

P: [Sarah] told how the teacher singled her out of the class and punished her and gave her detention for the things like asking for clarification of a question but other children did not get punished and did not get detention for clarification of questions. Yeah, things happened that showed that that teacher didn't like my daughter. It was so bad that her level dropped to the extent of being predicted a D Grade in her GCSE maths exam.

I: How did you deal with this particular problem and difficulty?

P: I went to the parents' evening and spoke to the math teacher; she said she will get back into it.

I: Did you find this response helpful or useful in tackling your problem?

P: No not at all. On that same day, after meeting with the teacher I saw the headteacher and I asked the headteacher why my daughter was declining in maths, he said "you and I have to find out why".

I: Why did you deal with this problem in that way?

P: I expected the headteacher to speak to me and my daughter at a greater detail to find out about our concerns and try to address them, he did not and the school did not do anything about the problem.

I: When you found that dealing with your particular problem in this way was not very helpful, how did you feel about this and did you do anything about it?

P: I asked my son who is at university to help her. I have to find a way of helping her subjects because I don't want her to fail.

I: Please tell me more about the kind of things or activities that you do to support your children's learning and why you engage in those particular things or activities?

P: I do a lot of things to support my children's learning. Through that Madrassa, we managed to get teachers who helped my children in maths and English. This scheme started small but it has grown into a very big supplementary school attached to the mosque.

I: Yeah!

P: many children go to that school. As well as learning about Islam, they teach children maths, English and Science at GCSE and A levels. Some children do their GCSE early, some at 14 years.

I: You mentioned that you do a lot of things to support your children's learning. Can you please describe to me other ways in which you support your children's education and why you engage in such ways to support children's education?

P: I make sure that homework is done [smiles] I make sure the computer is functioning well so that they can finish their homework [pauses] I make sure I sign the diary planner for the children's homework.

I: It is probably about time to finish. I would like to use these minutes please. Is there anything you would like to add to this discussion that you feel is important and you would like to share?

P: It is not easy to educate children in this country.

I: Please tell me a little bit more about that.

P: I was angry about him choosing a BTEC diploma for my daughter. I don't want her to do BTEC. What is she going to do with a certificate in BTEC? What good job can she do with a BTEC diploma? I want her to get a very good professional job that will pay her a descent salary.

I: Thank you very much for sharing this important information and for the valuable time you have given me to interview you today. In the next visit, I would like to know more about how you tackled this problem and the things you are doing to help your daughter to achieve the goal of attaining a very good professional job that will pay her a descent salary.

P: You are welcome.

Second visit

I: The last time I visited you, you talked about how were angry about your daughter's teacher and in particular how he chose a BTEC diploma for your daughter. I mentioned that in this visit, I would like know more about how you tackled this problem and the things you are doing to help your daughter to achieve the goal of attaining a very good professional job that will pay her a descent salary. Can you please explain to me how you tackled this problem?

P: That is not the only problem with the school and the teachers. [Jane - pseudonym] also experienced problems with her maths teacher. The teacher was complaining about [Jane] every time I went to her school.

I: Is this your second daughter?

P: Yes, my other daughter [Jane].

I: What was the teacher complaining about?

P: Aahh...he kept on complaining and telling me that [Jane] is finding maths very difficult. Back home teachers teach the children and do the best they can to teach the children. They don't complain. Teachers and parents work well together to get the best out of the children and children know they have to pass and work hard to pass. Teachers, parents and children all work together but it is different here. All I hear is teachers complaining about my children. I look forward to the day I will go to school and hear something good about my children.

I: Did you raise your concerns to the teacher?

P: I don't invite wars that I can't win. I have to be careful. I didn't want to make a formal complaint because I would be causing more problems for my daughter in the school. I want my children to pass their exams and I want them to go to university.

Teachers talk to each other, so it could become a big issue making my daughter's life difficult in school.

I: Thank you very much for sharing this important information with me. Can you please explain to me how you dealt with these concerns?

P: I reassured my daughter that she can do much better. We also pay for a private tutor to help them because we want them to pass and go to university and get good jobs. We also send them to a supplementary school where they learn about Islam, recite the Quran and they also teach them maths, English and Science. They also go the [D] Centre and the teachers there also teach maths, English, science and Luganda. They also teach Bagandan culture to the children. You asked me about the things I do, we do a lot you know. We have to because we want our children to get good grades and go to university?

I: Can you tell me more about the [D] Centre and the activities children do at the [D] Centre?

(.....)

Interview- Samantha (pseudonym)

I: Can you tell me about yourself and what it was like in Uganda before you came to England?

P: Life is so different in Uganda compared to here. The people, the weather, the food, the lifestyle, I miss all that and life will never be the same. Coming here was a big change. Here, there is no time to relax, it's work all the time but back home I had a house helper to help with the cleaning and general housework. Here, I have to do it all by myself, take care of the children, make sure they focus on their education and make sure they do as expected because in this country, as a parent I have to watch over my children to make sure they are doing well in their education and to make sure they are on the right path. In Uganda I had the extended family and friends. I miss that. I also miss the job I had in Uganda and the life I lived. Life will never be the same.

I: What has it been like since settling in England?

P: Well, it has not been easy and it will never be easy because from the day I came, it has been worrying, from worrying about whether I was going to be allowed to stay here or not to worrying about my people back home whether they are ok or not. Missing a family is not easy and that gap will never be filled because every moment I have missed being with my people is gone and will never come back. Some of my family members died but didn't even know until later because when I came here, the communication was lost, it was like living my life on another planet and my people back home were also worried about me as I was worried about them. The journey has been long and settling

here I tell you has not been and still not easy. I lost everything, I lost family, property, land, my family, friends, my good job , I lost everything and had to start from Zero here, the only hope I have now is to support my children to make sure that they become successful in their education and I work hard to make sure they get a very good education because as you back home education is the only way anyone can live a descent lifestyle and I can tell you that because I lived a very good lifestyle in Uganda, the respect people gave me, I felt good and was happy in my job. I want my children to succeed in their education because as for me now, I have given up on the chances of getting a good job and I pray my children make it and graduate because I know when they make it, their achievement is my achievement and their pride is my pride, their success is my success. All this suffering and the sacrifices will be history when my children graduate and get good jobs. I will be very happy as for me I have accepted, this is the life for me now, the only way things may become better is when my children and I celebrate my children's achievements and when they are working, doing well paid jobs. There is no single day that passes without me thinking about my children's future, a good future as for me, this is it, this is the life I am living doing jobs I really don't want to do but because I need the money to live on and to support my children and to help my children with their education. The priority now is focusing on my children because that is where I see light. They will never leave me to suffer when I am old, they will look after me and they know that because even though they are born here, I tell them that I take care of mother and father not physically because I can't be there physically but I make sure that I send them money to help them out. In Uganda children look after their parents when they are old and they also help the extended families and elders in the community so it is important that my children know that. When you do it you also get blessing from God because when the parents are happy I believe the children get blessings from God.

I: You mentioned that your priority now is focusing on your children because that is where you see light. I am interested to hear more about that and what you mean by saying that that is where you see light?

P:um uh as for me it is all darkness because I don't see any way I will ever be an accountant here, I have lost hope of doing a good job and securing my own future my future was disrupted, look at the jobs I do, I never thought of doing such jobs but guess what? I am doing them because I need money, I have no choice, it is a struggle, They will not give you the good jobs, the good jobs are not for us, if you look closely, you see Black people doing cleaning, sweeping the roads, cleaning toilets, all the dirty jobs are for us, White people don't do such jobs, they do the professional jobs because it is easy for them. I know it is not going to be easy for my children too to get good jobs but I am trying my best to support them with their education, they will get a degree and then a masters degree because a black person needs a degree and a masters degree to do a job that require a degree but for White people, this is their country, they will have very good professional jobs with just one degree. I strongly believe they discriminate in the jobs selection process and guess who suffers, Black people especially foreigners suffer in

this country. In this country to get a good job if you a foreigner and Black is very difficult and therefore, I have given up on that and all my hope is in my children. That is where I see light because I know if God helps them to get good jobs I will all be set, they will be ok and I will be ok and I am working hard to help them get there. I will sell everything I have if I have to help my children to get what they need to succeed in their education, I pay a private tutor to help my children, believe me I work hard to get the money to pay a private tutor and they also go to a supplementary school in [North London]. Aahhh everywhere you go there are barriers, barriers, barriers; I am tired of seeing this. At work, there are barriers, at schools, there are barriers, even if you are sick and go to hospital, they treat you different from the way they treat the white people. The white people get first class service wherever they go. I didn't know racism exists until I came here. You get hurt you know, they laugh at you just because you speak English with an accent. They make you feel worthless, that is what it is and if you are not strong and if you don't exercise patience it can affect you mentally but you know what? I know who I am and no one is going to make me feel bad about myself. I have to control these feelings to carry on; otherwise, I will be destroyed.

I: You mentioned earlier that you pay a private tutor to help your children and that you work hard to get the money to pay a private tutor and you also mentioned that your children attend supplementary schools. You also mentioned that all your hope is in your children. Is there anything you would like to add or anything that you feel you are doing to support your children's learning to make it possible for them to graduate and get good jobs? From what I have heard so far, you are very determined to support your children's learning and I am interested to hear more about the things that you are doing to support your children's learning.

P: Well, the most important thing was to find a very good school for my children because if the schools are good the children will learn and will make progress but if the school is not a good school, then the risk of children failing is huge. I know this from home because I went to a private school in primary and a private school in secondary, so I know what children can get from a good school. The good learning takes place in a good school, the behaviour of the children is good and children focus on their learning, and the teachers also try their best to teach the children to learn. That is how it is in Uganda. Obviously, the private schools here are very expensive because the jobs I do here don't pay much, it is difficult to educate my children in private schools here. If I had a very good and well paid job here or if I got an accountant job here because I know how to do the job, I did it in Uganda, it shouldn't be a problem. I could educate my children in private schools here but that is not possible because I don't earn much money. But, the good thing is that the foundation was very good, I got them into a Catholic school here and my church helped me a lot.

I: I would like to hear more about the catholic school your children got into and why you were interested in choosing a Catholic school for your children?

P: Well, I went to Catholic schools in Uganda and I know how it works in a Catholic school. I wanted them to get into catholic schools because Catholic schools are very good schools and if the children go to Catholic schools , you don't need to worry about the discipline and practicing religion because of the routine in Catholic schools, children pray before the lessons, lunch times and at the end of the day. This helps them to focus more on their education because prayer is a powerful tool and I don't underestimate the power of prayer. My children are very focused on their education in Catholic schools and this is what I need for my children. Another thing is that when you live away from your family and go through what I have gone through and what I still go through in this country, the only solution is getting closer to God because I tell you, I need that extra strength to carry on. So, I pray to God a lot and I go to church with my children to pray. Going to church helps me a lot because I meet a lot of people and now I have friends from the church. I also know the priest so this helped me a lot because I asked the priest in my church to write a letter for me to confirm that I go to church when I applied for Catholic schools for my children. I like Catholic schools because I went to private catholic schools in both primary and secondary schools. I tell you, they are very good schools and when my children got into Catholic schools, I was very happy.

I: Is there anything you would like to add?

P: Yeah, as I have told you before, I went to Catholic private schools in Uganda, the environment was peaceful...I wanted them to go to Catholic schools because they are good at everything and they are good schools. I had to put my children in a Catholic school because their education is important, I want the best education for them and they can get it in Catholic schools. They went to a Catholic school in primary school.

I: Last time you told me about how you were educated private schools in Uganda. Can you tell me a little bit more about your experience in private schools in Uganda?

P: I thank God and thank my parents who worked so hard and put everything on hold so that we could get good education. God bless them. We all went to private schools because they believed in education to improve lifestyles and future security. They did the best thing because now they are relaxing and we are taking care of them. They want because all of us are supporting them now and they are ok. It was about school fees for us, before they did anything for themselves or buying things for themselves, they made sure our school fees were sorted. I had a good education and my experience was good in the private schools. My parents did what they did, I did what I did focusing on my education and the teachers worked so well together with my parents to get the best out of me. We all worked towards a common goal and my parents and my teachers believed in me and they worked so well together to help me pass my exams. My success in education was everyone's success but here it is different. You have to move very fast, the children here can fail in a blink of an eye. I tell you educating children here is so different from educating children back home, here you can't relax until they finish university. My children were ok in primary schools because they were in a Catholic school, problems started in secondary schools. One problem after another. It was like

this teacher was working towards my daughter's downfall, she wanted her to fail, that is what it was but I didn't allow her to play about with my daughter's education. I refused to allow her; I went in and stopped it. You have to do that or your children will fail and who would suffer? Me and my children. They will not suffer because they are alright, they are ok, they are all set, the world is in their hands and they have power and they get whatever they want easily. Not us, so I know that and I don't allow them to play games with my children. The only hope is in my children, as for me I am finished, this is it, I don't expect that I will be an accountant in this country, it is not possible. Ok, I have accepted that but I won't accept anyone who comes in the way of my children's success especially with their education. What can my children do without education? Do cleaning jobs like me? No and I say no, they will not do cleaning jobs like I do, I will do whatever I can to support them to finish university and if they get professional jobs, my job is done and sit back and reflect on my struggles to educate them.

I: As it is just about time to finish this interview today, I would like to thank you for this valuable information you have provided to me during this interview and I thank you so much for time and for allowing me to visit you today to carry out this interview. In the next interview, I would like to hear more about the problems that started in secondary schools your children attend and you mentioned that it was one problem after another. You also mentioned that it was like that particular teacher you refer to was working towards your daughter's downfall and you believed that she wanted her to fail. I would like you to explain to me in detail in my next visit please, what you mean, how it all started, how you identified these issues and how you managed to deal with all these issues.

(....)

Appendix D

A list of the themes that emerged from the analysed data:

Culture

Employment

Class

Education

Educational strategies