



"The Silent Catastrophe": Institutional Racism in the British Educational System and the Underachievement of Black Boys

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# **“THE SILENT CATASTROPHE” Institutional Racism in the British Educational System and the Underachievement of Black Boys**

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This article explores the recent increase in permanent exclusions of Black boys in the British educational system. Parents and educators have long been concerned about the education or “miseducation” of Black children. These concerns are reflected in the deep sense of urgency in Black communities about the need for an overall strategy to stem the tide of exclusions of Black boys. The authors argue that the continuing denial of race and racism in British educational policy is reflected in the intransigence of many schools to consider the differential positioning of Black boys in the wider society and its effect on their educational experiences and opportunities. This article draws on a research study in which Black boys voice their experiences of what it means to be young, Black, and male in Britain in 2004 and also seeks to move beyond critiques to embrace alternative visions of schooling to re-engage young people and bring about successful futures.

**Keywords:** *institutional racism; British education; agency; educational visions; successful futures*

There is a silent catastrophe happening in Britain’s schools in the way they continue to fail black British children.

Diane Abbott, member of Parliament (2002)

In recent years, there has been considerable concern among educators, parents, professionals, and communities about the growing

numbers of Black children cited in official school exclusion data (Department for Education and Employment [DfEE], 2000, 2001; Social Exclusion Unit [SEU], 1998). These statistics have highlighted the overrepresentation of Black boys who have been permanently excluded<sup>1</sup> from school.

Diane Abbott, a London member of Parliament, referred to the underachievement and exclusion of Black boys as a “silent catastrophe” that has important and adverse implications for Black communities and the wider society.

There is a long history of concern by parents and educators about the education or, as some critics have recoiled, the “miseducation” of Black children (Graham, 2002c). From the controversies surrounding the overrepresentation of Black children placed in schools for the educationally subnormal in the 1970s to school exclusions in the 1990s, educational policies attempting to address inequalities have been a dismal failure. There have been various responses to the disaffection and disengagement of some young Black people in the education system.

In the past, Black families have been the main locus of debate and discussion about the educational “problems” of their children. However, over the past decades, educators have been engaged in a serious analysis of institutional structures and educational processes that often result in their differential treatment (Gillborn, 1995; Gillborn & Mirza, 2000; Rassool & Morley, 2000).

In this context, research has revealed the continued importance of racism and culture as central issues in the processes of educational delivery (Dei, 1999; Gillborn, 1995; Gillborn & Mirza, 2000). These approaches toward seeking explanations for the disaffection of some young Black children, particularly young Black boys, have served a useful purpose in highlighting the dynamics of racism in the functions and operations of educational institutions. Nevertheless, there is now greater appreciation of the complexities involved in disaffection that produces such detrimental effects in students’ learning as well as emotional and social costs to the individual, communities, and the wider society. This means that there are many and varied processes involved in the marginalization and exclusion of Black children in the school system.

There is no doubt that the legacy of British racism has devalued and demonized young Black men and has shaped what Essed (1991) calls “everyday racism”—recurrent familiar practices that are infused into the daily experience of being Black in Britain in 2004. These lived experiences enter the processes of schooling in many different complex ways and yet the voices and concerns of students are often silenced or ignored.

The dynamics of silencing is a powerful tool in the British context because it is institutionalized within power relations that perceive society as simply “theirs.” Gordon (2001) conceptualizes this silence as a “social construct, critical to maintaining the societal taboo around . . . racism in British society” (p. 319).

These structured silences are apparent in the racial inequalities that extend across social welfare statistics. In this regard, we are speaking about the sustained overrepresentation of Black children in the public care system and Black people subject to compulsory admissions to psychiatric units. Black men make up 12% of the U.K. prison population, yet they are less than 1% of the population (Home Office, 2000). This pattern of overrepresentation is now evident in the data reporting on permanent exclusions of Black boys from school. The *Times Educational Supplement* reported in 1998 that Black boys were 15 times more likely to be excluded from school. These considerations highlight the social and historical constructions of race that have created forms of institutional racism that permeate instruments of government.

Schools do not operate in a vacuum; they are institutions that reflect the social, cultural, and political configurations found in the wider society. As a result of this process, schools play a key role in the “production and reproduction of power and social inequality.” This is experienced through the process of teaching and learning about knowledge. Conventional knowledge is shaped and directed by interlocking oppressions situated in the dynamics of power relations (Dei, 2000b).

Schools are also racialized places where deeply held beliefs and expectations are an integral part of the school process and practices. Black children enter these contested public spheres

where issues of race and gender are inextricably tied to education, achievement, and success.

Under these circumstances, there is a pressing need to hear and learn from the narratives of Black pupils to provide new and creative ways of inclusive learning that addresses marginalization. This means that schools must engage in acknowledging openly the differential position of Black children in the broader social and political contexts that frame their experiences of schooling.

Historically, education has been a priority in Black communities. Education is perceived as a mechanism for social mobility and success. Moreover, education is often perceived as a means of resistance in confronting the prism of Eurocentric knowledge in order to “free the mind of mental slavery” that maintains domination and control. This is where community knowledge challenges and seeks to rupture the dominance of Eurocentric knowledge as the only valid way of knowing (Dei, 2000a).

Black communities and parents have engaged in community-based strategies to promote educational learning opportunities that support and nurture the well being of their children. They have achieved some success despite institutional barriers, neglect, and indifference from mainstream educational authorities. Supplementary (Saturday) schools have been an enduring institution set up for and by Black communities and largely self-financing. These alternative visions of schooling have used local, historical, and cultural knowledge as a means of increasing educational opportunities in a “culturally holding environment.” These environments give voice to versions of realities and lived experiences of young teenage boys.

This article is divided into two broad sections. First, we briefly chart the miseducation of Black children. We argue that the continuing denial of race and racism in British educational policy is reflected in the intransigence of many schools to consider the differential positioning of Black boys in the wider society and its effect on their educational experiences and opportunities. There is a deep sense of urgency in Black communities about the need for an overall strategy to stem the tide of exclusions of Black boys. The central issues of race and racism in schooling speak to the long-

standing frustration of many parents and communities with educational authorities in their narrow-mindedness about the extent and nature of discrimination in education.

This framework provides the context for voicing the experiences of what it means to be young, Black, and male in the British educational system. Moreover, this discussion draws on research undertaken by one of the authors of this article. Young Black boys are acutely aware of their position in the wider society and the ways in which powerful stereotypes—everyday racisms—frame and influence their educational experiences and opportunities.

The second section seeks to move beyond the critiques of schooling to discuss the ways in which an alternative vision of schooling informed by success in Black communities can re-engage young Black people.

### **THE SILENT CATASTROPHE—CHARTING SCHOOL EXCLUSIONS AND BLACK BOYS**

There has been a consistent pattern of underachievement of Black children over several decades that has evoked various explanations in accounting for differential educational outcomes (DfEE, 2001; Gillborn, 1999; Pilkington, 1999). The current discussions and debates have centered on whether schools are racist. Are Black children subject to differential treatment and is there evidence of racially discriminatory practices in the classroom? These questions relate to wider concerns about the extent to which racism pervades the British educational system (Pilkington, 1999).

In these discussions, the concept of race has been subject to intense scrutiny concerning its meaning, understanding, and place within social theory. The influence of postmodern thinking has challenged the importance of Black identities as part of a diverse experience located in the structures of social and political power. Within this context, its currency as a social construct has been undermined as a tool in the struggles for justice and equity. Race has been subsumed into theorizing about difference, identities, and ethnicity. However, as Dei (1999) maintains, “race is more than a

theoretical concept. It is also an idea that governs social relations . . . race hierarchies shape and/or demarcate our schools, communities, workplaces, and social practices and lived experiences” (p. 4). Race, then, is a powerful social and political construct that applies physical markers as a signifier of difference and the “other.”

These deliberations about the meanings of race and its problematics have resulted in what has been termed “intellectual gymnastics” that denies the saliency of race in the contexts of schooling and educational policies. In this way, the academy has generally supported government educational policies in pursuing a color-blind approach to the problem of school exclusions. This means that there are targets set for the reduction of school exclusions generally, but there appears to be no obvious strategy to reduce the exclusion of Black children in schools. Accordingly, the issue of race and racism is denied and has been summarily absent from contemporary policy documents disseminated to address the problem of school exclusions (Gillborn, 1995). The New Labour Blair government considers race and ethnicity as supplementary issues that are outside the contours of policy formation and process.

Gillborn and Mirza (2000) conceptualize a color-blind approach as a form of denial of race that undermines critical examination of racism, its processes, and in turn, strategies to counteract its destructive practices. There appears to be a consistent reluctance by policy makers to address the racialized nature of the policy process that institutionalizes inequalities in educational attainment and learning opportunities.

In this context, the histories of racism in British society and subsequent inequalities continue to challenge attempts to present a “raceless” society. Many educators and academics simply equate race with ethnicity to counter the importance of race in discussions about school exclusions. Yet, it is interesting but also disturbing that race is evoked in public and academic discussions about crime and the “problem” of young Black people (Dei, 1999).

The inquiry team that investigated the murder of Stephen Lawrence, a young Black man in South East London, concluded that the Metropolitan Police Service was institutionally racist. They found that the police authorities failed to act to investigate the murder of

Stephen Lawrence, a college student, stabbed to death waiting for a bus on his way home.

The subsequent Macpherson (1999) report presents a stark example of racism and its prevalence in contemporary British society, which substantiated what Black people have been voicing for many years; racism permeates the structures and institutions of British society. There is now compelling research evidence that demonstrates the ways in which educational processes and structures perpetuate institutional racism—this is, according to the Macpherson report, “because of the failure of the organization openly and adequately to recognize and address its existence and causes by policy, example and leadership” (p. 28).

Despite the reluctance of many educators to engage in discussions about race, there can be no denial of the saliency of racism affecting the life chances, aspirations, and opportunities of young Black people living in a racist culture.

Young (1990) considers that existing social constraints on oppressed groups are sometimes embedded in “unquestioned norms, habits and symbols [and] in the underlying institutional rules” (p. 41). In this way, social policies sometimes fail to take notice of the specific situation of oppressed communities.

For far too long, many policies based on notions of equity and equality of opportunity have just merely existed in reports with the appearance of “good intentions” but with no meaningful expression in the overall structures of education.

Several research studies have provided considerable evidence that discrimination takes place on multiple levels that reinforce each other to produce institutionalized racist practices (Connolly, 1998; Mac an Ghail, 1988; Wright, 1992). These practices result in Black children and, in particular, Black boys being allocated to lower teaching groups where they are often subject to greater disciplinary measures.

Connolly’s (1998) research study provides a cogent example of the ways in which some teachers overdiscipline Black boys to avoid any perceived threat to school authority and classroom management (p. 14).



There were many examples gained from observation throughout the school year, where black boys would be sent to stand outside the classroom, told to stand up or move in assemblies, and be singled out and instructed to stand by the wall or outside the staff room during playtime. While black boys were not the only ones to be disciplined in this way, they were significantly over-represented in these processes. (p. 79)

It is widely acknowledged that teacher expectation has a major effect on achievement and learning opportunities. The attitudes and behavior of teachers convey messages about ability. This process has immediate implications for Black pupils. Bearing this in mind, teachers play a significant role in shaping the ways Black children come to understand themselves and others. These aspects of schooling are often referred to as the "hidden curriculum" that carries negative stereotypes into everyday classroom interactions and school practices.

Connelly's research study demonstrated the ways in which schoolteachers were influenced by powerful stereotypes located in contemporary discourses on crime and the "problem" of young Black men prevalent in the wider society. Many teachers considered that some young Black boys were in danger of growing up and becoming involved in criminal activities and therefore they needed to be disciplined and treated more harshly to "nip" any problem behavior early on. In this context, the overdisciplining of Black boys tended to produce an image among their peers as being "bad" that accentuated their masculinity. As a consequence of this process, they were more likely to be drawn into fights, "which means they are more likely to be noticed by teachers and disciplined for being aggressive. The cycle is thus complete" (Connolly, 1998, p. 14).

Here, the process of racism manifests itself in gendered ways. This means that the processes through which racism is experienced are sometimes gender specific (Essed, 1991). In the British context, there is a legacy of historical and social constructions of Black men in which they are positioned as a threat to the White majority society. These gender-specific understandings of racism in education

are important because the interlocking nature of oppression reflects the nature of social and power relations in the wider society.

### **RACISM, ABILITY, AND INDIVIDUALISM**

The consistent pattern of underachievement and disaffection of Black children in the 1980s changed direction in the 1990s to include school exclusions. During this period, there was a rapid increase in permanent school exclusions and these developments have been directly attributed in part to government educational policy (Gillborn, 1995). The pressures brought about by the 1988 Educational Reform Act introduced notions of ability and individualism enshrined in academic excellence according to a clearly defined National Curriculum (Parsons, 1999). The notion of ability and the perceptions of teachers and educators in assessment of educational aptitude and potential have been the source of contention and racial stereotyping of Black pupils for many years. There is a commonplace racist understanding that surrounds the concept of ability, which is based on a historical and social construction of Black intellectual inferiority. This is located in the unspoken discourses that permeate educational institutions and continue to inform popular beliefs and professional understandings. The focus on the concept of ability in educational policy is juxtaposed with individualism that serves to de-emphasize structured racialized positions and generate a shift toward blaming Black pupils for their situation, embracing one track solutions such as mentoring to assist "problem" Black pupils.

The legacy of enslavement, colonialism, and ideological constructions of race that entered social, political, and academic institutions during the 18th century continue to shape long-standing histories of racism in British society. Black communities speak about these powerful societal hierarchies within the notion of "know your place," which refers to the way in which racialized structures deny opportunities and resources in every sphere of contemporary life.

Black pupils are often working against teacher expectations that perceive them as having lesser ability and expectations of bad

behavior. It is within this context that discrimination takes place through the processes of low expectations of ability, which lead to differential treatment and racialized disciplinary control.

Wright (1992), in her study of race relations in primary schools, found that although teachers were generally committed to equality of opportunity, nevertheless, there was widespread discrimination in the classroom. These conditions experienced by Black children serve to reinforce and institutionalize racial inequalities (Gillborn & Mirza, 2000).

#### **REPRESENTING SILENT VOICES— BLACK BOYS SPEAKING OUT**

The differential position of Black boys in schooling has had a critical effect on their educational experiences and their subjectivities. Giving voice to these experiences invites the power of individual agency that ruptures the dynamics of silencing implicated in domination and control.

Gordon (2001) highlights the ways in which self-silencing emerges from the frustration of the enormity of race issues that become embedded in society so that the Black individual can become “locked into silence through an insidious and unconscious process of self preservation and social amnesia” (p. 319). Under these circumstances, oppressive situations create conditions for silencing marginalized groups so that critical voices are obscured. Who gets listened to is related to questions of power and various aspects of the silencing process that conspire to normalize invisibility so that what is “normal” becomes the way it is (Dei, 2000b).

Within this context, speaking out about individual experiences of racism allows us to consciously engage in exploring our realities, sharing knowledge of lived experiences and ways to “get through” in and of the world.

The dynamics of silencing are particularly powerful in the British context as there are relatively few accounts of young Black people speaking about their experiences of racism that shape their learning experiences in schooling. In this discussion, we present a snapshot of students’ narratives that gives voice to the everyday

racisms that inform their life worlds. These experiences of oppression include social, psychological, and spiritual dimensions that cannot be subject to quantitative analysis (Dei, 2000a). This means that particular experiences of oppression can place one in a position to articulate those experiences in various ways that are sometimes not understood by the wider society. Presenting voices in this discussion speaks to Black pupils' own needs and concerns and the recognition that all students need to be supported within the educational system.

A research study carried out in five London secondary schools in 2000 by one of the authors of this article (Robinson, 2001), using qualitative methodology, employed open-ended questionnaires to guide focus group discussions with Black boys about their experiences of schooling.

It is widely acknowledged that Black children enter the educational system at 5 years old, full of promise, eager to learn, and achieving on par or even better than their White peers. However, toward the end of the schooling process, Black children's experiences are often tinged with disappointment, some resentment about the way they have been treated, and unfulfilled potential.

One of the overriding concerns of Black boys relates to the ways in which racial discrimination in the wider society affected their school experiences.

Mark, a 13-year-old boy, is acutely aware of his position in the wider society, and racial stereotypes inscribed in social practices have become part of his everyday experiences. He says,

We can't change it. When you get a cab they ask for the money first. When you walk past a white person in a car they lock their doors. I hate it when you walk past a white lady in the street and she starts clutching her bag. Go into shops, and they follow you.

They think bad about us because they think we black people have no brains—they think all black people are the same—they think every black person is a criminal.

Mark's words illustrate what Morrison (1989) calls "one black person is all black people" totalizing and essentialized discourses

that prevail in the wider society, which devalue and demonize the cultural integrity of Blackness.

Mark has an acute understanding of his "position" and the ways in which racism places social constraints and access to resources and opportunities. Blackness is the marker for social stratification and selection.

For young Black men, racism was a fact of life living in a majority White society. They voiced their experiences as living in an unequal and unfair society where they are subject to negative adverse stereotypes. Black students situated their position in the wider society and these experiences constructed their understanding of the process and relations of the schooling experience.

Many young men spoke of their experiences of racial discrimination at school. They felt that some teachers were racist and they were treated differently from their White peers. Andrew, a 14-year-old boy, reported that "the teachers teach us and treat us differently to the white kids." He felt that he was treated harshly when he had breached school codes of conduct and that White kids "got away with little or no sanctions."

Black boys reflected on the importance of education and recognized that education offered opportunities to enable them to make choices in their lives. The desire for education among Black boys is mirrored in the generally high rates of school attendance. However, these aspirations occur within a context where Black children learn that European histories and cultures are valued above others. As a result of this process, the social and historical realities of Black communities are marginalized through the domination of Eurocentric knowledge. From this perspective, Black children often experience a negation of self in everyday schooling.

Femi, a 15-year-old boy, draws attention to this experience:

They kind of isolate us, the white pupils don't get treated as badly as the black pupils . . . I think we should also learn a bit about our own culture as well . . . at what point will they tell us that everyone came from Africa, because they didn't in our history lesson. . . . Not one thing was said in history about black people even though it was supposed to be black history month, all we got was English history and

Hitler. . . . I remember sir [the teacher] only saying one thing about Negroes and that one thing was about Nigerians and he made it sound bad.

These negative and often demeaning learning environments conspire to suppress aspirations and potentialities of Black children.

Bernard (1999), in her research study, draws attention to the ways in which the process of racism "inhibits our ability to dream and to set goals; it often leads to dreams deferred or lost. The black men in the study maintained that in order to survive, they first have to have a dream, an ambition, a goal and then work to realize it, breaking through many barriers to do so" (p. 64).

#### **BLACK COMMUNITIES—EDUCATIONAL VISIONS FOR SUCCESSFUL FUTURES**

In attempting to address the disaffection and disengagement of some young Black people in the educational system, Black communities have sought to design models of education that appreciate the complex dynamics involved in disaffection that produce such detrimental effects.

Black communities have reflected on the ways in which racism continues to constrain their social existence and to construct strategies of resistance. Moreover, communities theorize about their shared concerns to increase knowledge about life experiences and have often appropriated cultural antecedents as a way of interpreting and planning successful futures.

Black communities have exercised intellectual agency by asking new questions in searching for solutions to social problems. Can new schools based on the cultural heritage values, interpretations, and experiences of Black communities better serve the needs of Black pupils? These discussions have provided the impetus to take control and develop strategies to stem the tide of disaffection. For several years, Diane Abbott, a London member of Parliament, has spearheaded a campaign to address the issue of exclusions, which has resulted in major conferences where Black communities and educators have discussed ways forward to stem the tide of exclusions.

In a similar vein, Black communities in Birmingham speak to community-generated concerns and issues about the education of their children (Ahmed, 2003).

Enough is enough; we cannot take any longer African-Caribbean kids coming out at the bottom of the education pool. They then become cannon fodder for the people who deal in drugs, for the drift into violence and then gun culture.

In this context, Black communities have sought to use their own creative endeavors to address the educational needs of young Black people by affirming Saturday school provision to form Black-led schools.

Black communities have also responded to the needs of young Black people by invoking social action strategies that seek to engage in solutions for social change. These action-oriented culturally based programs provide an opportunity for families to celebrate and acknowledge new responsibilities and intergenerational participation.

In recent years, African-centered theories of social change have provided the framework for rites of passage or life cycle development programs that seek to assist young people in the transition to adulthood, drawing on a critical reading of their cultural antecedents (Graham, 2002b). The transition of young people into adulthood is often fraught with dangers and obstacles. Parents and responsible adults have identified the need for an orderly process of maturation to facilitate and nurture the intellectual, physical, spiritual, and emotional well being of young people to prepare them for adulthood.

These programs are grounded in a value system derived from a critical reading of cultural products and lived experiences that facilitate intergenerational communication and community regeneration.

Graham (2002a) has discussed elsewhere the importance of cultural knowledge, which can operate as a buffer that protects young people and motivates them to plan for and be creative about the future.

Life cycle development programs offer a space where cultural knowledge can assist in affirming spiritual, emotional, and intellectual potential and experiences in the diaspora. Here, young Black people can experience interpretations of realities outside of the prism of Eurocentric thought.

The concept of personhood through a process of becoming is embraced and achieved through understanding and appreciating self, community, cooperation, purpose, creativity, and spirituality. The *Nguzo Saba* derived from African philosophies and the tenet of *Maat* often frames and guides the content of programs (Karenga, 1997). Spiritual knowing is cultivated to facilitate the rites of passage process toward responsible adulthood. This process enables young people to share experiences of the universal meaning of human existence through being in community and being in relationship with other people. Here, the complex linkages of the spiritual and emotional well being of the individual are nurtured and made relevant to everyday living. This spiritual dimension of knowledge, according to Dei (1999), "gives power and strength in physical communication as a means of connecting the inner strength and character to the outer existence and collective identities" (p. 20).

In this context, young people are given the tools to grow into responsible adults, embracing self-knowledge and spiritual purpose. In this way, cultural connections are brought to the fore as an action-oriented communal strategy for social transformation. Thus, the student shares in a sense of community and belonging within an integrated community process. Young people are accorded the challenge to grow, change, and develop, grounded in the moral, intellectual, and social virtues and ideals integrated within the context of local communities.

These programs encapsulate a wider context for education that centers Black young people in their histories, philosophies, and lived experiences and provides them with a framework to embrace successful futures. Cultural knowledge is often perceived as peripheral to formal school knowledge, yet these cultural themes and products create a model for increasing learning opportunities available to young people. As Wright (1992) opines, "for some African Caribbean pupils, knowledge is sought from black communities, as



they feel that it is only from this sphere that they are culturally and experientially reflected" (p. 41).

From this perspective, cultural knowledge seeks to serve the intellectual needs of young Black people as well as fulfill an important function in challenging the neglect and distortions of Black contributions to the world located in conventional knowledge. There is an untapped potential for improving schools located in communities and parental contributions.

The history of Black children in education has created a deep sense of marginalization and anger among many Black parents. They have been frustrated about the ways in which their concerns have been dealt with. Furthermore, marginalization, racism, and exclusion have often marked their own experiences of the school system. Black people have achieved in the British educational system in spite of racist practices, struggle, and determination. Parents want to see schools geared toward the success and well being of their children (Dei, 2000b). These concerns call for schools to provide integrated education where local communities are not only encouraged but also actively involved in the education of their children. Bearing this in mind, community-based strategies such as African-centered life cycle development programs can be integrated into the classroom.

The re-engagement of young Black people requires a multilayered approach that acknowledges their lived experiences to foster identification with schooling and bring about successful futures for Black children.

## CONCLUSION

The disengagement of young Black people continues to challenge educators to rethink the way schooling responds to the needs of local communities. The denial of race and racism in social policy formation processes, particularly within educational authorities, has created a schism between institutions and community-generated concerns. This means that educational authorities have failed to engage Black communities and students in developing

strategies and finding community-focused solutions to re-engage young Black people. Educators must listen to young Black people and their experiences in school as the first step in tackling institutional racism in schooling. Schools must reach out to Black communities to embrace new learning opportunities that effectively center Black children in their histories and philosophies and integrate their lived experiences. Life cycle development programs offer such learning opportunities as a social action strategy toward educational transformation that promotes an inclusive curriculum based on the intellectual, physical, emotional, and spiritual needs of Black communities.

The recent acknowledgment of institutional racism in the wider society demands more than the liberal discourse about the need for social justice. Black parents are insisting that educators fulfill their responsibility in addressing the needs of young Black people in educational environments. This requires a holistic approach to schooling that not only acknowledges the position of young Black boys in the wider society but also seeks to provide a supportive learning environment that integrates self and lived experiences into an inclusive schooling experience. Schools have a responsibility to serve local communities and empower students to create successful futures.

### NOTE

1. Exclusions are the extreme end of disciplinary measures that bar children from attending school permanently. Many local educational authorities provide pupil referral units, which offer some educational provision for children who have been excluded.

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