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**ANTI-RACIST SOCIAL WORK, CONTEXT AND
DEVELOPMENT: REFRACTED THROUGH THE
EXPERIENCES OF BLACK PRACTICE TEACHERS**

By

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DECLARATION

I declare that the thesis is my own work and that it has not been submitted for a degree at another university. Moreover, I declare that the following publications arose from work on the thesis.

Singh, G (2000) **Developing Black Perspectives in Practice Teaching: Exploring and Promoting the Needs of Black Practice Teachers; report of an action research project.** Centre for Social Justice, Coventry University in Partnership with CCETSW
<http://www.swap.ac.uk/learning/practiceSW.asp>

Singh, G and Johnson, M.R.D (2001) 'Research with ethnic minority groups in health and social welfare', in, C. Williams , H. Soydan and M. Johnson(eds.) (1998) **Social Work and Minorities** London, Routledge_ reprinted in H, Goulbourne (ed.) **Race and Ethnicity: Critical Concepts** (2001) Volume IV Chapter 77, London, Routledge

Singh, G (2002) The Political Challenge of Anti-racism in Health and Social Care, in, D.Tomlinson and W. Trew (eds.) **Equalising Opportunities, Minimising Oppression,** London, Routledge.

GLOSSARY

Asian - This term does not necessarily denote place of birth but is used to identify people who are identified as having originated from the Indian sub-continent, primarily, India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.

African-Caribbean - The term African-Caribbean does not necessarily denote place of birth but is used to identify people whose are identified as having originated from the Caribbean Islands and Africa.

Black - Throughout the thesis, I have employed the term 'black' as a blanket term to refer to those individuals and groups who experience racism because of certain racialised markers, most notably skin colour.

Ethnic Group - A term used to denote members of a particular social group defined according to such things as shared cultural heritage, language, geographical origin, customs and practices.

Practice Learning and Teaching - This refers the learning that occurs whilst a student is on placement in a social work agency (Shardlow and Doel, 1996).

Practice Teacher - This is a qualified and experienced social work professional responsible for supervising, teaching and assessing social work students on placement.

White – Throughout the thesis I use the term white to denote the majority of the population of Britain. Although white people are culturally and ethnically diverse, based on skin colour they are constructed as a non racialised entity or the 'norm'.

ABBREVIATIONS

ADP	Anti-discriminatory Practice
AOP	Anti-oppressive Practice
ARSW	Anti-racist Social Work
BPT	Black Practice Teacher
CSS	Certificate of Social Service
CCETSW	Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work
CQSW	Certificate of Qualification in Social Work
DipSW	Diploma in Social Work
GSCC	General Social Care Council
NALGO	National Association of Local Government Officers (now part of UNISON)
NOPT	National Organisation of Practice Teachers
NUPE	National Union of Public Employees
NUT	National Union of Teachers
PC	‘Political Correctness’
PTA	Practice Teaching Award
RAT	Racism Awareness Training
SSD	Social Services Department

SUMMARY

This thesis represents an attempt to develop a critical analysis of the context and development of anti-racist social work in Britain, specifically refracted through the experiences and accounts of black practice teachers. It is based on an analysis of primary and secondary data relating to 'race', racism, anti-racism and social work.

The thesis is divided into two sections. The first section, constituting the literature review, develops a detailed critique of the development of the discourses and ideology of 'race' and racism, and the origins and development of anti-racist social work in the UK over the past 30 years. Section Two outlines the empirical data, constituting a short postal survey and focus group discussions to build research themes, and 21 in-depth semi-structured interviews. The overall paradigm is framed within a notion of 'critical emancipatory anti-racist research'.

The research highlights sustained levels of institutional racism in social work faced by black workers and service users. It also indicates high levels of awareness of the nature and extent of racism amongst black practice teachers.

The thesis is concluded by a summary of the key findings and implications for the future development of anti-racist social work. It is argued that, due to a range of socio political and organisational factors surrounding the restructuring and reorientation of social work and the emergence of new racisms, the space for anti-racist activity is becoming increasingly restricted. The thesis concludes by outlining some principles for a renewed anti-racist social work project, bearing in mind the prevailing conditions.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PERSONAL, THE POLITICAL AND THE PROFESSIONAL

Every line I write shrieks, there are no easy solutions. (Audre Lorde, 1984 p78)

The sociological imagination enables its possessor to understand the larger historical scene in terms of its meaning for the inner life and the external career of a variety of individuals. It enables him (Sic)... to grab history and biography and relations between the two within society. (C. Wright Mills, 1978 {1959} p11-13)

Introduction

The central aim of this thesis is to conduct a critical analysis of the context and development of anti-racist social work (ARSW) in Britain. It is based on a systematic review of relevant literature and an examination of the experiences of black practice teachers (BPTs). My rationale for choosing BPTs' experience as an indicator of developments in ARSW is threefold: first, this group offered me the possibility of exploring the extent and nature of racism, personal and institutional, from the various black perspectives; second, as experienced social work professionals, they were able to offer a first hand historical perspective on the development of ARSW; third, as senior black professionals and educators, they were likely to be playing a central role in developing and promoting ARSW praxis within their respective organisations, a dynamic that offered an ideal opportunity to explore the application of anti-racist theories into practice. The purpose of this introductory Chapter is to provide some insights into my own motivation for undertaking the thesis and the rationale for focussing on anti-racist social work.

The Chapter is structured in three parts; the first provides a biographical account, which outlines some early recollections of growing up in a racist society and how these

experiences shaped my later activism, principally in relation to anti-racist struggles and ARSW. There are two reasons why I have chosen to begin the thesis with a detailed personal narrative: first, it enables me to reflect on my own motivation for undertaking the study, to think through what drives me to ask the questions asked and why I remain interested and committed to the cause of anti-racism; second, it enables the reader to gain some insights into the vantage point from which I have undertaken this study, and equally importantly, to offer them a prompt to reflect on their own subjectivity. Given Derrida's suggestion that the source of meaning for any text is not the author but the reader (1978), an invocation to subjectivise both writer and reader at the outset becomes all the more important. The second part of this chapter offers a rationale for focussing on ARSW. Headed 'problematizing ARSW', this section incorporates a brief overview of contemporary critiques of ARSW. The final part maps out the key research questions and the overall structure and framework of the thesis.

The personal

The quotations above offer anybody embarking on research into human oppression three critical pieces of advice: to make sense of the personal, one needs to understand the political; to make sense of the political, one needs to understand the historical, and to make sense of anything one needs to work hard work at cultivating a dialectical imagination. In thinking about where to begin the task, I felt the need to address my own personal motivations for undertaking such a major undertaking. There is an increasing recognition of the importance of situating biography in the inevitable emotional engagement between the researcher and their chosen field of research (Coffey, 1999; Letherby, 2003).

The original motivation for this thesis began with an interest in the new possibilities that postmodernist theories could offer for developing more comprehensive and critical insights into the dynamics of racism in social work. At the same time, given my overall

activist orientation, I was concerned that this exercise should not be restricted to a 'critique' of racism alone, but at once was able to make a contribution to articulating new directions for progressing ARSW.

As I began to flesh out my ideas, it became clear to me that this was no ordinary piece of academic work; having spent much of my adult life thinking, speaking, writing about and fighting racist oppression, the narrative that I was seeking to explore was not simply 'out there' but one of my own biography. It was a narrative in which, on a personal and professional level, I was both researcher and researched. This brought a realization that the story I was seeking to tell was not restricted to what was going on 'out there' i.e. the development of ideas, policies and practices in the public sphere of social work. The narrative I was seeking to uncover was intimately infused by my own personal journey, as a second generation Punjabi Sikh migrant, growing up in a society where questions of 'race' and racism have been omnipresent. Accordingly, the importance of acknowledging the impact that biography, emotion and identity can have on the process of research, from inception through to writing up, became all that more critical (Coffey, 1999 p1).

While I realized that reflecting upon my own biographical self, albeit very important, was not in itself sufficient to enable me to claim the mantle of critical research, I also felt the research represented something more than an academic exercise, evidencing my competence to complete a PhD thesis. Sivanandan (1982), in his essay 'The Liberation of the Black Intellectual', uncovers the tensions and contradictions that black intellectuals are faced with in a racist society. The black intellectual has two choices, either s/he must adhere to the dominant white norms and culture, thereby effectively becoming a 'servitor of those in power, a buffer between them and his (Sic) people, a shock-absorber of 'coloured discontent' (Sivanandan, 1982 p84). The other choice is to take the path of self-liberation, though developing critical consciousness. This existential journey enables one to perceive the reality of one's own oppression, and that of others, thereby shedding the complacency engendered by the system that is infused by racism. For Sivanandan, it is

only through the death of the colonised self that the liberated black intellectual can emerge and, by claiming a politicised 'black' identity, s/he is announcing her/his intention to struggle against oppression. Kanpol's suggestion that critical researchers need to have a committed understanding of where they fit into the wider social structures (Kanpol, 1997 Para 41) made me think about the political dimension to the research I was about to embark upon (Hammersley, 1995). This has led me to adopt an openly critical standpoint that at once rejects the idea of neutral knowledge and knowledge seekers (Bauman, 1976), and adopts an approach that is aimed at contributing to my own and other's liberation from oppression.

The political

Paradoxically, this political and moral imperative has been both an obstacle and a motivating factor for completing this thesis. My ongoing commitment, for example, to supporting BPTs in particular, and anti-racist and anti-oppressive social work initiatives in general, at local, regional and national levels, has over the past few years sometimes drawn energy away from my thesis; yet, at others, my activism has provided timely boosts. Moreover, on an intellectual level, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, I have become less convinced of the value of postmodernism as a basis for developing new, or for that matter any emancipatory project! Yet at the same time, given the centrality of a dialectical approach in critical social research (Harvey, 1990), I see my own ambivalence as a positive dimension of the research process, even if at times it feels and appears not to be so. I have come to realise, and accept, that this feeling of ambivalence goes beyond methodological concerns alone. It represents a deeper self questioning of my motivation for embarking on the PhD, and reflects the many personal changes I have encountered in the process. Bauman (1995) characterises ambivalence as a force for good, as a condition from which individual human agency becomes possible.

My earliest recollection of anti-racism is from the age of 8 when I learnt about the power of 'direct action'. From the commencement of my schooling in inner city Bradford, I can recall daily incidents of racial abuse and harassment. One particular white boy targeted me for verbal and physical racist harassment on a daily basis; the words 'Paki', 'nigger', 'black bastard', 'coon', and so on, became etched into my very being and I would regularly go home bruised and battered following physical attacks. This distressing experience went on for three years and I can remember feeling powerless to do anything. I was too young to articulate my experience to teachers, who appeared to be oblivious to the presence of racism in the school, and my parents were understandably preoccupied with providing for our basic material needs. However, I can remember one day in 1967 making a decision to fight back and I ended up beating the particular boy who, to my relief, never bothered me again! The critical lessons I took from these early experiences are:

- racists and racism will not go away without being confronted;
- people in authority, by developing blind spots or through self-preservation, will often collude with racism and oppression (Bauman, 1989);
- racism can become internalised and the battle against it begins within oneself (Freire, 1972);
- with determination racism can be confronted, although it does have a tendency to reappear in different guises, 'constantly renewed and transformed' (Fanon, 1970 p41);
- the importance of balancing up the use of violence against the need for developing non-violent strategies for confronting racist oppression;

Like other black youth, living and growing up in inner city Bradford through the 1970's and 1980's one was presented with many challenges related to the question of 'race' and racism. I recall becoming involved in countless anti-racist and anti-fascist activities during this period. Locally, along with other black youth I recall participating in many successful campaigns against racist attacks, police harassment and deportations.

Whilst the various visible minority communities had their different cultural, religious and linguistic needs and preferences, there was a real sense, as Indians, Pakistanis and West Indians, that we had much in common. We forged a political black identity through which common alliances began to emerge. (See Chapter Three for a comprehensive discussion of the idea of a politicised 'blackness'.) Numerous black youth organisations and movements mushroomed across the conurbations of the UK. As a founder member of one such organisation, the Asian Youth Movement (AYM) in Bradford, I found myself at the age of 17 immersed in the local and national politics of 'race'.

Formed in 1976, initially to mobilise against the activities of the British National Party, the AYM, along with other black organisations across the UK, became instrumental in redefining the politics of race and shaping a new and assertive anti-racist movement. Black people in general, and black youth in particular, decided that they would no longer tolerate being treated as second class citizens in a way that their parents may have done. Anti-racism was not confined to the streets, but spread to the workplace, schools, prisons, council chambers and the law courts. This realization that 'the state' was neither capable nor willing to address black people's concerns, led us to the path of self-organisation and militancy. Growing politicization resulted in a more expansive analysis of racism, which we now understood was not simply manifest in the guise of the extreme right but was a feature of the very fabric of the British society and its institutions. Whilst we remained suspicious of the motives of the Marxist left, we found their growing willingness to place 'race' alongside class in the analysis of the workings of capitalism, as well as a genuine commitment to support anti-racist campaigns, something to cherish. The slogan 'black and white, unite and fight' encapsulated this important strategic alliance. As Sivanandan (1991), points out, our struggle was not simply one against racist attitudes and behaviour, but against the regimes and structures of governance that have and do sustain them:

If, in the final analysis, racism as I see it is tied up with exploitative systems, our struggle is not only against injustice and inequality and un-freedom, our struggle is against the system of power that allows these things to obtain. (Sivanandan, 1991 p45)

My activism during the late teens and early adulthood also enabled me to embark on a personal journey of self-discovery and liberation. A growing sense of self-awareness and critical consciousness led me to ask painful, albeit crucial, questions about my place in this society: why did my parents leave their homeland of Punjab and come to the UK in the first place? Despite my activism, why do I, at a psychological level, still harbour a preference for whiteness? What is it about the nature of racism that can so distort perceptions about self and others? In what ways can I heal the damage that racism has caused to me? How can I utilise my own growing self-awareness to help others?

The last question in particular, more than anything else, led me towards pursuing a career in social and or community work; something I was already doing in a voluntary capacity through my work with the AYM, which by the early 1980's had managed to establish a physical base and government funding for some of its 'non-political' activities, mainly centring on working with local black young people. Ironically, accepting government funding was to lead to the splitting of the AYM in 1981 into one faction who felt that its politics and capacity to be radical was being compromised and another that valued the importance of a pragmatic approach aimed at working with the local state.

In the same year, Lord Scarman issued a report on 'race' and policing in the UK. Written against the backdrop of a summer of riots in many inner city areas throughout the UK in 1981, the report raised a series of issues concerning relations between the state and its various institutions and Britain's black communities. Most significantly, Scarman (1981) introduced into public discourse the notion of 'institutionalised racism', hitherto a concept that had been confined to the academic lexicon. However, the overall tenor of his

report was to locate racism within the sphere of individual overt acts of discrimination or hostility, some motivated by personal racial prejudice, other through ignorance. Gilroy (1987) characterises this approach as, a 'coat of paint' theory, whereby racism is relegated to the status of epiphenomena; an aberration or wart on the surface of an otherwise decent society. Yet, one of the most appealing aspects of Scarman's approach was its simplicity and clarity – if racism is learnt behaviour then, surely, it could be unlearned!

The professional

Whether or not Scarman's pragmatism made any significant difference is a debatable matter, although what is beyond doubt is that the events of 1981 had a seismic impact on public services, not least Social Services departments (SSDs), and any lingering complacency that policy makers had regarding 'race' was shattered. One of the favoured strategies of many local authorities was to utilise 'Section 11' funding. This related to provisions under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 that enabled local authorities to access extra funds in order to help the 'assimilation' of migrant communities into society (see Association of Directors of Social Services, 1978).

Against the backdrop of government initiatives to make social work services more receptive to the needs of ethnic minorities, my career as an unqualified social worker began in 1982. Along with carrying out all the duties of a generic social worker, I was expected to offer advice and consultancy on issues relating to 'race' and ethnicity. I have mixed memories of this first 'insider' encounter with professional social work. On the one hand, although I was employed as a social worker, albeit unqualified (in those days was unusual for social work), constantly being referred to as the 'Section 11 worker' made me feel marginalised and stigmatised. I felt it was a signal to me that I was not a 'real' social worker, and that my presence was more due to positive discrimination than merit. The irony is that, to secure the post, I had to compete with 300 other applicants over a three-stage selection procedure, including a final interview by the Director and Assistant

Director of Social Services, a process not dissimilar to that used for appointing senior officers in the department. Yet, in other ways, I felt an air of optimism; a number of my white colleagues showed a genuine warmth towards me and in many ways, despite the 'top down' management rhetoric, the serious commitment to anti-racism appeared to me to come from front line staff who were often left unsupported and deprived of development opportunities themselves.

In 1983, I was seconded to undertake professional qualifying training at one of the local CQSW courses. Although things were beginning to improve, I can remember being one of about six black entrants in an intake of 40 students on my course. Moreover, of the six, all had been seconded like me from specialist 'Section 11' posts within the SSD. One of the most striking memories is that, with notable exceptions my fellow students, black and white, appeared to show more commitment to a radical anti-racist agenda than the teaching staff, who were, needless to say all white and delivering a wholly Eurocentric curriculum. Consequently, the student group made representations as to why racism and anti-racism were absent. We were puzzled why the social science teaching was more concerned with the ideas of 'dead white men' than the work of prominent black writers and activists such as Malcolm X, Frantz Fanon, Sivanandan, Stuart Hall, Audre Lorde and Alice Walker. Where issues did surface, more often that not the small contingent of black students would be expected to provide the answers and to share what were often very painful experiences of racist oppression. Audre Lorde, reflecting on her experience as a black educator, makes an important point that resonates with this experience:

it is the responsibility of the oppressed to teach the oppressors their mistakes. I am responsible for educating teachers who dismiss my children's culture in school. Black and Third World people are expected to educate white people as to our humanity...yet the oppressors maintain their position and evade responsibility for their actions'. (Lorde, 1996 pp162-3)

Ironically, our demands for the inclusion of black perspectives, for opportunities to discuss what was happening in black communities locally, nationally and internationally, were met with the paltry offer of an optional four-session mini-module entitled 'social work in our multi-cultural society'. For a variety of reasons, the majority of the students boycotted the module. However, the black students, in the best tradition of self-help, decided to form a black students group as suggested by Lorde:

There is a constant drain of energy which might be better used in redefining ourselves and devising realistic scenarios for altering the present and constructing the future. (Lorde, 1996 p163)

Our growing awareness and confidence resulted in a number of actions, such as the appointment of black academics, active recruitment of black students on to the course, grievances against two white academics who we felt held racist beliefs, changes to curriculum and assessment, and a greater say over the choice of practice placement. I know that subsequent cohorts of black students took up the challenge on our course, and more generally, throughout the 1980's and early 1990's a major shift in the nature and orientation of social work education did occur (CCETSW, 1991a; CCETSW, 1991b; CCETSW, 1991c).

A direct consequence of the last of the demands was an opportunity for me to do my second and final placement with the local Race Equality Council (REC), which at the time was a hot bed of political activity. I was involved in a range of activities, such as anti-deportation campaigns, anti-racial harassment defence groups, employment tribunals and various kinds of support groups, all of which further nurtured my commitment to anti-racist struggles.

Interest in ARSW continued through and beyond my qualifying training, resulting in my taking up a specialist 'Training and Development Officer (Ethnic Minorities) post within a local authority SSD in the late 1980's. After a brief period following qualification as a generic social worker, again I was thrust into the role of an 'ethnic' specialist, although this time within the context of social work education and training. One of the most important opportunities that this post provided was for me to link up with other colleagues at a regional and national level who were involved in similar roles. It was during this period that I became heavily involved with a CCETSW-funded project known as The Northern Curriculum Development (CD) project (CCETSW, 1991b), which had a specific aim to bring together committed black and white social work academics and practitioners to produce teaching materials on ARSW. (See Chapter Three for a more detailed account.) This project had a profound impact upon my work and thinking; most profoundly through involvement in various conferences, workshops and late night discussions, I was prompted to think about anti-racism as something much more than an oppositionary idea and, later as a way of doing social work differently.

At this time, I began reading postcolonial and black feminist literature and found within both their style and content new ways of theorising my experience of oppression. For example, I learnt the importance of seeing difference as not just the reason for my oppression but as a source of strength, as providing me with a unique, albeit painful, learning experience capable of opening up new ways of knowing. At this time I began to develop an interest in the notion of 'black perspectives' and ways of thinking and being that were not subject to the epistemological and ontological frameworks of 'the West'. The most appealing aspect of the literature I was reading at the time was the way in which it spoke directly to my experience, the sense of 'otherness', dislocation, and double consciousness I had felt throughout my life.

This phase in my personal and intellectual development led me to realise that my suffering, as a black person, a subaltern, was not an isolated experience, it provided

deeper understandings about the nature of the society in which I was living. Most critically, it led me to realise that the processes, practices and structures that denied black people civil and human rights operated against other groups as well. I also began to realise that many black people were not only oppressed because of their skin colour, they were also subject to a nexus of oppressive structures built around what Lorde (1984) terms, other 'distortions of difference' namely; gender, class, age, sexuality and disability.

In 1992, I completed post-graduate studies for which I wrote a dissertation, later to be published, entitled 'Race and Social Work: from black pathology to black perspectives' (Singh, 1992). For me, this represented a critical turning point in that it was the first time I had transmitted my ideas into the wider domain. One of my key tasks was to develop a notion of black perspectives that was sufficiently fluid and flexible to avoid running the dangers of essentialism, which I felt was characteristic of most formulations. I was concerned with developing my thinking around 'black perspectives' in ways that did not inadvertently provide some justification for the central underpinning ideology of 'race' thinking, namely, that human beings are made up of smaller immutable entities called 'races'. I felt the necessity to develop thinking that, whilst not denying the uniqueness of racism and its material and historical dimensions was, nonetheless, capable of offering a more nuanced analysis of power and power relations as means of understanding the complex way in which 'race' impacts and meshes with other spheres of human oppression.

During this period, I also became interested in the ideas of postmodernism, which appeared to me to be confronting precisely these questions. Paradoxically, the more I delved into accounts of 'race' and racism, particularly those proffered by postcolonial and postmodern theorists, the more improbable task of dismantling racism seemed to get. In some ways, I become less optimistic than when my analysis was rooted primarily in my own experience of community activism. As a 'non-academic' activist I was involved in successful anti-deportation campaigns, in opposing racist organisation and in

fighting and winning race discrimination cases in industrial tribunals. This highlighted an important point for me about the tension between lived experiential knowledge and professional expert knowledge. I became acutely cognisant of the need to be clear of how racism becomes imagined by self and others, of my own epistemological frameworks, and how they had changed over time, particularly in the development of my professional role and identity.

I have found the work of Patricia Hill Collins (2000) to be particularly helpful in enabling me to reconcile some of the ambivalence I was feeling as a professional/academic; for example, between wanting to confront essentialist constructions of identity, whilst at the same time not distancing my self from those constituencies that choose to deploy essentialism as a means of developing common cause. In outlining the development of her own (black feminist) standpoint, Hill-Collins (2000) rejects the ontological separation between research subject/s of intellectual inquiry (non-academics) and the inquirer (the academic) that she feels is characteristic of much of what may be termed 'mainstream scholarship'. Having a deep concern about black women's oppression, Hill Collins feels compelled to reject any binarisms that run the danger of distancing her from the subjects of her intellectual work, even if this means running the 'risk of being discredited as being too subjective and hence less scholarly' (2000 p19). As both a 'participant in and observer of Black women's communities' (p19), Hill Collins talks about not putting herself forward as an expert in setting standards of certifying truth about which she remain ambivalent.

Problematizing anti-racist social work

The central aim of this thesis is to conduct a systematic analysis of ARSW. Careful reading of anti-racist literature has served to highlight that, rather than representing a unified set of ideas, throughout its short history ARSW has been, and remains, a

contested concept resulting in much confusion in the way it is employed by practitioners, policy makers and social work educators:

First, there is a gulf between the formulation of anti-racist ideas in the literature and the day-to-day experiences, practices and understandings of black (and white) social work professionals. Indeed, with some exceptions (Stubbs 1985; Rooney 1987; Barn 1993; Penketh 2000; Lewis 2000; Bryan 2000), there is a dearth of any research mapping, for example, the insights of experienced black social workers.

Second, anti-racism in general, and ARSW in particular is often (mis)understood as being simply a set of prescriptions and strategies designed to rectify or 'undo' the impact of white oppression of black people. Whilst not denying the importance of dealing with the historical legacy of empire and slavery, one consequence of what might be termed an 'equal opportunities' approach has resulted in a situation where advocates of anti-racism end up adopting postures that may appear to legitimise or reinforce racist ideas. Bonnett (2000), for example, suggests that some anti-racists have taken positions that could be deemed 'racist' to develop their own projects through, for example, adherence to an uncritical mobilisation of categories of 'race' which, even when politically or 'strategically' employed, lend themselves to the racialisation process.

Third, linked to the previous point, one can see in the literature an uncritical use of racialised categories. For example, by drawing on the work of African-American psychologist, W E Cross, Maximé (1986) offers a rationale for and solution to the psychological trauma faced by black children brought up in primarily white care settings. By adopting a therapeutic method involving the gradual exposure of the 'black child' to their 'racial origin' thus engendering 'racial pride', one can create the conditions for 'psychological nigrescence', or the process of becoming black (Maximé, 1986; Robinson, 1997). Such essentialist notions of 'racial pride' and 'racial origin' feature in much of the ARSW literature, the cumulative effect of which is the blurring of the rationale underpinning racist and anti-racist sentiment. It is precisely these concerns that led to

Gilroy's (1990) powerful critique of professional responses to racism in social work and in particular the pathologisation of black family life (Mama, 1984; Lawrence, 1982; Stubbs, 1987; Dominelli, 1988; Singh 1999; Barn, 1999). For Gilroy, anti-racist orthodoxy in social work became characterised by an 'idealisation' of 'black family forms' which, in turn, were seen as the only effective basis upon which black children could acquire the necessary psychological skills to thrive in a racist world. For Gilroy, by demanding 'same "race" placement' policies, anti-racist social workers simply ended up inverting the very pathological imagery they were seeking to confront (Gilroy, 1990).

Apart from the nature of the critique, most significantly the symbolic aspect of Gilroy's intervention had far-reaching implications. Given that 'same-race placement' policies constituted a key demand of ARSW in the 1990's (Pennie and Best, 1990), the fact that one of the foremost black anti-racist scholars was suggesting that this policy was underpinned by racist ideology was of seismic significance. Perhaps the most insightful aspect of Gilroy's critique was the questioning of the premise that black social work professionals and black clients shared a commonality of experience. Indeed, he argued that the proponents of 'municipal anti-racism' were becoming disconnected from the lived realities of the vast majority of black people. Resonating with some of the points outlined above, Williams (1999) identifies four distinct criticisms that have been aimed at ARSW, which:

- became formulaic, as exemplified, for example, in the polarised nature of debates about the placement needs of black children;
- tended to neglect the reality of lived experience which is structured through a complex meshing of 'race', gender, class and other oppressions;
- was overly obsessed with ideological concerns at the expense of developing reflexive practice and practical solutions to the needs of service users;
- tended to reduce the totality of black experience to a response to white racism, thereby conferring a 'victim status' on black people.

Williams concludes that 'the nature and tenacity of these critiques have placed traditional formulations of anti-racism within social work in a vulnerable position (1999, p215).

Focus and framework

Inevitably, whilst feeling compelled to defend ARSW, irrespective of where the critique was coming from, I began to develop questions and concerns about its orientation and relevance. My sense was that, whilst anti-racism was now firmly embedded within social work, the historical project itself was rapidly being reduced to the realms of rhetoric. I was also acutely aware of the wider political context, and the changes taking place within social work, notably those associated with the neo-liberal project of Thatcherism, and its successor, the 'Third Way' of New Labour (Giddens, 1998, Jordan 2000). Taking all these factors together, I became preoccupied with a number of interrelated related questions:

1. Was my concern about the apparent demise of ARSW a personal feeling or did it represent a wider trend?
2. How relevant, useful and important is it to sustain the idea of a collective black identity, and what is the significance of the shift towards ethnicity and religion as markers of identity and difference?
3. Given their critical relationship to it, what do black social work professionals think about the development of ARSW?
4. What are the gains and losses of a move towards the notion of anti-oppressive and anti-discriminatory practice?
5. What are the implications for ARSW of the New Labour project, in particular, 'Third Way thinking'?
6. Is a politicised ARSW project feasible or realistic within social work organisations that are increasingly structured around the precepts of 'New Managerialism'?

By 'New Managerialism', I refer to the mechanisms and strategies emerging out of a programme of market-oriented reforms that were introduced by the New Right in the 1980's and 1990's and developed by New Labour under the rubrics of the 'Third Way' (Clarke et al, 1994 and 2000; Jordan, 1999 and 2001; Orme, 2001; Humphrey, 2003). The impact on social work, under the agenda of modernising social services, has in general resulted in a sizeable expansion in regulatory mechanisms and proceduralisation of practice. Moreover, in relation to anti-racism, it has resulted in the displacement of ethics and politics as the rationale for change, to 'instrumental reasoning'. In other words, practice becomes divorced from ideology, leaving efficiency, technical rationality, competence and performance management, as the primary means of delivering change.

Humphrey (2003) identifies three key strands to the modernising agenda for social services, namely; multi-agency working and joint commissioning of services, strengthening the roles and rights of citizens, and restructuring the role of professionals (2003 pp7-8). He goes on to conclude that, whilst at the rhetorical level the emphasis on service users' and citizens' rights is not to be dismissed lightly, there are many underlying value conflicts in the New Labour project. Jordan (1999) suggests that the notion of 'citizenship' has been refocused from individual rights to the activities, qualities and obligations of members of society, in effect creating a 'deserving' and 'undeserving citizen'.

Specifically in relation to social work, Orme (2001) suggests that the New Labour reforms have resulted in general fragmentation and loss of direction. Humphries (1998) argues that the 'competency' model in social work education, born out of the neo liberal reforms and the commodification of welfare in the 1980's and carried through by New Labour in the 1990's, works against the development of any anti-racist project that is based on a political analysis of oppression. Because competence is primarily concerned with behaviours and interpersonal processes, anti-discriminatory practices become redefined in technical terms, in ways that it can be easily applied to practice, thus making

it difficult to connect social work to political concerns. As a social work academic, for me the competence framework has raised a series of searching questions about my own pedagogical orientation. For example, should I seek to accommodate behaviourist approaches that appear to sit most comfortably with the competence model? Should I follow some of the trends in the mainstream social work practice literature by offering a prescriptive approach to ARSW, one that is aimed at predictability and certainty? Conversely, should I take a more critical questioning approach that seeks to cultivate ambivalence? To what extent should politics inform my teaching of ARSW? Should I stop talking about ARSW altogether and concentrate on 'anti-oppressive practice' (AOP) and 'anti-discriminatory practice' (ADP)? Which one of these approaches is most likely to promote sustained commitments to anti-racism in practice? What relevance does the black/white binary have in developing ARSW?

Linked to these pedagogical questions was a growing awareness of and interest in the emergence of postmodernism as a means of developing a renewed ARSW project. However, my initial enthusiasm became tempered by concerns about postmodernism's political viability and practical application. Explanations of its appeal, particularly for those on the left, seemed to offer two opposing view points. For some, in the rejection of a historical and materialist analysis of racism, postmodernism was symptomatic of the defeat of the left in general and of a politicised anti-racist project in particular (Sivanandan, 1990; Malik, 1996; Eagleton, 1996). However, others have suggested that postmodernism provides renewed possibilities for exploring 'new racisms', and by definition 'new anti-racisms', within the context of the current social milieu (Rattansi and Westwood, 1994; West, 1994; Sarup, 1996). Whilst the mainstream social work literature began to mobilise postmodernism, it became apparent that there has been no serious attempt to develop linkages with ARSW, other than within the development of ideas relating to AOP and ADP (Macey and Moxon, 1996; Thompson, 1998; Dominelli, 2003; Mulally, 2003; Tomlinson and Trew, 2003).

A further influence on my thinking of ARSW and the policy context has been the impact of globalisation (Walters, 1995; Dominelli and Hoogvelt, 1996; Mishra, 1997). Amongst other things, globalisation has led to a sense of pessimism, a view that economic globalisation and the creation of a global market places limits on governments' capacity to embark on economic and social policies, particularly those requiring large levels of public investment (Jordan, 1998; Beresford and Holden, 2000). This new economic determinism, rooted in the 'neo-liberal' ideas espoused by the 'New Right' during the 1980's and 1990's, offered a rationale for the large-scale restructuring of social welfare. In short, this was based on the belief that welfare spending had reached the limits of its expansion and that, for societies to compete in the global economy, governments had to embark on efficiency drives. Given these changes, it would be a mistake to assume that globalisation has little relevance to social work practice and anti-racism. Dominelli and Hoogvelt (1996) suggest there is a direct link between globalisation and the 'commodification' and 'marketisation' of public welfare, perhaps most clearly revealed in the discursive shift whereby 'clients' have become re-designated as 'customers' and consumers of services. Increasingly, social services are organised and delivered, if not by the private sector, then at least in accordance with its commercial ethos. Specifically in relation to 'race' and racism, given that the forces of globalisation, in the form of colonialism conquest and capital expansion from the Fifteenth Century onwards, have been intimately linked to the racialisation of much of the world, it is likely that contemporary globalisation is also tied to similar processes. However, the difference is that new forms of racialisation, centred on processes of 'othering', are reconfigured around and through older binary oppositions to produce what Bhattacharya et al. (2002) term the new globalised racisms of the Twenty-first Century.

Distinctiveness

Against the background of the above discussion, within an overall desire to advance understandings of ARSW, the distinctiveness of this thesis is rooted in two broad aims:

1. To map and analyse critically the historical context and development of ARSW
2. to explore the points of tension between contemporary theoretical understandings of 'race' and racism and the task of developing ARSW practice.

Furthermore, in doing so, it also develops existing insights into ARSW in three distinct ways:

1. At an empirical level there is little published material that documents the experiences of black social workers in general and BPTs in particular, who, given their location at the interface between theory and practice, serve a pivotal function in the development and articulation of ARSW praxis.
2. At a theoretical level, the thesis provides a critical analysis of contemporary formulations of ARSW in the context of postmodernism.
3. At an organisational level, the thesis provides an analysis of contemporary policy frameworks, specifically those associated with the 'New Managerialism' and their implications for ARSW.

Structure of the Thesis

The above discussion of the development of my own thinking and the precise focus, framework and distinctiveness of this thesis allows the overall aim to be articulated. Specifically, the thesis represents an attempt to develop a critical analysis of the context and development of anti-racist social work in Britain, refracted through the experiences and accounts of black practice teachers.

The thesis is presented in two sections:

Section One constitutes the literature review, and spans three distinct chapters. Overall, it seeks to identify the key historical and theoretical strands necessary to

contextualise and theorise the experiences and perspectives of BPTs. As well as developing a detailed critique of the discourse and ideology of 'race' and racism (Chapter Two), this section explores the origins and development of ARSW in the UK over the past three decades (Chapter Three). In doing so, it offers a theoretical template and discursive framework from which to make sense of the central focus of the thesis, namely a critical evaluation of ARSW and the experiences and thoughts of BPTs. Section One ends with an evaluation of the current trends within anti-racism, highlighting in particular the problems and possibilities of post-colonial theory and postmodernism (Chapter Four). Moreover, in reconsidering the debates surrounding the issue of identity and essentialism, Chapter Four also includes a critical analysis of the notions of AOP and ADP and their significance to ARSW.

Section Two, constituting the empirical aspects of the study, is divided into four chapters. Chapter Five, by means of a critical analysis of different perspectives to researching 'race' and racism within social work, outlines my overall research paradigm. This chapter provides a backdrop for developing and justifying the research design and methodology, which is discussed in Chapter Six. The remaining two chapters in this section constitute a critical analysis of the primary data that was collected from BPTs, constituting a postal survey, focus groups and semi-structured interviews. Chapter Seven considers BPTs experiences of racism, both as practitioners and social work educators while Chapter Eight provides a critical account of the ways in which BPTs have sought to develop their own anti-racist praxis.

The final and concluding chapter seeks to crystallise the key findings from the thesis and situate these within a wider discussion of the problems and possibilities for developing a renewed ARSW project.

Conclusion

Whilst it would be tempting, and all too easy, to orientate this thesis towards offering a new model of ARSW, the challenge of addressing human diversity and oppression cannot be reduced to a matter of seeking the definitive social work method that corrects the mistakes of the earlier ones. Despite ongoing suggestions to the contrary, social work cannot be viewed as problem solving exercise alone, where social work solutions are reduced to the morally vacuous notions of 'evidence-based practice' and 'performance indicators'. In a system where evidence and rationality are seen as virtues whilst ethics and politics are at best, relegated to the private domain, it is not surprising that the question of 'race' and social work remains unresolved. Postmodernism, globalisation, new ethnicities¹, new racism, managerialism and the 'Third Way' all represent an altered, and altogether more complex, backdrop to the development of contemporary social work in general, and ARSW in particular. ARSW has always engaged in specific historical and political developments, and the purpose of this thesis is to continue that trend, both consciously and critically.

¹ I use the term 'new ethnicities' in two ways: first, as argued by Stuart Hall (1992), to indicate the contingent and unstable nature of ethnic identity, and, second, as a means of noting that with each wave of immigrants, refugees and asylum seekers, 'new ethnic' communities emerge on the landscape.

SECTION ONE - CONTOURS, CONCEPTS AND CONTEXTS

This section of the thesis outlines the key theoretical and historical strands necessary to contextualise the experiences and perspectives of BPTs. It is made up of three linked chapters, each contributing to the configuration of an analytical framework capable of making sense of the empirical components of the thesis.

Chapter Two maps out the theoretical, philosophical and historical background to the development of ideas of 'race' and racism. The primary aim is to develop a framework for contextualising and uncovering the various discourses of racism.

Chapter Three focuses specifically on the literature relating to the development of ARSW in the Britain over the past 30 years. In this chapter I argue that anti-racism in general and ARSW in particular can be understood in two distinct ways, as a distinct and coherent political project born out of black liberation struggles during the 1970's and early 1980's, or as a as descriptive term from which disparate, both complementary and contradictory ideas and practices emerge.

Chapter Four focuses on current trends within anti-racism, highlighting in particular the problems and possibilities of postmodernism and post-colonial theory. Through a critical evaluation of ideas and challenges presented by postmodernism, this chapter seeks to establish a framework for critiquing the relationship between ARSW and AOP and ADP.

CHAPTER TWO

THEORISING 'RACE' AND RACISM

The history of the human species, for all intent and purposes, can be told as the histories of human migration...With emerging European exploration and expansion from the late fourteenth century on, it is also the history of miscegenation and cultural mixing, of increasing physical and cultural heterogeneity. (Theo Goldberg 2002, p14)

...racism is not a static phenomena, but is constantly reviewed and transformed. (Frantz Fanon 1970, p41)

Introduction

The overall aim of this chapter is to outline the theoretical, philosophical and historical background to the study of 'race' and racism and the ways that these concepts have, over time, been understood and formulated. In this way I hope to build a contextual platform from which my analysis of ARSW can be undertaken. At the heart of this analysis are three critical questions:

1. Why, despite the discrediting of the idea that the human race is divisible into 'sub-species', does the allure of 'race' remain?
2. To what degree can/should 'race' be seen to be autonomous (or not) of class and gender in theorising racism?
3. In spite of the pervasive nature and power of racism to dehumanise, brutalise, alienate and destroy, what does the fact that victims have managed to undermine and resist racism tell us about its weaknesses?

The chapter begins with some comments about the problems associated with writing about 'race' and the issue of my own subjectivity in relation to this. Following a brief

overview of the field of study concerned with 'race' and ethnic relations, I go on to outline as to how 'race' thinking has evolved over the past five centuries. In this section I identify three distinct phases which I call the 'scriptural phase', the 'biological phase' and the 'sociological phase'. Having outlined the antecedents of 'race' thinking, the second half of the chapter focuses primarily on sociological critiques of racism that emerge towards the middle and later part of the twentieth century.

The emergence of a sociological analysis on the terrain that previously was dominated by theologians, philosophers and scientists, marks an important shift. Within the sociological frame, 'race' by and large is understood as a social and ideological construct, designed to serve no other function than to justify racism and domination. After outlining various sociological accounts of 'race' and racism, in particular the relationship between 'race' and class formations, the chapter is concluded with a discussion of the idea of 'black perspectives'. This section looks at the development of black perspectives, both in a general sense and specifically within the context of black feminist critiques.

Writing and thinking about 'race' - some words of caution.

Any attempt to theorise 'race' is fraught with dangers, not least because of the elusive nature of the concept, but also because of the subjective location of any individual who seeks to tackle the issue. To write about 'race' and racism requires a high degree of self-reflexivity; it can mean going against the grain of traditional academic convention, which seeks to reduce the writer to a hermeneutically sealed observer of the world. Yet, in order to avoid becoming a hostage to 'political correctness' or simply pandering to political imperatives, in order to engage in any serious critical analysis one needs to maintain a degree of autonomy from one's 'in group'. Most importantly, one needs to be aware of where and how one is situated in a social nexus that can result in potential and actual benefits or debits being accrued from the many discourses of 'race'. In other

words, whilst for most black people racism is clearly a source of much discomfort, for others, it may be a source of material benefit and/or a means to gain recognition, access to power and influence. Indeed, paradoxically, without the existence of racism and colonialism this thesis would never have been conceived.

One of the boldest claims made by Western scholarship is that of neutrality and objectivity in the pursuit of knowledge and historical accounts. Although such claims outside the 'West' were always treated with varying degrees of incredulity (Said, 1978), it was only during the middle half of the twentieth century, most significantly against the backdrop of the horrors of slavery, colonialism and the Holocaust, that there emerged a body of a scholarship which sought, not only to question the claims of the natural and social sciences, but more profoundly the legitimacy of the moral and epistemological stances adopted by those making the claims. Indeed, the boldness of this challenge was such that the whole project of modernity, representing the hallmarks of Western thought, was placed in the dock; the accusers being all the many human beings who saw themselves as exploited, dehumanised and brutalised by it; the charge being that in the name of reason and social progress, enlightenment culture has been responsible for creating and perpetuating inequality and oppression on the pretext of a racialised world order (Fanon, 1967; Said, 1978 and 1993; West, 1994). The following reflections by Cixous of growing up as an Algerian French Jewish girl illustrates, in a very real sense, the impact that these ideas had on the lives of, in her case, the 'non Western Other':

I learned everything from this first spectacle: I saw how the white (French), superior, plutocratic, civilised world founded its power on the repression of populations who had suddenly become 'invisible', like proletarians, immigrant workers, minorities who are not the right 'colour'. Women. Invisible as human beings. But, of course, perceived as tools – dirty, stupid, lazy, underhanded, etc. Thanks to some annihilating dialectical magic. I saw that the great, noble, 'advanced'

countries established themselves by expelling what was 'strange'; excluding it but not dismissing it; enslaving it. A commonplace gesture of History: there have to be two races – the masters and the slaves. (Cixous, quoted in Young, 1990, p1)

The history that Cixous is referring to here is a phase that represents those social, political, cultural and technological changes brought about by capital expansion, slavery and colonialism, gradually building up momentum through and beyond the European Enlightenment into the early part of the twentieth century (see later for a more detailed discussion of these changes). In short, the major paradigm shifts that characterise the 'modern period' revolve around '...issues concerning the nature of man and the idea of human history' (Owen, 1997 p4). Although, as Trigg (1988) points out, conceptions of human nature have preoccupied philosophers throughout history, their importance is certainly not benign; ultimately not only do they determine the kinds of theories that will emerge to explain and explain away human relations and oppression, but more profoundly, they lay down the ontological landscape upon which the human condition itself is imagined, by both the oppressor and oppressed. Against this backdrop, not surprisingly, the way in which 'race' has historically been theorised has largely reflected prevailing epistemological frameworks. In relation to the present thesis, whilst rejecting all notions of a fixed human nature or essence, I accept all human beings have a unique standpoint from which we make sense of our world. However, I believe that through developing a critical reflexive approach to enquiry, it is possible to gain access to shared understanding. This will require three key elements: self-consciousness about one's underlying subjectivity; a recognition of the intimate relationship between knowledge claims and power; and a belief that through honest and reasoned judgements it is possible to establish agreement about historical and social realities.

In relation to the systematic study of 'race', there are arguably two pivotal points., the first being the emergence of scientific racism from the late eighteenth century to the

middle part of the twentieth century. Broadly speaking, here we see the study of 'race' as essentially the science of physical differences, designed to explain and justify racist practices. The second pivotal moment is the period following the horrors of the mass slaughter of Jews and other minorities on the ground of 'racial' impurity during the second half of the twentieth century. As Husband (1982, p15) records, following the horrors committed by the Nazis '...the international academic community challenged the "scientific" basis of race and racial difference', most notably indicated in influential UNESCO pronouncements on 'race' and 'prejudice' during the 1950's and 1960's. Whilst scientific racism managed to retain a long, albeit thin tail stretching through the twentieth century (Husband, 1982), we now see a shift away from studying 'race' as a stand alone idea to analyses aimed at uncovering the social, ideological, psychological and historical mechanisms that result in the production of 'race' thinking as a means by which racism may be eradicated.

This new preoccupation with the wider questioning of universal truths in the natural and social sciences has led to heated debates about the kind of knowledge that is most likely to eradicate racist oppression. Broadly speaking, as Gilroy (2000) points out, writers on 'race' and racism bring two distinct perspectives to their subject. On the one hand, there are those who argue the case for 'race' thinking, as a means to explain (away) human differences. Using increasingly subtle theoretical devices, such writers take a primordialist or essentialist view of human societies, often resulting in the fixing or eternalising of particular racialised identities. The other tradition is one which finds its ideological bearings in a 'dissident tradition', rooted in the struggles against slavery, European imperialism and colonialism. Writers from this tradition have sought to confront the idea of 'race' in a way that exposes both the inadequacies of 'race' thinking, and the underlying values that such sentiments represent. The most pivotal value they oppose is the belief that humanity can be separated out into immutable groups called

'races' and that some are inferior to others, thus providing the justification to dominate. (Lorde, 1984)

Origins and evolution of 'race' thinking

There are few academic disciplines that in one way or another have not developed their own theories of 'race'. From the physical sciences through to the social sciences, and humanities, claims have been made about the 'nature' of human difference. It is difficult to imagine a literary canon that has not made some reference to the linked ideas of a 'race' and nation. Philosophers and theologians have offered complex formulations of the character of humanity and the essence of individual human beings. Their questions, as Trigg (1988) suggests, have had important consequences for the way in which we understand ourselves and others:

If I think that humans are indeed a little lower than the angels, and may live on beyond life, then I shall view myself differently from the person who accepts that the species *Homo sapiens* is one animal species amongst many, characterised only by a particular evolutionary history. (Trigg, 1988 p1)

Although, as a literary term, to denote 'a class of persons or things', 'race' can be traced back to the early sixteenth century (Husband, 1982 p13), the words emergence as a scientific tool for sifting out, categorising, organising and brutalising *homo sapiens* really begins to gain prominence in the late seventeenth century and continues to gather momentum up to and through the twentieth century. Historically the idea of 'race' rested on monolithic and essentialist notions of lineage and ancestry. Much of racist ideology is predicated on three main assertions: there exists a thing called 'race', which is in some way can be linked to certain, real or imagined, distinguishing characteristic (e.g. 'the soul' (or lack of), skin colour, hair texture, bone structure ...etc); that such differences that exist

amongst different 'races' are immutable; that it is possible to use such differences to arrange human beings in a hierarchical order in which some 'races' are seen to be dominant or more advanced and others less advanced. Ideas about hierarchy and nature have entertained philosophers throughout ancient history. Aristotle in fourth century BC, for example, suggested that different living organisms possessed three distinct 'souls' (or psyches), namely, 'the vegetative', 'locomotive', and 'rational', referring to plants, animals and humans respectively (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2004).

Whilst ideas about the relationship between living organisms are arguably omnipresent features of human history, the idea of 'race', as mentioned above, has a distinct location in history. In broad terms, starting from the early sixteenth century to the present time, one can delineate three distinct overlapping historical phases in the development of ideas about 'race', which I term the 'scriptural phase', the 'scientific phase' and the 'sociological phase'. In the following section, I outline the key features of each of these.

The scriptural phase - sixteenth and seventeenth century. Emerging from reinterpretations of the Old Testament version of Creation, the scriptural phase is characterised by a widely held belief that different 'races' were derived from common descent or lineage, namely 'monogenism'. As depicted in the book of Genesis, humankind had one origin, from the original genetic pair of Adam and Eve. The difference between the 'races' was explained by reference to Noah, who cursed one of his sons Ham; scholars argued that he and his descendants were black (Husband, 1985 p13)². Although widely for many centuries this view no longer commands serious credibility, with dissenters arguing that the association of the state of being cursed with black skin was an inherited ideological system that was interpolated by theologians throughout the

² See Goldenberg (2003) for a detailed examination of the development of anti-black sentiment within scripture over the centuries, and the belief that the biblical Ham and his descendants, the black Africans, had been cursed by God with eternal slavery.

ages (see Sollors, 1997). Despite this prejudice, monogenism still required all humankind to belong to the same species, all God's children, and all, potentially at least, equal. This created problems for those who sought to justify the division and mistreatment of humanity until the rise of scientific explanations.

Moving into the seventeenth century, divine intervention, as an explanatory system, for conceptions of society, nature and the racial division of humanity, becomes gradually displaced and is given new impetus by scientific paradigms and emerging disciplines. Husband (1982) argues that as a consequence 'the willingness to see such phenomena as simply further demonstrations of God's creative order was being eroded' (p13). This emergent science set out to determine a set of biological types i.e. phenotype, phrenology, hair type, nose size etc as markers of superiority and inferiority; these then became articulated as absolute demarcations of 'race discourse' (Miles, 1988; Fanon, 1993). However, as conversion to Christianity constituted one of the planks of colonialism, and given the intimate relationship between the Church and the slave trade (Williams, 1966), some ideology had to be found for justifying this involuntary servitude. Not only did modern science rescue the Christian church, which was increasingly being taxed to provide justification for the brutalities of colonialism and slavery, it provided a 'real world' justification for the inhuman treatment of black people throughout the modern period (Bulmer & Solomos, 1999).

The scientific phase - eighteenth and early nineteenth century. The fundamental shift in thinking represented by scientific racism was dependent on three core assumptions about 'race': first, human beings were not descended from a common single pair, i.e. polygenism; second, 'race' was to be found in flesh and bones rather than the soul of a person; third, the differences between races were primarily a consequence of their location on an evolutionary path. Racial science helped to establish and formulate an

evolutionary model of stages from inanimate (lowest type) to humanity (highest type). 'Primitive' populations were seen as the link between European civilisation and primates. Such populations represented human beings at an earlier evolutionary stage and they remained there because they had either halted or regressed in this process (Husband, 1982)³. It is also during this period that we begin to see the seeding of negative stereotypes and caricatures of the non Western 'Other', representations that continue to reverberate in European thought and culture to the present time (Said, 1978; Malik, 1996).

Given that 'race' was proven to be 'real', then logically it followed that 'races' must be perpetuated through 'in-breeding', and in the terms of nineteenth century debates, races can also be corrupted by 'out breeding'. As we will see later, the possibility of hybridity ultimately emerged as the Achilles heel of scientific racism. Nevertheless, this fear of 'hybridity', of the 'intermixing' of 'races', remains the source of some of the most insidious of all racist thought.⁴ To understand the threat hybridity posed to society at the time we need to interrogate, in more detail, the way science became applied to 'race' thinking in specific ways.

From the end of the second world war, 'race' as a scientific concept largely disappeared from textbooks, other than as a historic relic. A century earlier, the equivalent textbooks would have been abounding with little else, with many scientists of the time holding the view that 'race' was everything. As evidenced below, scientific racism, for the most part, was a means of substantiating convictions which preceded

³ It is important to note that ideas about biological inferiority and superiority were also used to explain differences between the peoples of Europe. For example, Curtis (1971) highlights how Irish people were constructed as a 'primitive' race, somewhere between the European ideal and black African.

⁴ This idea of the 'mixing' of 'races' reverberates with a particularly contested debate within social work around the issue of 'trans-racial placements'. Ironically (because it appears to cohere with scientific racism) a ban on this practice, to the extent that legislative changes were made, became one of the central demands of ARSW in the US and UK throughout the 80's and 90's, (see Chapter 3 for a more extensive discussion of this).

scientific enquiry (Young, 1995 p93). In essence, scientific racism posited the view that humankind constituted several different and unequal groups (Stocking, 1987 p69). However, such a view was only sustainable if it could be demonstrated that these sub-species were incapable of inter-breeding. As Young suggests, the hypothesis that humans were one or several species stood or fell over questions of hybridity and inter-racial fertility (Young, 1995 p9). He goes on to suggest that a critical sub-text to scientific debates about the possibility of otherwise of interbreeding, was the issue of sexual unions between whites and blacks, or put another way, such theories 'were also thus covert theories of desire' (ibid p9).

The importance of denial of hybridity and of the (im)possibility of different 'races' reproducing to sustaining scientific racism cannot be understated. Put simply, the possibility of hybrid offspring challenged the very foundation of scientific racism. Therefore the presence of large hybrid populations in the West Indies and the United States, proving that, white and black were indeed fertile, posed serious challenges to scientific racism during the nineteenth century. In response, Cuvier, a eminent anatomist of the time, argued that offspring of 'inter-breeding', termed 'Mulattos'⁵, were infertile (Banton and Harwood 1975 p28-9). Others hypothesised that, as a result of a weak constitution, Mulattos had a diminishing fertility and that, accordingly, mixed-race populations were destined to eventually die out. Testing was not possible due to the time scale involved, so anecdote or analogy was usually used to support the infertility thesis. Robert Knox, a Victorian anatomist, for example, argued that eventually human populations would revert back to 'pure types', that is, individuals would eventually end up completely black or completely white (Young, 1995 p102).

⁵ 'Mulatto is a term used throughout Latin America to denote people of mixed black/white parentage. However, most revealing is original Spanish 'mulato' meaning 'young mule' – (Oxford Compact Dictionary 1996). See also Young 1995 for a wider discussion of the relationship between 'hybridity' and the colonial imaginary.

Some did however seek to provide an empirical basis for the 'mule-person' thesis. In one such study, Davenport (Barkan, 1991 pp164-5) argued that Mulattos were inferior to both whites and blacks, because they had inherited the longer legs of Africans and the shorter arms of Europeans. This, he felt, was enough to label them as 'degenerate'. However, as Young (1995) points out, theories of this period showed themselves to be profoundly contradictory. They only worked when defined against potential intermixture, hence the issue became one of one of attraction and repugnance between the races, i.e. the linkage between sexuality and 'race' (Young, 1995 p15).

One of the sternest advocates of 'race' theory was Count de Gobineau, whose arguments during the late nineteenth century about the superiority of the 'Aryan race' had considerable influence over the founders of Nazi Germany (Banton and Harwood, 1975). In responding to the critiques of earlier formulations of polygenism pointed out above, Gobineau, whilst conceding the ease with which the 'races' were capable of reproducing, nonetheless felt that the result was damaging for humanity in that it led to increasing degeneration with each crossing (Young, 1995 p105). In other words, interbreeding was possible because human beings lived in accordance with the laws of 'attraction' and 'repugnance', but that did not in itself make it right or desirable. Gobineau's thesis was based on a view that, as sexual attraction between 'the races' was an irresistible aspect of the nature of man (and woman), civilisation was the inevitable consequence of racial intermixing. However, because of the existence of 'higher' and 'lower' 'races', it was precisely through the mechanism of inter-breeding that 'degenerate races' (which unsurprisingly were non white European) were enabled to raise themselves to civilisation. (Young, 1995 p107). Put simply, for dark skinned people to breed with white Europeans was a boon, a means of improving one's stock'.

The link between 'race' and gender becomes apparent in Gobineau's suggestion that the white male response to the sexual attraction of 'brown' or 'yellow' females is identified with mastery and domination, his passion no doubt increased by the resistance

of the black female⁶. In rather apocalyptic and paradoxical terms, Gobineau suggests that the predominately masculine character of the 'white race', and the relative feminine character of 'non white races', coupled with the conditions created by commerce and colonisation, would lead to increasing miscegenation, resulting ultimately in the decline and decay of civilisation:

In the ambivalent double gesture of repulsion and attraction that seems to lie at the heart of racism, Gobineau articulates a horror of racial mixing while at the same time proposing the sexual desire of the white races for the brown and yellow as the basis for civilisation itself. (Young, 1995 p115)

Whilst not wishing to diminish the passion that scientists of the times had for their respective disciplines, given the kinds of people who were funding and patronising these activities, there can be little doubt that scientific ideas about 'race' were instrumental in justifying the politics and technologies of colonial conquest and slavery. Kohn points out how the assertion of the 'natural' superiority of 'Northern Europeans over the darker-skinned peoples of the world...was self-serving, self centred, and used to justify great cruelty and oppression' (Kohn, 1995 p2-3). For example, the contemporary stereotypical representations of black men, as 'mad', 'bad' and therefore dangerous, can be traced back to certain taken-for-granted ideas about black peoples and mental capacities, throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The Black man, due to his supposed

⁶ Note here the suggestion of 'Asian female passivity and black female aggression, which reverberates with present day constructions of Asian women as being passive and exotic and Black women being aggressive. There are well documented accounts of the ways these stereotypes operate within the construction both of black clients and social workers (see for example Carby 1982). In relation to the African male identity, we have the linked stereotype of high sex drive/low intelligence being played out in the present day as a pretext to control and incarcerate black men.

primitive psychological demeanour was seen to be particularly suited to slavery. As a result, protest was not understood as a yearning for freedom, but as a mental health problem. Attempts to escape the slave plantation were symptomatic of so-called 'drapetomania', literally meaning the flight-from-home-madness. Other ailments peculiar to black people included, 'dysaesthesia Aethiopica', sometimes called 'rascality' by overseers, but thought actually to be due to 'insensibility of nerves' and 'hebetude of mind' (Thomas and Sillen, 1979 p2).

End of scientific racism. Moving through the nineteenth century one can see a discernable shift in shifts within the discourse of 'race', away from explanations grounded in scientific and pseudoscientific disciplines of biology and phrenology, to those rooted in ideas about culture, human development, history, and politics. Barkan (1991) suggests that the dependence of 'race' on scientific rationality to some degree sowed the seeds of its own destruction. He notes that, if science legitimated racism 'changes in scientific outlook... served eventually to discredit racist claims' (Barkan, 1991 p19). Given the current rehabilitation of scientific racism, in the guise of genetics, socio-biology and evolutionary psychology⁷, one may question Barkan's conviction about its demise (see Kohn, 1995). Despite the inability of scientific racism to substantiate any of its central claims, 'race' science shows an uncanny knack of reappearing. However, whilst scientists may have reached something of a dead end, this did not stop philosophers and anthropologists from making pseudoscientific claims about the human race. After all, there was still a need to provide some ideological basis for the expansion/existence of European colonialism and the continuing oppression and exploitation of the non-white

⁷ Manifested, for example, in the work of Herrnstein and Murray (1995) and Eysenck (1971), and more recently Pinker (2002) who have sought to correlate human capabilities, such as intelligence, with racial group membership. Their work has been used as an explanation for such things as the underachievement of black children or the low representation of black people in leadership roles within organisations.

'other'. Whilst the movement of human beings across the world is as old as human existence, the modern period, characterised by European expansionism, the slave trade and globalisation of commerce, led to an unprecedented relocation and dislocation of populations across the globe. For enlightenment scholars, this disruption of people away from their 'natural' habitats, gave rise to a whole new ontology of humanity. The new spatial and temporal circumstances meant that 'the forces of nature gave way to those of history'(Gilroy, 2000 p329).

In short, the non-European 'other', could no longer simply be understood as a 'savage' or inferior human species. The paradox was that s/he had to be situated in a historical time line that made it possible to deny the obvious fact that, despite physical differences (skin colours, hair texture and so on) the 'other' was a fellow human being. Yet, there still remained a need to provide some basis for proclaiming the superiority of white European 'races'. Against this backdrop, during the nineteenth century we begin to see the emergence of anthropology which, in contrast to the eighteenth century materialism of writers such as Locke and Hume, seeks to explain race differences and hierarchies within the realms of historical development and the 'successive linearity of evolutionary time' (McGrane 1989 p94).

Sociological phase - late nineteenth and early twentieth century

Dyer (1997) points out the importance of racial imagery to the way one imagines the modern. During the nineteenth century in particular, against the demise of scientific racism 'race' theorists increasingly sought to employ mythology and 'pre-existing imagery of competing national lineages located in pristine Saxon, Frankish or Aryan origins' (Husband, 1982 p14). The earlier scientific racist discourses perceived in relation to 'race' as representing 'pure types' were supplanted by constructions of 'race' as a narrative of human history and development, of roots and routes, of origins and

evolution. Husband highlights the centrality of Darwinian ideas to the rearticulating of 'race' necessary for the continued subjugation of non-Europeans:

Darwin's contribution to 'race', zoologically defined, was to provide the theory of 'race' with a motor for change in natural selection; and where there is change there is the possibility, for some the necessity, of control. (Husband, 1982 p14)

This powerful observation offers an important basis for understanding how 'race' thinking became embedded in the public imagination and public policy during the twentieth century. Edward Said's work is particularly informative as to how ideas of racial superiority and inferiority became projected in nineteenth and twentieth century Western fiction, and how this was instrumental in providing a rationale for the conquest and domination of the non-Western 'other' (Said, 1978 and 1993).

The decline of scientific racism, rather than heralding an end to racist thought, simply opened the way for other theoretical and ideological constructions. Given that one of the consequences of slavery, colonialism and capitalism was widespread disparities in wealth and status within and between nations, new explanatory mechanisms were needed to justify policies and practices for the continuing exploitation and oppression of the non-white colonial 'other'⁸. Even if biological explanations of racial inferiority/superiority were no longer taken seriously, the link between phenotype, primarily skin colour, and inequalities was an undisputable social fact that needed rationalising, and there were two options; one could either explain these as traits and

⁸ It needs to be stressed here that I am primarily concerned with the experience of people of Asian and African decent. Clearly, the mechanisms of racialisation were not confined to these groups, nor to the marker of skin colour alone. However, whilst recognising, for example, anti-Semitism is very much part of modern racism, it does need to be explained and understood within the specificities of the historical relationship between, for example, Jews and Christians and the dehumanisation of Jews (see Wistrich, R. 1991).

characteristics of 'racial' groups, or as the product of social systems. In other words, as Rattansi and Westwood (1994 p175) argue, modern racism became a legitimate response to those racial groups who had no reference to modernity other than as its subaltern 'other', constantly being defined and redefined in pathological terms. Given that modernity, progress, civilisation and white European identity were seen as synonymous, those unable to match these criteria were by default deemed to belong to primitive and uncivilised 'races.' In other words, modern racism, within the context of modernity and late modernity cannot be fully understood without a simultaneous engagement with the emergence of the notion of 'universalism' and the project of conceiving a general 'idea of man' (Balibar,1991).

Mid to late twentieth century. The language of modern racism has become much more subtle and covert than was the case in colonial times. Today 'race seems to be everywhere and nowhere' (Malik, 1996 p1). Modern racism of the kind that ARSW has particularly sought to confront is often to be found residing in 'common sense' ideologies and practices (Lawrence 1982). The older scriptural and scientific discourses of 'race' are still evident in the way particular groups and communities are imagined and talked about, and the allure of 'race' has not gone away (Gilroy, 2000). Despite the horrors of colonialism, slavery and genocide, we seem unable to escape the necessity of producing and reproducing racialised labels or of thinking about our lives and existence outside of 'race'. Why does 'race' still cast a shadow on the human imagination?

Goldberg makes a telling observation about the post-1945 period and the way the now orphaned or apparently redundant idea of 'race' was adopted by the social sciences. Given that the political, economic and ideological structures of European colonialism remained, the need to justify the mistreatment and exploitation of the non-European 'other' persists also. Therefore, to expect in the face of the defeat of nineteenth century scientific racism that racist thought would simply wither, was perhaps over-optimistic:

as the longer term legacy of Darwin may have signalled a shift from the viability of a scientifically sustained sense of race and racist expression, culturalist and class-centred expressions of racist exclusion began to dominate. The dire political implications that came to be associated with biologically driven racism in the hands of state apparatuses prompted a shift to more palatable popular forms of racial expression. (Goldberg, 2002 p26)

Whilst the natural sciences may have recognised the fallacy of 'race' science, within the social sciences and inevitably social work, the concept retains common currency. The central question in a post-scientific period of racism has been, given that the idea of 'race' represents a fiction, what purpose does one serve in retaining the concept of 'race'?

In the face of the genocide of Jews, and other groups in the name of 'race', and the acceptance of the inhumanity of western imperialism, slavery and colonialism, international organisations, most notably UNESCO, began in the post-war period to establish the principle of 'multiculturalism' as a means of combating the lingering effects of scientific racism; which was by now relegated to the realms of ideology. Anti-racist scientists who drafted the UNESCO 'statement on the nature of race differences' (UNESCO 1951) set out to highlight the fallacy of scientific racism. Yet, as Lentin (2004) points out, it was not enough to get rid of one concept without offering an alternative way of conceptualising human difference:

In accepting that 'race' as a categorisation of humanity was scientifically false, the UNESCO scientists nevertheless understood that human diversity – especially in an era of immigration – needed explaining. (Lentin, 2004 Para 17)

For some scholars, this step represented a serious and progressive attempt to move beyond 'race' thinking altogether. The intent was to offer alternative definitions of

human difference, based on 'culture' and 'ethnicity', that were at once less prone to providing a rationale for the kinds of oppression that previous theories of human difference did and more accurate in their conceptualisation of human differences. Still, as pointed out above, far from eradicating 'racism', this move led to the emergence of new manifestations of it which are discussed later. Pierre Sane, speaking at the World Conference Against Racism in 2001, notes:

racism and racial discrimination have hardly vanished; Indeed, they have not only survived the scientific deconstruction of the concept of 'race' but even seem to be gaining ground in most parts of the world. In the age of globalisation, this situation may seem paradoxical. (Sane 2001 para 3)

This paradox has led to a polarisation amongst social scientists about the relative merits of the 'erasure' or otherwise of 'race' from the lexicon of social scientific enquiry. Goldberg (2001) argues against abandoning the concept for it represents more than an ideological entity residing in the minds of individuals, but is to be found entrenched in the institutional, economic and political structures of modern societies. Indeed, for Goldberg, the only way to read the modern state is as 'the racial state'.

if race matters, it is in good part because the modern state has made it, because modern states more or less, more thickly or thinly, embody the racial condition. Modern states have taken shape, in part in relation to their specific embodiment of racial conditions. In short, the modern state is a racial state, in one version or another. (Goldberg 2002 p34)

From Goldberg's position, given that 'race' retains a presence in the structures of power, attempts to erase 'race', although well intentioned, are both mistaken and likely to

fail. It is the positioning of 'race' within the continuum of the 'real' and 'imaginary', or the ideological and political, that has provided the terrain upon which social scientists have engaged in debates about 'race' and racism. Whilst all social scientists will agree that 'race' is not to be found in the physical body, this is about the limit of any consensus. Differences in analysis follow two trains of thought which I term the 'real' and 'ideal'.

The 'realist' position argues that, because 'race' is used widely by people for whom it offers some basis for articulating their social realities, then, whilst its biological basis remains unproven, as a social fact it exists. Simply put, in so far as there are people prepared to think and act as if 'race' really exists, then it is real (Cashmore and Troyna, 1990). It follows that the realist position would seek to mobilise the socially constructed category 'race' to highlight the ways people's lives become affected by social and political structures of which race(ism) would be one. The other major ones most often mentioned in the literature are class and gender.

From an altogether different ontological standpoint, the 'idealist' position suggests that 'race' exists as a discursive category which plays an important function in the way social actors interpolate their identities (Carter, 1998 and 2000). From this standpoint, 'race' is understood as a means by which individuals negotiate and imagine their sense of 'otherness' within the nexus of social encounter. So, across the 'realist' and 'idealist', or what Carter (1998) terms the 'humanist' and 'anti-humanist' ontological spectrum, a number of distinct approaches to the study of 'race' and racism have emerged over the past forty years. In the next section I will consider some of the key models.

The race relations model

The term 'race relations' was originated by Robert Park in the US during the 1930's. Park (1964) suggested that, as with class consciousness, individuals and groups who perceive themselves to be different due to phenotypical characteristics will develop a 'racial consciousness' out of which racial conflict may emerge. On the other hand, the

relative stability of social order fixed in custom and tradition would indicate a diminishing of such consciousness. In short, 'race relations' is essentially related to a normal cyclical process resulting in the assimilation of different racial groups. Parks suggests a four-phased process; contact, conflict, accommodation and assimilation. This model has been criticised for its overly benign view of ethnic relations, seeing assimilation as inexorable/relentless and desirable. Additionally, the race relations model has tended to neglect the role of discriminatory forces as an obstacle to assimilation, particularly in the context of policies and practices that lead to segregation and social exclusion, as highlighted by Cantle (2001)

Within the post-war UK context, this approach is most closely related to the work of John Rex. Using a Weberian framework, Rex seeks to synthesise comparative data from different societies to explore what he terms different 'race relations situations' in relation to such things as power, conflict, stratification, inequalities and ethnic mobilisation (Rex and Moore, 1967, Rex and Tomlinson, 1979). Rex argues that the notion of a 'race relations situation' is more appropriate in explaining political and economic oppression than the term 'race' which is analytically flawed (Rex, 1983). A 'race relations situation' comes about when: there is an unusually high degree of coercive manipulation within the labour market; exploitation, oppression and conflict exist between groups rather than between individuals; the dominant white classes justify the macro-structure through deterministic racialised ideologies (Rex, 1983). Rex is interested in the way capitalist societies function to exclude and structure the life chances of ethnic minorities. For Rex, the position of minorities is linked to their ability to achieve social/class mobility. The problem for migrants is that it takes time to build sufficient social, cultural and political capital to begin to change their social conditions; thus, in relation to their white neighbours, they are automatically posited in a ghettoised, 'underclass' location. Slowly, as they become a 'class for themselves' these communities mobilise and agitate in order to secure resources through community development.

In contrast to the assimilationist model of Park, Rex suggests that minority ethnic group identification becomes the key to social and economic justice. What brings Rex and Park together is their optimism, i.e. that, whilst the possibility of racism is ever present, its particular impact can gradually be overcome by assimilating black people into the power hierarchy of society. Yet, for some, this optimism reflects a misplaced belief in the autonomy of racism from other structural factors, most notably social class and gender (see Bourne, 1980).

Conflict models

In contrast to the principally functionalist models outlined above, whose starting point is the management of the problems associated with accommodating ethnic minorities, the starting point for most conflict models is to interrogate the link between ideological formations, on the one hand, and the role of the capitalist state on the other. Moreover, in relation to racism, they require an explanation of the link between racial formation and social class. Two of the key points of divergence amongst conflict approaches centre on the relative importance of ideology, culture and social institutions and their relationship to the modes of production and the relative positioning of 'race' (and other antagonisms of difference such as gender) to dynamics of class, articulated in relation to the modes of production. Below, I consider each of these two points in depth.

One of the most contested issues amongst Marxists and neo-Marxists has been the relationship between the 'base' and the 'superstructure'. In short, classical Marxist dialectical accounts of history posit the view that an individual's social being is pre-determined by larger political and economic forces and by the modes of production. All this happens at the 'base'. However, on a day-to-day basis, people experience life through culture, i.e. the dominant ideas, values and beliefs of the society as a whole, these being transmitted through formal and informal institutions. Because the dominant values reflect the interests of the dominant class, the effect is to alienate the dominated class

from realising the objective material basis for their exploitation, thereby enabling the capitalist system to remain in tact.

However, from the 1960's onwards a number of Marxist writers, of which Poulantzis, Althusser and Gramsci are the most noted, in seeking to break away from Hegelian Marxism began to develop arguments for a more fluid relationship between the 'base' and the 'superstructure'. Their orientation, whilst maintaining the basic premise of Marxism, namely dialectical materialism, nonetheless argued for an approach that gave equal prominence to the economic, political and ideological spheres. It is only when these spheres are seen to work together that one is able to forge the 'structure of dominance' Althusser (1971). Within this overall analysis, the state becomes an important site where the nature of social relations are contested - a product of struggles between dominant and dominated classes (Jessop, 1982). Clearly, one of the most significant implications of this approach is that it provides limited legitimacy for ARSW to be located within state social work as long as it is clear that this project is primarily seeking to extend the struggle against the dominant classes. Moreover, it also opens up the possibility of a more nuanced and expansive analysis of power - something that is later developed by postmodernist theoreticians such as Foucault (see Chapter 4).

The other point of divergence between conflict approaches is in relation to the articulation of 'race' and class. Broadly speaking three distinct perspectives have emerged, each representing a different degree of separation of the articulation of 'race' and class, namely 'no autonomy', 'relative autonomy' and 'complete autonomy'. The following section will critically examine each of these approaches.

No autonomy. In proposing what they term the 'migrant labour model' Phizacklea and Miles (1980) have sought to position the study of 'race' and racism in ways that deny the possibility of autonomy between 'race' and class. For Miles, racial differences are always constructed in the context of class formations within the context of global capitalism. Whilst there is no denying that within specific political and historical contexts

signification to human biological characteristics is given 'in such a way as to define and differentiate collectivities' (Miles, 1989 p75), it is only through social processes related to the class system, in the context of global capitalism, that 'race' emerges (Phizacklea and Miles, 1980). As for Rex, class relations become fragmented within and between classes due to complex economic and social processes, although unlike Rex, Miles is concerned more with the ideological mechanisms that give meaning to 'race' rather than how one might deploy 'race' as a basis for social action. Given that 'race' is nothing more than an ideological construct, Miles questions its usefulness as a tool for analysing the lived experiences of people. The non-existence of 'race' on the one hand, and the absolute reality of class on the other, means that racism can only be understood within class relations, articulated through a series of economic, political and representational forms. These change historically in accordance with different class interests and strategies, different strategies of resistance, and different material and cultural contexts (Miles and Brown, 2003). Because of racism, white working class people do not face the same political, economic and ideological difficulties as black people. The inevitable consequence is that black people become segregated within the class structure. In short they become a racialised 'class faction' of the working class (Phizacklea and Miles, 1980).

The antecedents to the presence of black people in the first place are to be found in the need for cheap 'migrant' labour in the post Second World War period; a period in which, following the ravages of the war, there was both a need for reconstruction and a demand by the population for social justice, i.e. to reap the rewards of their sacrifice. Because of labour shortages, migrant labour was the only option. There are two kinds of migrant labour: 'internal', representing the movement of people within national boundaries, and 'external', the movement across national boundaries. The important question is, what are the prime motives for human beings to migrate in the first place? Phizacklea and Miles (1980) argue that this results when a desire for economic

betterment/self advancement, i.e. to escape poverty, is coupled with the demands of capital for a supply of cheap labour.

Another factor is the historical relationship between countries of dominance and exploitation. Thus, there is a link to empire, which after all was primarily a mechanism for capitalist exploitation of labour and resources, and the presence of ex-colonised subjects in the 'motherland'. The colonial link produces particular ideological justifications for this exploitation. Against this backdrop, the cry for immigration control then becomes understood, as a 'stop valve' which manages the process for meeting the needs for migrant labour. This process is not confined to low skill roles, but has operated across the spectrum of occupations, most notable in the fields of health, and more recently social work. Phizacklea and Miles (1980) argue that it is within the context of work that institutionalised racism is most clearly understood. It follows, in order to understand anti-racism and new forms of black working class mobilisation and anti-racist movements emerging during the 1970's, one needs to focus attention black workers struggles over black workers rights and the machinery/role of the labour and trade union movement as a whole.

A variation on the migrant labour model is that associated with the work of Sivanandan, and the Institute of Race Relations (IRR). Whereas Miles suggests that racism is in some ways a by-product of capitalism, of the need for cheap labour, Sivanandan argues that ideologies associated with 'race' and nation are functional to the way capitalist states create fragmentation and hierarchies within societies, most particularly amongst the working class. The aim is to generate conflict and a level of false consciousness where sectional economic interests begin to assume greater importance than the interest of the class as a whole, leading ultimately to an international division of labour and a black under-class (Sivanandan, 1982).

Where the black underclass seeks to align its historical struggle against capital, to that of the working class, state policies and institutionalised racist practices act to create

divisions amongst the working class. This has the effect of denying the black underclass the possibility of integrating their own historical experience of capitalism, with that of the political struggles of the white working class. In short, 'Capitalism requires racism not for racism's sake but for the sake of capitalism' (Sivanandan, 1982 p82).

Legitimate black struggles against racism and imperialism, in Sivanandan's schema, are understood to be part of the broader class struggle, although given the onslaught of racism, black separate organisation is not only inevitable but necessary. However, in the long term, the only solution is to have an international workers' movement that is able to overthrow the capitalist system. The criticism of those on the left who seek to downplay 'race' is that, black contributions to the class struggle, vis-à-vis anti-racist struggles, have not been acknowledged as forming an integral component of the struggle against capitalism (Sivanandan, 1990).

In summary, ultimately, both Sivanandan and Miles are unashamedly universalistic; both seek to unify black and white workers in overthrowing the capitalist system, which, in their mind, is ultimately the source of racism. The implication for ARSW based on this analysis is clear. Other than providing a space for revolutionary and subversive activity to overthrow capitalism, and defensive protection against the material and psychological effects of living in a racist capitalist society, all other actions, in the long term, have little relevance.

Relative autonomy. The second position is what Solomos (1986 p89) terms the 'relative autonomy model'. This model is mostly associated with the work of Stuart Hall, Paul Gilroy and the now defunct Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University (CCCS, 1982). In essence this model attempts both to draw on Marxist and feminist analysis of capitalism and patriarchy, and at the same time develop a critique of these as being essentially Eurocentric and failing to recognise the autonomy of black struggles for representation. Further, this approach examines the way in which 'race', class and gender ideologies feed off each other, but are not reducible to any one.

Moreover, it seeks to identify slavery, colonialism and post-colonialism as key historical markers in the evolution of capitalism, not merely its by-product.

Gilroy warns against models of anti-racism that separate off 'race' from other political antagonisms, such as class and gender. However, in asserting the relative autonomy of 'race' he also observes that neither can 'race' be fully understood if it is simply 'reduced to the effect of these other relations' (Gilroy, 1987b p3). Where the relative autonomy model deviates from mainstream Marxist positions is in relation to the issue of ideology. Influenced by the work of Gramsci on hegemony and Althusser on ideology, there is an acceptance of the existence of 'race', albeit as a social construct. Nevertheless, this approach seeks to avoid reducing 'racial' aspects of society to the relative insignificance of epiphenomena or false consciousness. 'Race', and by definition racism, is real in the sense that it is constituted in specific societies and institutions. Thus, racism is experienced as a distinctive form of dominance and subordination, and it constitutes an important component in establishing collective consciousness and resistance. In sum, the relative autonomy model has at its core two distinctive conceptualisations of racism: first, it is not identified as a universal or eternal phenomenon, hence, it needs to be explained in terms of concrete historically specific 'racisms'; second, it is not reducible to other social relations, but equally it cannot be adequately explained in abstraction from them, in other words, what is important is the articulation between 'race', gender and class rather than their separateness.

Autonomy. Whilst recognising the unique dynamics of class, this approach is rooted in a belief that there is little to be gained by linking 'race' and class because:

Racism has its own autonomous formation, its own contradictory determinations, its own complex mode of theoretical and ideological production. (Gabriel and Ben-Tovim, 1978 p146, quoted in Solomos, 1986 p96)

Such approaches seek to reject the primacy of class and relations of production in theorising the production and reproduction of racism. Behind this separation is the imperative to develop a basis for a practical engagement with racism that does not necessitate the simultaneous dismantling of capitalism. This approach seeks to highlight the possibilities for isolating and confronting racist ideologies and institutional practices. It follows that the primary function of anti-racism is commensurate with these objectives. Accordingly, anti-racist strategy takes various guises, ranging from educational programmes exposing racist ideologies, securing resources and representation for black communities, legislative changes, engagement with the local and national politics of race, through to policy-orientated work (Solomos, 1986 p97). However, there are two fundamental problems with this approach:

First, by severing the link between 'race' and class, such (policy-orientated) approaches become so removed from any variant of Marxism that it becomes difficult to identify (a clear theoretical analysis of) the socio-political and historical mechanisms responsible for the production and reproduction of racism. This is not to suggest that only Marxism is capable of developing a theory of racism. However, without a basis for exposing/understanding the historical evolution of contemporary society, establishing a serious and sustained anti-racist project becomes improbable.

The second problem with the 'autonomy' approach is related to developing a theory of institutional and structural racism that does not end up reducing racism to acts of individual prejudice. As Hall (1982) points out in a critique of the Scarman report, neither the 'determinism' nor 'benevolence' inherent in this approach addresses the more searching political questions about the negative aspects of 'liberal' and 'progressive' practices.

'Race' as politics

Having mapped out the various theoretical perspectives, I now turn to how some of these positions have informed the development of anti-racism in general and black resistance in particular. I begin this analysis by considering the pivotal role that the mobilisation of the political concept 'black' has played in underpinning the British anti-racist movement during the past 30 years.

In responding to the many manifestations of white racism, visible minority groups, in order to take on the white racist power structure, sought to appropriate and redefine the racial categories. For example, they began to organise themselves under the political concept 'black'. Against the backdrop of the American Black Power movement, the term 'black', hitherto acting as a signifier of 'racial' inferiority, became transformed into a key category of an organised practice of struggles based on building black resistance and new kinds of black consciousness (Anthias and Yuval-Davies, 1992).

Sivanandan argues that, whilst the US black power movement of the 70's may have given some impetus to the process, the development of a collective black political consciousness in Britain had different roots. For Sivanandan, the term symbolised the collective approach taken by Asian and Afro-Caribbean immigrants in Britain and their fight against white racism, both within society at large and within its many institutions (Sivanandan, 1990 and 1991). In other words, the term 'black' offered a means for a spectrum of groups and communities, all with different historical and cultural trajectories, to collectivise politically around a shared experience of marginalisation and dehumanisation. It is an experience which saw the emergence of a powerful critique of the way visible minority populations were situated as the silenced 'other' in opposition to a white Eurocentric cultural norm.

This realisation of a commonality of oppression led to the development of new alliances, both strategic and cultural, and what Sivanandan (1982) terms 'communities of resistance'. Brah (1992), offers a slightly different perspective in suggesting that the term 'black' emerged as a political challenge, by activists from Afro-Caribbean and Asian

communities, to the colonial description of them as 'coloured' people, which they found insulting. The colonial code was now being 're-worked and re-constituted in a variety of political, cultural and economic processes in post-war Britain' (Brah, 1992 p127).

Although the term appeared to serve its intended purpose throughout the 1970's and 1980's, given the somewhat precarious basis upon which it was constructed, inevitably it became focus of much acrimonious debate during the subsequent years. Questions were raised around it as a means of articulating the collective struggles of the visible minorities in Britain; a debate that gained new impetus following the 'Rushdie affair', the events in the old Yugoslavia and the emergence of Islamophobia, leading to ruptures between the visible minority communities of Britain (Modood, 1992). Whilst some British activists chose to retain the term, by and large, it had little or no positive resonance for other non-white minority groups (Modood et al, 1994). A common sense argument often presented is that the vast majority of black people, other than West Indians and Africans, do not think of themselves as black but as Muslims, Sikhs, Pakistanis, Bangladeshis, Hindus, Indians and so on, and in fact, some Asian people feel insulted by being described as being 'black'.

One of the most compelling arguments presented by some social researchers and economists is that, given not all black people are disadvantaged in the same way, in terms of policy development strategies for dealing with inequalities, 'black' is a very blunt instrument. The argument continues that the concept may actually perpetuate racism in that it masks the considerable differences that exist in the socioeconomic status of ethnic minorities (see Modood et al, 1994). Yet, whilst there is no doubt that not all black people or communities experience economic life in the same way, such an argument could be equally applied to the experiences of individuals and groups within any particular ethnic minority group.

Clearly, in order to identify particular areas of deprivation, more sophisticated categories are needed. However, despite the many differences, there are also some

important similarities that most visible minorities share in Britain. First, there is a collective memory of the British Empire and the brutal and subtle experiences of racism in the 'motherland'. Second, there is a shared sense of history, in anti-colonial independence struggles and anti-racist struggles (Brah, 1996). Third, there is the existence of immigration and nationality legislation that has historically been instituted to keep out non-white-skinned ex-colonial subjects (Gordon, 1985). As Hall points out, despite the many different histories, traditions and ethnicities, as a means of identifying a common experience of racism the term 'black' came to provide the organising category of a new politics of resistance, amongst non-white groups and communities' (Hall, 1992, p252). Despite the above observation, it would be a mistake to suggest that there is unanimity amongst anti-racists about the continued efficacy of the concept. Modood (1992), for example, strongly promotes the utility of ethnic and religious categories, which for him offer a more accurate means of articulating the complexity of the oppression faced by different minority communities.

Although coming from a different political perspective, Miles (1989) questions the wisdom of the black/white binary category. He holds to the view that being a racialised category, 'black' is likely to fall prey to reification. For Miles, the tendency to reduce an understanding of racism to a relationship of domination by 'whites' over 'blacks', is to suggest that it (racism) is nothing more than 'a process effected, intentionally or otherwise, by 'white' people to the disadvantage of 'black' people' (Miles, 1989 p50). This is problematic precisely because it fails to take sufficient account of the economic and social determinants of the (capitalist) system that produces the inequality in the first place, nor the empirical data that suggests 'black people...do not collectively constitute a homogeneous population, occupying a common economic position which is subordinate to that of all 'white' people' (Miles, 1989 p55).

In summary, the debate surrounding the term 'black' has focused on its political viability on the one hand, and its empirical efficacy on the other. In the next section, this

debate is advanced further through a critical analysis of the emergence of ethnicity as a primary marker of social difference.

New ethnicities

Whilst some objections to the 'black/white' binarism have argued that it is empty of meaning, others object to it on the grounds that its essentialist tendency has obscured the contingent nature of identity and identity formation. Dominelli et al. (2001), for example, suggest that anti-racists have tended to ignore the complex range of ethnicities and hybridities amongst them. In his work on 'new ethnicities', Hall (1992), once a firm advocate of the political black identity, offers an explanation for his own about turn:

If the black subject and black experience are not stabilised by nature or by some other essential guarantee, then it must be the case that they are constructed historically, culturally, politically – and the concept which refers to this is 'ethnicity'. (Hall, 1992 p257)

In other words, whilst 'black' was only really capable of articulating one dimension of the marginalised/subaltern existence, 'ethnicity' is capable of encapsulating a much broader spectrum – history, language and culture – of factors that go into constructing lived experience and subjectivity. For Hall (1992), just as in a previous moment, the term 'black' was rearticulated in positive ways, a new politics of difference built on a reclaimed conception of 'ethnicity' was necessary for anti-racism to move forward. Yet, sounding a cautionary note, he points out the danger in replacing one set of essentialisms with another. This can only be avoided by de-coupling 'ethnicity', as it functions as a means of promoting nationalism, xenophobia and racism, from its more positive application, as a means of affirming and valuing difference. Gilroy (1993b) offers an even sterner warning against what he terms the dangers of 'ethnic absolutism', which often

reflects a crass Eurocentric reduction, of a rich variety of black and brown communities and traditions to crude, supposedly eternal essences which result in dividing black people into 'social and historical locations that are understood to be mutually impermeable and incommensurable' (Gilroy, 1993b p65).

Given his overall political stance, not surprisingly Sivanandan views the foregrounding of ethnicity in much more critical terms. For him, the shift highlights none other than a hegemonic move, a state strategy, aimed at destroying political anti-racist black socialist alliances through a strategy of co-option.

Ethnicity was a tool to blunt the edge of black struggle, return 'black' to its constituent parts of Afro-Caribbean, Asian, African, Irish - and also, at the same time enabling the nascent black bourgeoisie, petit-bourgeoisie really, to move up the system. (Sivanandan, 1983 p6)

Black perspectives

One way in which anti-racists have sought to theorise racism is to look at the very foundations of knowledge and knowledge production. Particularly in social work, by linking politics, epistemology and practice, various writers - some explicitly others implicitly - have sought to articulate 'black perspectives' (e.g. Ahmed 1990; Singh 1992; Robinson 1995; Barn 1999). However, it would be a mistake to assume that there is any unanimity amongst proponents of black perspectives. Broadly speaking one can identify six overall ways in which black perspectives have been constructed.

Common Sense - Common sense approaches to black perspectives seek to assert black people's right to engage in self-definition. In other words, at an existential level any black person, or perhaps more appropriately any person who is placed outside of 'whiteness' (Dyer, 1997) by virtue of his/her 'blackness', is able to articulate his or her own black perspective by simply stating a view. Whilst such a plural, non-deterministic

construction has some appeal, there are problems. An 'everything goes' model, as Stokes (1996) points out, poses problems in that it is difficult to see how one could evaluate its effectiveness in relation to 'its contribution to anti-racist...practice' (p7).

Universal - To avoid the problems of conceptual conflation, some writers have sought to define black perspectives in very precise terms. Ladner (1973), for example, in writing about the limitations of white sociological frameworks, suggests that black perspectives must be rooted in a political context that takes into account such things as the black power movement, civil rights and post-colonial struggles. In other words, black perspectives becomes a means of achieving particular universal goals, such as human emancipation.

In a similar but perhaps more profound way, Robinson (1983) in his critique of Marxism maps out a distinct black (African) tradition of resistance and struggle against capitalism, which he feels has gone unacknowledged in the history books⁹. Robinson points out how white European Marxist and non-Marxist scholars and historians have incorrectly assumed the primacy of class over all other forms of social oppression. In doing so, he argues, that not only has this left their analyses of society severely constricted, it has perpetuated certain myths about black people as the objects of history and as alienated victims of slavery, colonialism and capitalism with little to contribute in terms of knowledge and theory. In reflecting upon his own project, Robinson argues that nothing less than a 'restructuring' of established Western frames of thought will suffice. He summarises the implications of such a project:

⁹ See Gilroy's book *The Black Atlantic* (1993a), which as the title suggests, is an attempt to counteract the primordialist leanings in some versions of black perspectives. He highlights the major contribution made by black people in both the US and UK historically to workers movements' in struggles for social justice. For Gilroy, European history is also black history and black perspectives is also rooted in that experience, while the creative and expressive black cultures of resistance are born out of a particular experience.

For the realisation of new theory we require new history...in most of the West's intellectual traditions, the practice of theory is informed by struggle. Here the points of combat were threefold: an opposition to the ideas purporting to situate African peoples which have dominated European literature; a critique of a socialist intellectual tradition which, too infrequently, or casually, has interrogated its own bases of being; and a consideration of the import of the ambivalences with which Westernized Black radical intelligentsia first began the formulation of black radical theory (Robinson, 1983, p441).

The significance of Robinson's work in offering a penetrating critique of the dominant white class-based Marxist tradition is that any theory that is based on a partial understanding of the development of society is at best limited and, at worst, complicit in the perpetuation of racist oppression.

Essentialist - Following on from Robinson's work, Asante (1987) suggests that the intensity of Black people's experience of European racism has led to the development of profoundly different world views. Whilst his work is primarily concerned with the experiences of black African Americans, it does resonate with broader attempts at challenging the universality of a white Eurocentric world view. Asante's thesis is based on the proposition that the African American population has mistakenly been studied as part of a 'race relations' problem, rather than as a separate 'cultural group'. He argues that there is a specificity of African American experience and 'inheritance', that has been suppressed. This inheritance, he asserts, has been shaped by, amongst other things, racist oppression of African Americans and the racial division of every dimension of society, such as the institutions, economic life, culture and identity:

Any interpretation of African culture must begin at once to dispense with the notion that that, in all things, Europe is teacher and Africa is pupil. This is the central point

of my argument. To raise the question of an imperialism of the intellectual tradition is to ask a most meaningful question as we pursue African rhetoric, because Western theorists have too often tended to generalize from a Eurocentric base. What I seek to demonstrate is the existence of an African concept of communication rooted in traditional African philosophies. (Asante, 1987 p505)

Deconstructive - Although Katz (1978) is interested in 'whiteness', her position seems to mirror Asante's arguments in relation to the racialisation process. She suggests that, as a consequence of centuries of dominance, white people have developed a collective 'mental illness', a distorted view of the world in which the 'disease' of racism makes it almost impossible for them to relate to black people as equals. For Katz, although black people are its victims, racism is a white problem which can only be solved by white people by realising the damaging consequences of their stereotypical and distorted assumptions of black people.

In contrast to Katz's, white Marxist writers like Roediger (1992, 1994), Frankenberg, R (1993) and Dyer (1997) offer a perspective which rejects the notion of whiteness as natural or fixed. This approach attempts to see whiteness as a historically constructed category, which, therefore, can be undone. By implication, blackness and 'black perspectives' can only be understood as socially and historically constructed concepts. Frankenberg (1993) argues that, as a necessary step to uncovering its normative power, white people's whiteness should be unmasked. Elsewhere I have argued that learning about white perspectives through a consideration of black perspectives can have real benefits for white students in helping:

to deconstruct the certainties of whiteness and in the process open themselves up to a whole range of new possibilities. Ones that are characterised by egalitarian not dominant power relations. (Singh, 1992 p45)

Affirmative - If anti-racism helped to create spaces for black people to have their presence acknowledged, it is suggested that black perspectives provided a basis upon which their individual, group and collective aspirations could be developed and defined. As hooks suggests, 'Opposition is not enough. In the vacant space after one has resisted there is still the necessity to become to make oneself anew' (1991, p15). For some writers, 'black perspectives' becomes a positive expression of 'otherness', and ultimately a challenge to white stereotypes of black people. In describing the efficacy of the black perspectives project, Ahmad (1990) asserts that it signifies much more than a reaction to 'white norms'; it represents a more profound and deep-rooted political and cultural project that:

cannot be bounded by semantic definition. The factors that prescribe a Black perspective have a long history of subjugation and subordination. The circumstances that shape a Black perspective stem from the experience of racism and powerlessness, both past and present. The motivation that energises a Black perspective is rooted in the principles of racial equality and justice. The articulation that voices a black perspective is part of a process that is committed to replacing the white distortion of Black reality with Black writings of Black experience (Ahmad, 1990 p3).

The emergence of a black perspectives agenda - characterised by an assertion of (reclaimed) old, new and shifting identities amongst black communities - represented for many an important stage in the anti-racist struggle. Whilst, social work became an important location for the articulation of a black perspectives agenda, the political and a philosophical challenge to the hegemony of white European frames of thinking, specifically, was not new. For example, in the following quote, Fanon, in articulating his

desire for a new post-colonial humanity, captures the essence of the affirmation of a positive black identity that seeks, not an inversion of oppression but, more profoundly, to disrupt relations of dominance altogether.

Humanity is waiting for something other from us than such an imitation (of Europe), which would be almost an obscene caricature. But if we want humanity to advance a step farther, if we want to bring it to a different level than that which Europe has shown it, then we must invent and we must make discoveries (1963, p254).

Black feminist perspectives

Thus far I have highlighted the attempts to develop black perspectives within a broad critique of white epistemological standpoints and the limitations of 'white' social science in overcoming its own subjectivity. Black feminists have been at the forefront of these debates, in particular by seeking to place gender alongside 'race' and class in their analysis of oppression (Tang Nain, 1991). Another aspect of the black feminist perspective is to question the ethnocentricity of white feminism and the idea of a 'universal sisterhood' (Carby, 1982; Hill Collins, 1989; Brah, 1996; Mirza, 1997).

Amongst feminist accounts, based on a theory of patriarchy in which men constituted a dominant class, the idea of 'universal sisterhood' sought to articulate a general politics that women's interest is best served by collectivising to confront male dominance. However, for black feminists, the relegation of 'race' to epiphenomena said more about the particular experiences and interests of white feminists themselves, rather than it did about their own lived experience, structured around the experience of racism amongst other things. In short, the call to 'universal sisterhood' was difficult to reconcile given that the person making the call was more than likely to be a wealthy, middle-class white Western woman (Ramaznanoglu, 1989 p125). By focussing on gender alone and

ignoring other differences of 'race', sexuality, class and age, Lorde argues that 'there is a pretence to the homogeneity of experience covered by the word 'sisterhood' that does not in fact exist' (1984 p114). She goes on to articulate, in graphic terms, some of the ways in which the lives of black and white women are structured differently, and how, as a result, the priorities for white and black women are often different:

Some problems we share as women, some we do not. You fear your children will grow up to join the patriarchy and testify against you, we fear our children will be dragged from our car and shot dead in the street, and you will turn your backs upon the reasons they are dying. (Lorde, 1984 p119)

The potentially differential concerns of black and white mothers form an important point of departure here, not least because of the way the state, and social work in particular, has sought to intervene (or not) in the black family,¹⁰ but importantly in the way that the family itself is understood. When white feminists were busy arguing for the dismantling of the patriarchal family home, as the most dangerous place for women to be for black women this very place constituted a refuge from racism and somewhere to develop and maintain a sense of community (Carby, 1982; Amos and Parmar, 1984). Of course, this is not to suggest that the home was/is not a dangerous place for black women, but that, historically, as a consequence of slavery, colonialism and coercive state intervention, they have been denied the relative luxury of a stable family. For black women the concern has not been how to destroy the family, but how to keep it together in the face of multiple oppression. As Amos and Parmar point out:

¹⁰ See Chapter 3 for a discussion of the pathologisation of the black family and the particular positioning of black female carers, in relation to both state agencies and black patriarchy.

black women cannot just throw away their experiences of living in certain types of household organisation; they want to use the experience to transform familial relationships. (1984 p4)

Whereas some of these accounts articulate the context in which black and white women's interests diverge, hooks goes much further in pointing out how white women from 'imperial nations', and women generally in advanced capitalist societies have historically benefited from the exploitation of black women (hooks, 1996 p217). Whether one seeks to charge white women for complicity in black women's oppression, or politely to indicate that their interests are not the same, what is beyond question is that black women, for a variety of reasons have been silenced, their perspectives ignored and their aspirations defined for them by others. Mirza (1997) points out that, in the face of epistemic and real violence, black feminism has served to facilitate a space for black women through a 'meaningful act of identification' to invoke their own agency.

In a submerged and hidden world where there is no official language, words or narratives about that world (except those held in our hearts and minds), black women inhabit a third space... a space which, because it overlaps the margins of race, gender and class discourse occupies the empty spaces in between, exists in a vacuum of erasure and contradiction (Mirza, 1997 p4).

In seeking to avoid simply depicting black women's perspectives as constituting a series of narrative accounts, born out of 'a special knowledge or a unique consciousness' (p5), Mirza goes on to articulate how this telling is only half the story, the other half being a serious challenge to the 'normative discourse' of 'mainstream academic thinking' (p5):

In our particular world, shaped by the processes of migration, nationalism, racism, popular culture and the media, black British women, from multiple positions of difference, reveal the distorted ways in which the dominant groups construct their assumptions. As black women we see from the sidelines, from our space of unlocation, the unfolding project of domination (Mirza, 1997 p5).

As noted earlier, the general dissent of sociologists and policy makers towards the political category 'black' has not been expressed to anything like the same degree by black feminists. Why should this be? Perhaps the conjoined experience of gender oppression and racism, continues to forge a strong bond amongst black women. Also, unlike anti-racism, which arguably became incorporated into the state, black feminism and activism relative autonomous from the state may have resulted in black women maintaining a more critical perspective on the state and its various hegemonic strategies?

Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to establish the theoretical and historical contours upon which debates and imaginations about 'race' and racism take place. Any serious attempt to construct or reconstruct ARSW that is to avoid simplistic rhetorical posturing¹¹ clearly needs to be based on such a platform. By tracing the trajectory of 'race' thinking throughout the enlightenment period and beyond, I have highlighted the way it has come to shape, define and redefine human relations in the modern period. In doing so, I have exposed some of the theoretical, ideological and political tensions surrounding the theorising of 'race'. For some, 'race' is devoid of meaning; for others, it serves an important purpose in maintaining the focus on racism, which is by no means defeated. I

¹¹ See for example Turney 2002 for an insightful critique of Dominelli's account of ARSW (1988) which she argues represents a series of 'slogans' that reduce the complexity and seriousness of racism in social work to the level of finding the 'correct form of words' (p9).

have outlined the ways in which the politics of 'race' has permeated debates about the viability of a politicised black identity and the emergence of new identity politics centred on ethnicity. Finally, the chapter outlined the various ways in which the notion of black perspectives has been employed to both theorise and oppose racism. In Chapter 3, I will explore some dimensions of how struggles against racism have unfolded in post-war Britain and how these struggles have impacted upon social work.

CHAPTER THREE

RACISM, ANTI-RACISM AND ANTI-RACIST SOCIAL WORK

Those who at present rule this country, and for whom control of Britain's black communities has been a major consideration in the turn to 'hard' policing, would be ill-advised to underestimate the intelligence, determination, and proud traditions of those they desire to control. (Peter Fryer, 1984 p399)

Introduction

The overall aim of this chapter is to argue that ARSW began as a distinct political project, born out of wider post-war black struggles against racism during the 1960's and 1970's as discussed in Chapter 2. Further, that in seeking to confront racism within social work, through a series of hegemonic moves, aspects of ARSW eventually became undermined by the very system it sought to challenge. This is not to suggest that ARSW has not made an impact. On the contrary, my contention is that, in some ways, it has transformed aspects of social work and allied professions. This can be seen, for example in: the employment of black social workers, the emergence of an extensive anti-racist social work literature, the establishment of important values aligned to anti-oppressive practice (AOP) and anti-discriminatory practice (ADP), and the development of some innovative practices with black service users. My contention is that throughout the past 20 years, covert and overt strategies have been enacted, by successive governments, progressively to undermine and depoliticise ARSW in particular, and social work in general. Whereas the New Right, during the late 1980's and early 1990's sought to tackle ARSW head on, by, for example, undercutting attempts within CCETSW to develop an anti-racist curriculum, New Labour, primarily through the extension of managerial and regulatory regimes, has restricted the oxygen supply for ARSW to progress. This has been done by closing down opportunities to develop critical social work, in favour of

more prescriptive, formulaic models. As Jacqui Smith the then Minister responsible for overseeing the development and implementation of the new social work degree stated:

Social work is a very practical job. It is about protecting people and changing their lives, not about being able to give a fluent and theoretical explanation of why they got into difficulties in the first place. (Jacqui Smith *The Guardian*, May 29, 2002)

In Chapter Two, I highlighted the long history of 'race' thinking. In doing so, I presented a detailed account of the ways in which different systems of thought were developed to explain the diversity between the so called 'European' and 'non-European' 'races'. Moreover, I pointed out that such explanations could not be understood without reference to wider social and political developments, not least the emergence of modernity, the global capitalist system, European colonial dominance, and the African slave trade. The oppression associated with European colonialism and slavery was a shared experience, and to that extent, had a profound impact on both the oppressed and the oppressor, even if the material outcomes were somewhat divergent. One consequence of this relationship was the establishment of two separate worlds, both real and imagined. Real in the sense that the world became divided into a 'first world' of relative wealthy imperial states and a 'third world' of relatively impoverished post colonial states¹². Imagined, in that economic and military imperialism was also accompanied by cultural imperialism, leaving a legacy where, as Said (1978 and 1993) points out, the world becomes divided into two domains, the 'occident' and the 'orient', the white man and the black man, the civilised and the uncivilised.

¹² See Fryer (1984), Chapter 3, for a detailed account of how the Atlantic slave trade became instrumental in generating wealth and profits in Britain, and ultimately fuelling the dramatic growth of the economy during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

One of the consequences of the colonial relationship was the turning of colonised peoples into a reserve army of cheap labour. Following the Second World War, labour shortages in particular sectors, most notably health care, public transport and heavy industry, led to a steady influx of black migrants from the former colonies, specifically, the Indian sub-continent and the Caribbean. For these new black Britons the promise of streets paved with gold, of being embraced by their 'civilised' and cultured white hosts in the 'mother land', turned out to be something of a mirage. What emerges is a story of racial discrimination, survival, resistance and growth. Whilst it is beyond the scope of this thesis to narrate the whole story, within the overall framework presented above and, through a systematic examination of the available literature, within an overall aim of contextualising the significant position of BPTs, as social work practitioners and educators, this chapter seeks to review the black experience of social work/welfare. The key questions addressed are:

- In what ways have black service users and professionals encountered racism in social work?
- How does one make sense of this?
- In what ways has resistance to racism emerged and how has this informed the overall development of ARSW?
- What have been the gains and losses of ARSW?

The chapter is structured in three sections. I begin by outlining some of the ways that black service users have experienced social work. In particular, this section, drawing on the broader frameworks developed in Chapter Two, reviews the literature documenting how racism has historically been manifested in social work practice. From the user perspective, I go on to outline the experiences of black social workers, students and practice teachers, respectively. This part is concluded with an attempt to make sense of these experiences of racism. Given that these accounts emerge out of anti-racist critiques and challenges to the prevailing wisdom, any analysis of racism in social work would be

incomplete without looking at the wider unfolding social and political context, of the local politics of 'race' and the development of the anti-racist movement in the UK. Accordingly, in the third section, I discuss the broader policy context, specifically organising this analysis across two historical periods, as follows:

- Pre-Scarman to 1981, characterised by the birth of an anti-racist movement rooted in highly politicised struggles for black liberation, influenced by, amongst other things, the civil rights and Black Power movements in the US, opposition to the Vietnam War, and the process of decolonisation (Sivanandan, 1990).
- New Right, 1980's to mid 90's, characterised by the rise and fall of municipal state-sponsored anti-racism in general and ARSW in particular.

Whilst the chapter touches on the contemporary context characterised by New Labour and 'third-way' ideas such as New Managerialism and new formations of 'race' and ethnicity, these and other questions, will be discussed in Chapter Four. The chapter concludes with a summary of the ways in which anti-racism in general and ARSW in particular have become conceptualised.

Racism in social work: service user experience

A cursory scan of the literature on 'race' and social work will reveal two distinct trends. It is either heavily orientated towards theory and policy and is seen by practitioners to have little relevance to practice, or it is simplistic, and over-prescriptive, with a tendency to construct black people as singular entities and reduce black experience to a set of naïve stereotypes, both positive and negative. However, with the emergence of a small but increasingly influential number of black social work academics and practitioners, joined by committed white colleagues, throughout the 1990's there emerged an important literature that attempted to address the specific needs of practitioners in relation to direct work with black service users.

This literature was characterised by a concern with developing a critical praxis in working with black service users, one that was sensitive to the various manifestations of power and powerlessness and cultural diversity (Ahmed et al., 1986; Gambe et al., 1992; Robinson, 1995; Ahmad and Atkin, 1996; Mistry and Brown, 1997; Barn 1999; Dominelli et al., 2001). Often, the starting point is a complex analysis of psychosocial processes that attempts to connect individual biography to wider institutional and structural processes. In doing so it offers models of practice that seek to locate difference, diversity and oppression as key considerations for professionals in working with all service users.

The marginalisation of black people within social work, both as service users and workers, leading to a series of inadequate institutional responses to their needs and demands, is well documented (ADSS/CRE, 1978; ABSWAP, 1981; Stubbs, 1985; Rooney, 1987; Cheetham et al., 1981; Barn, 1993; CCETSW, 1991b; CCETSW, 1991c; Singh, 1992, Williams, 1996). Broadly speaking, racism has operated in two distinct ways. On the one hand, potential black service users have been excluded from receiving adequate services, whilst, on the other, they have tended to feature in the more punitive aspects of welfare (Dominelli, 1992). A more detailed analysis reveals at least seven different manifestations of these processes.

Denial - As mentioned above, black people have historically been denied access to positive social services. The rationale given has centred on a notion that large extended family networks, familial obligations and different cultural lifestyles militate against black accessing of social services that are primarily built on the cultural norms of white people. Put simply, black people are seen as preferring to 'look after their own'. The evidence for this assertion was seen to be the lack of demand/requests received for services (Roys, 1988; Patel, 1990; Ahmad and Atkin, 1996).

Surveillance - The welfare state has been utilised as a pseudo intelligence service, designed to enforce policing and immigration controls. Often, black service users were required to produce passports before welfare agencies would even be prepared to

consider them for a service (Gordon, 1985; Gordon and Newham, 1985). One can see how new asylum seekers and refugees, in exercising their right to social welfare under the provisions of The Immigration and Asylum Act 1999, have been subjected to the same kinds of mechanisms of surveillance and control experienced by previous generations of migrants. Garratt (2002) talks about how current government policy approaches leading to establishment of 'the new welfare domains of the "Third Way"', are contributing to producing new discourses and mechanisms of care and control, of support and surveillance, where it becomes difficult to distinguish between advice and compulsion' (p11). Whilst these new agencies lie outside social work, they are rapidly subsuming many of the tasks that social workers would have performed, but with a set of changed imperatives. Given the ongoing welfare dependency of large sections of the black community, there is every reason to believe that the new arrangements will become new vehicles for institutional racism. As Rose points out:

We can, however, be sure that social work and other 'control workers' preoccupied with the 'administration of the marginalia' will focus on 'the usual suspects'. (Rose, 2000, p. 333)

Hayes and Humphries (2002) for example, in their examination of the experiences of social workers working with refugees and asylum seekers, uncover serious tensions for them in reconciling their commitments to anti-oppressive values and the role professionals are increasingly playing as 'gate keepers' to services.

Discipline: Black people have been subject to psychiatric disciplining, evidenced in significantly higher rates of compulsory admission to psychiatric institutions. The (1959) Mental Health Act, which gave the police powers of compulsory removal to a place of safety, was up to four times more likely to be used on black people than white people (Black Health Workers and Patients Group, 1983; Ineichen et al., 1984). According to Fernando (1988) stereotypes mirroring colonial constructs of black people (see Chapter

Two), as being irrational, dangerous, or lacking morality, are inherent in British psychiatry. These observations are supported by a recent study by Burr (2002) of Approved Social Workers (ASW) and other professionals working with South Asian women. The study concluded that:

the power of stereotypes of South Asian cultures is that they become incorporated as pseudo scientific explanations that are then incorporated as fact and used to account for different patterns of health and illness. (Burr, 2002 p836)

Punishment - Black communities have been the subject of intense policing, and black young people, have historically been constructed as 'naturally' born muggers and criminals who need containing (Hall et al., 1978; CCCS 1992). Whereas a generation earlier, black young people were (and still are) the target, Asian, and in particular Muslim, youth have been subject to the same mechanisms of criminalisation in more recent times (Alexander, 2000).

Pathologisation - Following the deeply embedded racial stereotypes of the colonial period (see Chapter Two), the general thrust of social work literature up to the late 1970's was to posit black families as being inherently unstable, and to use this as a causal explanation for problems faced by black young people. The evidence for this assumption was based on distorted and pathological views about black families, culture and child-rearing practices (Lawrence, 1982). Commonly held views of black African Caribbean families problematised them in terms of the domination of such families by female households, the absence of males the preponderance of parents leaving their children with extended families, and excessive use of discipline (see for example Fitzherbert, 1967; Cheetham, 1972). The prevalence of a pathological view of black families and culture, according to Williams (1996) represented shifting and often incongruous discourses and descriptions of the relative strengths and weaknesses of black families in the form of:

deeply embedded notions of cultural and racial superiority, absorbed and reworked through different modes of racial domination that gave rise in the post-War period to specific and often contradictory ideas of the deficiencies of Afro-Caribbean and Asian families and cultures (Williams, 1996 p69).

These confused attitudes, based on an inability to perceive social work, of all professions, as potentially oppressive, resulted in, for example, black under-achievement being seen to be a consequence of passive disinterested Asian mothers or busy working Afro-Caribbean mothers, and illnesses such as rickets as resulting from unsuitable diets (Ahmad, 1993; Williams, 1996). Likewise, the problems of adolescents were directly related back to poor, maladapted, or even barbaric child-rearing practices. So, for example, social workers often took the view that Asian teenage girls were required to be 'rescued' from outdated cultural obligations and forced marriages. Without making any attempts to seek out other possible explanations for their unhappiness, or to support and protect the girls in their own communities, social workers would see the solution as helping the young woman to adopt a 'white' identity and leave home. In a study on homelessness and this group, Patel (1994) found that far from the received wisdom, in addition to general family conflict 'like many other young women in general, the young black women interviewed were running because of physical violence, emotional and sexual abuse' (Patel, 1994; p35). Similarly, black family violence itself was less understood as a product of patriarchy and misogyny but seen to be caused by outdated primitive cultural behaviours, such as arranged marriages. As a study by Mullender et al. (2002) on domestic violence and South Asian families confirms, despite the passage of time cultural pathology persists:

Support agencies appear to continue with a largely colour-blind approach, showing only a limited awareness and understanding of the needs of South Asian women and children. (2002, p15)

Cultural Invasion - Closely related to cultural pathology is the notion of cultural invasion. In response to the arrival of visible minority persons from the ex-colonies, assimilation became the official unwritten policy. As discussed in Chapter Two, this approach was based on the 'assimilationist' theories of the American sociologist Robert Park (1950). The general assumption was that any hostility towards black people was similar to the experiences of previous migrants. The problems faced by new settlers were temporary, mostly related to cultural and linguistic differences. Given time, assimilation occurs naturally and these new migrants will merge into the dominant culture through adopting its language, value system and general lifestyle.

Indeed, Section 11 of the 1966 Local Government Act was specifically established to assist with the 'special needs' of minorities. The tone of the legislation was one of adjustment, and public policy discourses of the time reflected a pathological rendering of visible minorities. So, for example, within social work there was an open policy for the placement of black children in white care without any reference to their difference or the impact of racism on their lives. Indeed, some poor black parents, particularly those from West Indian backgrounds, were deceived into putting their children into voluntary care in the belief that by doing so their life chances would be greatly improved (Ahmed et al. 1986). Yet, the experience of black children in care suggests that, far from enhancing their life chances, problems were often compounded. Black children were seen to be best served by being stripped of their black identity and placed in white care without any thought being given to the long term emotional and psychological effects, let alone the political implications of such a policy (Ahmed et al., 1986; Barn, 1993; Singh, 1999).

In sum, other than situations of direct racism, such as lack of care or unreasonable control, overall, racism within social work has been manifest in essentialist and reductive conceptualisations of black family life. It is rooted in a perception that problems faced by black families were derived from inherent weaknesses or deficiencies within their 'racial', cultural or ethnic practices. The idea that 'black' equates with problems, deflected social workers away from the issue of racism, towards intervention models aimed, in effect, at enabling black individuals and families to assimilate white Eurocentric norms and lifestyles.

The employment of black social workers

Having looked at the black user experience of social services, in order to develop a more complete sense of racism in social work, I now turn to the experience of black social work professionals. One of the earliest rigorous studies looking at the employment of black social workers was carried out by Ouseley et al. (1982). They found that an 'over-emphasis on professional affiliations was leading to the systematic disadvantaging of existing and potential black staff' (p123). Moreover, Ouseley and colleagues found that 80 per cent of all black staff in the social services department (SSD) they studied were to be found in the lowest non-professional grades. Other empirical studies around the same period came up with similar conclusions that, not unlike the experience of many black service users, black workers' experiences were best characterised by the same ideological constructions of black people as those of colonialism and slavery (Rooney, 1982 and 1987; Stubbs, 1985).

Despite limitations, social work, hitherto a white profession, was increasingly opened up to black workers. Whilst there are no statistics on the exact numbers of black social work professionals, workforce studies paint a generally positive picture regarding the recruitment of black staff. Balloch et al. (1995), in a longitudinal survey covering a range

of nine SSDs (five local authorities, two Metropolitan boroughs, one inner and one outer London borough, and one county council) found that, whilst the representation of black workers at senior management levels was disproportionately low, overall, there was a high proportion of people from black and minority ethnic groups in social services (15 per cent). Similarly, Butt and Davey (1997), in a wide ranging survey of four SSDs, found consistently high representations of Black and minority ethnic staff compared with the proportion of black and minority ethnic people living in the locality. Whilst these statistics look impressive, they tell us little about the experiences of these black workers, although much of the available evidence paints a picture of exploitation, discrimination and marginalisation.

A study by Singh and Patel (1998) looking at the experience of black child care social workers found by and large they were located on lower grades or employed part-time or on a sessional basis. Cheetham (1981) draws attention to the lack of support that black social workers encountered, who often left feeling 'hopelessly isolated, misunderstood, at times snubbed and overwhelmed by totally impossible responsibilities' (Cheetham, 1981 p93). Focussing on the barriers to career progression faced by black social workers, Fitzroy (1996) lends support to these observations. This study found a tendency by white managers and workers to explain black workers experiencing problems because of their 'cultural' or 'racial background'. Yet in the case of white workers, the antecedents of work problems were often related to external factors such as stress of working, chance, lack of experience, or simply poor judgement.

Ahmad (1992), in a qualitative study, established that black managers were often viewed as being incapable of making 'objective' judgements due to their community affiliations. Management and supervisory roles were associated with power, resources, authority and control, but these are not images which were associated with black people. Moreover, Ahmad (1992) found that white managers often associated black recruitment with lowering standards. In an earlier study of racism within work organisations,

Fernandez (1975) discovered that explanations given for the lack of black people in senior posts tended to differ between white and black employees. White workers referred to such things as, lack of qualifications and cultural barriers. In contrast, black managers would cite racial discrimination as the prime cause. Connelly (1989), in a study of four SSDs in 1989 highlighted similar patterns of stereotyping and exclusion. Whilst recognising that equal opportunities policies had had some positive benefits, she concludes that without a strategic approach to race equality, change was only likely up to a point. Indeed, ten years on, one of the key conclusions of the enquiry into death of Stephen Lawrence and the institutional racism in Metropolitan Police was precisely the failure of leadership at the top (MacPherson, 1999).

Research by Ginn (1997) on the work histories of staff in five different English SSDs continues to highlight the differential experience of black and white workers. The study found that 27 per cent of black staff surveyed said they had experienced racism from colleagues or managers. Moreover, where people left their jobs as a consequence of dissatisfaction, there was significant variation between white and black staff. Whereas white staff suggested the primary reason for leaving was relationships with colleagues, for black staff the key issue was lack of career prospects or personal development. Of those black workers who managed to move higher up into the organisation, they ended up in specialist 'race' posts, which often resulted in their marginalisation from the core departmental decision-making processes. Other studies by Butt and Davey (1997) and Brockmann et al. (2001) confirm these findings. Ely and Denney (1987) suggest that, whilst suffering the same stress as their white counterparts, black social workers were subjected to 'extra pressures to over-identify either with white-orientated policies or with the black client' (p114).

With the steady increase numbers of black social workers over the past 25 years, one might have expected things to improve. However, studies that are more recent tend to indicate that many of the fundamental issues of work-place racism and discrimination

remain unresolved. Research carried out by the TUC in 1999 concluded that racism at work, in general, had get worse for black workers. Based on secondary data analysis of the Labour Force Survey, the study found that, despite the fact that black workers were, on average, were more qualified than their white counterparts, the number of people from ethnic minorities who became managers had fallen over the previous 10 years (TUC, 1999). These findings reinforce an earlier study by Brennan and McGeevor (1990) which indicated that ethnic minority graduates were more likely to experience unemployment, encounter more difficulty in obtaining suitable employment, be less satisfied in the jobs they obtained, and were less likely to receive training and promotion, than their white counterparts.

In relation to SSDs, the Audit Commission/SSI joint review report (1999) observed that in the preceding decade, the numbers of non-white had gone down, from four out of 116 in 1990 to one out of 153 in 1999. Furthermore, Williams (1995), drawing data from a large survey (n=1276) of staff working in five England SSDs, reported high levels of racism against black workers. Whereas this study highlighted the extent of racism, a follow-up qualitative study conducted by Brockmann et al. (2001), involving a sample of 134 black workers (Managers, practitioners and care staff), uncovered the nature and variety of the experience: 60 participants reported abuse of one form or another from service users and/or relatives, ranging from general verbal abuse which predominated (41), through to open and covert rejection by service users of black workers (13) and racial violence (2). Interestingly, fieldwork staff tended to be more affected than residential staff, which might indicate a degree of desensitisation to everyday abuse within the context of the relative isolation of residential care settings. Open and covert rejection was manifest in service users stating, or implying, that they did not want a black worker. Again, given that this appeared only to be an issue affecting fieldwork staff, often within the context of a home visit, the unique context of the service user's home is worth considering. As Brockmann et al. (2001) suggest, 'the user may feel 'entitled' to ask

Black or minority ethnic staff not to encroach on their personal territory' (p5). The picture in relation to racism from colleagues was very similar to that of service users and/or carers, although the dynamics were somewhat different. Out of 41 respondents reporting colleague racism, there was an even split between 'derogatory remarks' (mostly in the guise of insensitive references to minority culture) and undermining of 'professional ability or unfair treatment' (mostly in the form of subtle behaviours, actions and comments being perceived to be unfair and racially motivated) (ibid pp6-7).

The black experience of social work education with particular reference to practice

teaching

Thus far, I have concentrated on the experiences of black professionals in their roles as workers within SSDs. I now turn to another important site within which the black experience of social work unfolds, namely, social work education and practice teaching. Whilst there are notable examples of good practice, the limited published material on black experiences of social work education reveals a culture of racism covering college/university-based teaching, assessment and practice placement experiences. Based on data collected at a black students' conference, Pink and de Gale (1991) highlight widespread racism on social work training courses. Commonplace are such things as: black students being subject to more stringent assessment procedures than their white counterparts, questioning by white students of black students' suitability and educational competence, and black students being used as 'race' experts. Placement experiences were equally problematic, with disproportionate numbers of black students failing placements, unreasonable levels of surveillance of black students and direct racism by white service users and colleagues going unchallenged.

De Souza (1991), in a detailed review of black students' experiences, comes up with very similar conclusions. She highlights many examples of direct and indirect

discriminatory practices aimed at black students as well as the marginalisation of 'race' and 'anti-racism' within the curriculum. In relation to placement issues, her study found a divergence of commitment amongst white practice teachers. Whilst some were sincere about 'race' issues but lacked knowledge and experience of tackling the issues, others were less so and thought that anti-racism was merely a passing trend. Most concerning was a third category who 'saw anti-racist practice as a waste of time' (De Souza, 1991 p163).

Warning against the tendency to reduce all black experience in social work to racism, Aymer and Bryan (1996), in a qualitative study of black student's experience on social work courses, argue for a more complex and holistic analysis. They suggest that, by overly focussing on the racism of white institutions and white people, one runs the risk of overlooking the needs and deficiencies of black students. Nonetheless, one of the issues raised by De Souza's research was the shortage of BPTs, which black students felt put them in a disadvantaged position.

The reason for the shortage of BPTs may be that disproportionate demands are placed on black social workers, who are 'often expected to work with the majority of black clients as well as to service the department as race experts. These tasks leave little time for black workers to consider practice teaching (De Souza, 1991 p169). In perhaps the first published expression of concern about the exclusion of black social workers from practice teaching, Williams (1987), in a *Community Care* article, asks why colleges and agencies were not encouraging black social work practitioners to take students (see also Shardlow and Doel, 1992). Whilst anecdotal evidence would indicate that the numbers of BPTs has steadily increased over the years, in a national review of agencies in England providing practice teaching, Lindsey and Walton (2000) report that agencies were generally failing to respond to support needs of BPTs, whilst some reported great difficulties with recruitment and retention. In terms of supporting the development of black practice teachers, the picture was equally patchy, ranging from no mention of race,

through to encouragement and affirmative action, specifically targeting development opportunities for black staff. The spectrum of opinion is characterised in the following responses from practice learning co-ordinators from two of the agencies consulted:

We try to address a difficulty in recruiting BPTs by giving them priority for Award training if they meet the selection criteria. They are provided with black mentors or consultants.

We do not specifically address Equality in PT Planning. Our range of practice teachers reflects the range of social workers in this agency, i.e. mainly female and mainly white. We would welcome a better balance with more offers from male and/or BPTs but it would not be realistic to target specific groups. We just need a regular supply of good practice teachers. (Lindsey and Walton, 2000 p59)

A particularly revealing aspect of the second response is the way racism becomes interpreted as an individualised problem, simply a matter of ‘colour matching’. The idea that racism only occurs where black people are present is not far from suggesting that black people are the source of racism.

The first published systematic evaluation of the experiences of BPTs, carried out by Stokes (1996), uncovered strong evidence of institutionalised barriers to black social workers becoming practice teachers. Her evaluation of four SSDs highlights a range of blocks such as direct refusal by management to allow black social workers to take students, higher expectations of black workers in relation to their readiness to take students, and lack of information about practice teaching from their agencies and/or local college. Her recommendations for addressing the problem include: more effective mechanisms for distributing information, better college links with black workers’ groups

and organisations, and a more proactive stance taken by managers, training officers and practice teaching consortia (Stokes, 1996).

The shortfall of good 'black placements', coupled with the knowledge that practice teaching has traditionally been an important mechanism for professional and career development has led to demands for a more positive approach to the recruitment of BPTs onto CCETSW-accredited practice teaching programmes. One consequence was the development of the first all-black accredited practice teaching programme, organised by Bradford SSD in 1992; other programmes followed in Merseyside and Greater Manchester. Further, as a consequence of pressure from anti-racist activists, programmes across the country began to adopt more proactive strategies to recruit black candidates (Stokes and Wainwright 1996). Nonetheless, an analysis of annual quality assurance returns (monitoring reports) for CCETSW-accredited practice teaching courses by Lyn (2000) highlights wide variations in interpretations of and commitment to race equality. Often programmes in areas with small numbers of black candidates were less likely to think about the issues of 'race'. Moreover, the research found evidence of practice teaching programmes with relatively high numbers of black candidates relaxing their efforts to promote race equality. Most concerning was the evidence that there seemed to be high failure rates among black candidates on courses.

Although the shortfall of BPTs is now being addressed, research such as that by Lyn (2000) and Stokes (1996) merely uncovers another dimension of the dynamics of racism, thus apparent progress in one area serves to create problems in others. For example, those BPTs who are successful in qualifying may face the issue of a lack of support. Some become subject to racially motivated complaints by white students, particularly where the BPT is recommending a fail (Stokes 1996). In seeking to uncover problems, one needs to be emphasise the positives, and to some degree, developments within social work education, through black and white anti-racist activism, as is evident in the work of the Northern Curriculum Development Project (CCETSW, 1991b and 1991c).

BPTs and Black Students - In terms of the experiences of black students, not unlike those of black service users, theirs too can be categorised in terms of racism at each step of the way. Although throughout the 1980's there was a gradual increase in the numbers of black students entering social work education many black students felt unfairly treated by courses (Cazeau, 1991 quoted in De Souza, 1991; Macaulay-Hays, 1988). Various accounts of this experience have highlighted: the inappropriate use of black students as 'race' experts (De Souza, 1991); discriminatory assessment practices by white tutors, including subjecting work to unreasonable scrutiny and requiring black students to produce higher quality work to pass; inappropriate assessment criteria, and a lack of black tutorial support (Williams, 1987; Brummer, 1988; Pink and Gale, 1991; Grant, 1990). In the light of these experiences of discrimination, whilst offering caution against the dangers of ghettoisation, Humphries et al. (1993) argue that a BPT can have a critical role in providing a positive role model for a black student. The particular benefits are that 'he/she will be in tune with the student's perception of their 'blackness' and their experience of racism' (p64).

BPTs and White Students - In terms of white students, Humphries et al. (1993) suggest that a black practice teacher would help to combat negative 'ethnic' stereotypes that can exist. In a similar vein, Dominelli (1988) proposes the notion of an 'anti-racist apprenticeship model' (p66) whereby white students working under the supervision of black practice teachers could be inducted into developing skills in anti-racist practice and 'cultural and ethnic sensitivity', along with experiencing working with a black person with authority and power. However, Dominelli offers a word of caution in pointing out that this approach should neither be an excuse to place the burden of developing anti-racist practice on BPTs, nor deny black students the potentially valuable experience of having a black supervisor.

Elsewhere, I have set out the benefits of learning contexts for white students in being exposed to black perspectives (Singh 1996). Similar to the role that feminism has played in confronting men and masculinity (Dominelli and Mcleod, 1989), BPTs can

act as a catalyst for white students to deconstruct and reconstruct their own sense of self, their 'whiteness' on the lines discussed in Chapter Two. However, the BPT and white student relationship can have its problems. Often, as a consequence of the likelihood of the white student never having experienced being in a subordinate position to a black person, adjusting to such a position can be fraught with difficulties. For this reason, Humphries et al. (1993) suggest that 'the [black] practice teacher might need clear and explicit messages and support from both his or her agency and the college' (p67).

Often there is a tendency to see black professionals as being cultural or 'race' experts, which can lead to a devaluation of their skills and knowledge. This can create difficulties for the BPT, ranging from students not taking them seriously to undermining them and their authority. In such situations, in order to bolster their position the white student may seek out other white members of staff who may be prepared to collude with the undermining of the practice teacher. Problems often come to a head when the BPT may feel obliged to challenge or confront the white student and/or where the student is deemed to be failing their placement (Humphries et al., 1993). Through a series of rhetorical questions, Tourney (1996) mounts a searching critique of the problems associated with a model that equates anti-racist change with the employment of BPTs alone:

Is it not possible that some black people will have made a personal accommodation with the status quo...a position that might in turn affect their ability to impart 'anti-racism' to their white students? Who will decide whether a black supervisor is challenging a white student's racism in an 'appropriate' way? (Tourney, 1996 p12)

Clearly, these questions raise general concerns about the nature of the black experience and perspective; specifically about the dangers of adopting an essentialist, uncritical assumption that

being black, in and of itself, can lead to anti-racist change. Further, these questions draw attention to the problems and possibilities associated with developing anti-racist strategy. Yet such critiques can only serve a partial, albeit critical function. It is one thing to theorise and deconstruct reality, reconstructing strategy and practice poses a completely different set of problems. Some of these will be addressed later; others, specifically in relation to postmodern critiques and their implication for developing ARSW will be addressed in Chapter Four.

So far I have outlined the black experience of social work. The evidence considered above highlights a compelling case for supporting the hypothesis that black social workers are subjected to various dimensions of racism. But this begs the question as to how this experience of racism can be explained. As outlined in Chapter Two, the answer to wider questions of racism is largely dependent on the broad theoretical and political approach one takes to the analysis of the production and reproduction of racism within modern capitalist society. If for example, as argued by Ben-Tovim et al. (1986), one takes the view that 'race' and class are autonomous, then one may explain racism in terms of the inadequacy of policies and procedures. Indeed, one may argue that the substantial presence of black workers in social work is in itself proof that change can take place without the need to dismantle capitalism.

If on the other hand one sees 'race' and class as inextricably linked, then an altogether different analysis emerges. Williams (1996), for example, characterises the experiences of black people and welfare in terms of their role as providers of welfare, with service users and activists engaged in struggles over welfare. By linking an analysis of the history of racism to class and gender oppression, Williams points out that the main goals of welfare within capitalist societies are related primarily to accumulation, reproduction, control, legitimation and repression (Williams, 1996 p63), which would certainly resonate with the evidence outlined above. Whilst she is correct to assert that black (migrant) workers, as also pointed out by Miles (1982), have historically been exploited as a 'reserve army' of cheap labour, this model, in itself, is insufficient to explain the unique location of black

social workers, who, unlike the experience of many black health professionals, cannot strictly be classified migrant labourers. By asserting that welfare policy should be 'informed and regenerated by the needs articulated by black people themselves' (1996 p63), Williams appears to accept the possibility that black workers can work in the state, yet at the same time maintain a degree of detachment to develop their activism.

Whilst accepting that social work has become an important site in which anti-racist activism emerged, Stubbs (1985) is nonetheless sceptical about the longer term prospects for a state-sponsored ARSW project. He bases his analysis on a critique of state social work as a site for the production and reproduction of racism, as well as other forms of oppression. In doing so, he is critical of earlier radical Marxist social work models that either omitted 'race' altogether or relegated it to the status of an epiphenomenon (see Corrigan and Leonard, 1978; Jones, 1983). Stubbs locates his own analysis somewhere between the 'relative autonomy model' of Hall (1980) and the CCCS (1982) and the 'international division of labour model' reflected in the work of Sivanandan (1982) as outlined in Chapter Two. Thus, whilst accepting the value of autonomous black social worker activism in developing anti-racist strategy and 'placing significant changes on the agenda for SSDs (Stubbs, 1985 p26), the potential pitfalls of the emergence of a black professionalism will, he suggests, result in accommodation. As such, unless this strategy is incapable of challenging existing models of control or hierarchical relations between 'professionals' and 'clients', in the long term it is bound to fail (Stubbs, 1985 p26).

Whilst Stubbs appears to accept the positive contribution of black social workers in working towards anti-racist change, others however are less accepting of their role. Gilroy (1987 and 1992), for example, is highly critical of models developed by black social workers to counter black family pathology by asserting the strengths of black families, (See for example ABSWAP, 1983; Ahmed et al. 1986; Ahmed 1990.) For Gilroy, 'municipal anti-racism' became rapidly disconnected from the grass roots of the struggle against racism, and the communities in which the struggle began (Gilroy, 1992). Moreover, the

black community's aspirations were displaced by black professionals' own personal ambitions, while black workers' groups, rather than being vehicles for anti-racist struggle, became a means for black professionals to serve their own career aspirations.

In a similar vein, Hutchinson-Reis (1989) suggests that the employment of black social workers can only be understood within the context of the role that racism has played as a mechanism of control and exploitation within British capitalist society and the specific role of the welfare state in facilitating this. For him, anti-racist activism, and the ensuing civil disorder of the late 1970's and early 1980's provides the backdrop for realising the motives of the state in employing black social workers. The employment of black social workers was a classic hegemonic strategy to defuse the potential for major urban insurrection, with which the black community became identified. Local and national initiatives were mounted in order to defuse the urban unrest, through a strategy of the positive action 'programmes in the recruitment of black social workers and the provision of services to the black population' (Huchinson-Reis, 1989 p166).

Based on the above critiques, one may be led to believe that ARSW was doomed from the start. Yet, paradoxically, to deny that there has been no positive change, or that any change that did occur is simply a mirage, seems implausible. Given that capitalism and racism, nor the responses to them, are fixed, perhaps one way of unravelling the puzzle is to look at the wider historical backdrop to the emergence and perhaps decline of ARSW.

The politics of 'race'

Building on wider insights of racism discussed in Chapter Two, in the first half of this I outline some of the manifestations of racism in social work. Yet, in order to gain a fuller appreciation of the processes through which these critiques and understandings of racism emerged, one needs to identify the wider social and political context in which anti-racist struggles unfold, in society in general and social work in particular. Accordingly, in the following section I intend to map the way that a local and national

politics of race informed and was informed by the development of anti-racist praxis (ideas and actions). In doing so, I wish to establish the particular role that local and national policy-making processes played in producing racism and also ways in which black communities in particular, and anti-racist activists in general, sought to respond. This section deals with two specific historical periods, which I characterise as the periods preceding and following the Scarman report into widespread inner race riots/uprisings in 1981.

Pre-Scarman and the birth of a social movement (1970's and early 1980's) - In the face of unrelenting and endemic white racism, around the early to mid 1970's, a new social movement began to emerge in Britain. This movement was primarily made up of black individuals who had lost faith in the labour and trade union movement's willingness and/or capacity to address seriously the question of 'race' and racism. Whilst it would be wrong to suggest that Black people in Britain had up to this point accepted the inevitability of racism - indeed, there were, as Fryer (1984) documents, numerous instances of black resistance to racial harassment and attacks throughout the twentieth century - the 1970's represented the emergence of a particular kind of anti-racist and anti-fascist movement. Perhaps the most successful of these was the Anti-Nazi League, formed in 1977, whose prime concern was with directly confronting right wing racist parties like the National Front (Ben-Tovim et al., 1986).

At a local level, as touched on in Chapters One and Two, black and white activists began to organise ad hoc committees to fight campaigns against racist attacks, police harassment, and deportations (Sivanandan, 1990). Numerous black youth organisations and movements mushroomed across the urban conurbations of the UK. Black people in general, and black youth in particular, decided that they would no longer tolerate being treated as second class citizens; the slogan "here to stay here to fight, black and white unite and fight!" became the rallying call of this new resistance to racism (CCCS, 1982; Gilroy, 1987a; Solomos, 1989; Solomos and Back, 1996). In the face of black resistance to a

policy requiring them to abandon their cultural, religious and linguistic heritage, coupled with the vivid memories of anti-colonial/independence struggles and the invocations of black radicals like Fanon and Malcolm X, assimilation, even if desirable, was unlikely to succeed (Sivanandan, 1990).

The failure to arrest the ongoing and increasing levels of exclusion and discrimination based clearly on the racial marker of skin colour (Smith, 1974), and the inevitable emergence of organised resistance¹³ mostly centred on immigration controls, discrimination in employment, police harassment and racial violence, led to the abandonment of the policy and by the late 1970's, official British government policy was replaced by a pluralist approach, in which concessions on discrimination by the government were often conditional on imposing more restrictive immigration controls targeted exclusively at black immigration to the UK. This policy, being replicated to some extent with asylum seekers and refugees in the present period, was based on the bizarre logic that the only way to eradicate racial discrimination was to appease white racism, whilst at the same time conceding to certain demands to outlaw racial discrimination made by black communities. In short, it was a new approach to facilitating the integration (note, not assimilation) of black communities. As Roy Hattersley, the then Labour Home Secretary stated:

Without limitation, integration is impossible, without integration limitation is inexcusable...[therefore what is needed is] cultural diversity, coupled with equal opportunity, in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance' (quoted in Rose, 1969 p229).

¹³ For example, the Indian Workers Association, Asian Youth Movement, Newham Monitoring Project, 'Race Today' Collective, Black Sections within Labour and Trade Union Organisations, Southall Black Sisters, and numerous local black defence committees mushroomed during this period to fight both state racism and extreme right fascist groups.

In sum, the thrust of policy throughout the 1970's was based on a 'race relations paradigm' (see Chapter Two) that viewed racism as a natural product of an encounter with one 'race' and another, with ignorance of the 'other' being at the root of the problem. This ideology was reflected in the framing of legislation, which, although instituted to outlaw 'race' discrimination, was titled the 1976 'Race Relations Act'. The absence of any serious challenge to white racism, particularly that practised by government agencies such as the police, meant that throughout the late 1970's tensions between black communities and the police in particular were deteriorating.

Post-Scarman and the New Right (1980's to mid 1990's) - Given the short sightedness of the policies being pursued, not surprisingly, the resulting tensions increased to a point where, during the summer of 1981, we saw widespread rioting in cities with significant black minority populations across the UK (see Ben-Tovim et al, 1986; Saggarr, 1992; Sivanandan, 1990; Solomos and Back, 1996). The aftermath of the inner city uprisings of 1981 saw the rise of a particular brand of 'anti-racism'; one that was both sponsored by the state and primarily located within its institutions. The project was founded on the premise that the problem of racism could be eradicated through a well intentioned, dual strategy of opening up equal opportunities to black people and changing the attitudes of white people, particularly those in key decision-making positions. Sivanandan (1990) depicts this moment as representing a clear hegemonic move by the state through a clever strategy of incorporation and fragmentation:

And it is then – after the burning of Brixton and Toxteth and Southall - that Thatcher sends for Scarman to rescue ethnicity for the Tory Party and create another tranche of the ethnic petit-bourgeoisie. (Sivanandan, 1990 p70)

Thus, the subtext to this project was of a struggle between Labour councils (the Greater London Council being the prime example) in whose areas the uprisings took

place, and the Conservative Government, which was in the middle of the most radical political project seen in this country since the advent of the Welfare State (Hall and Jacques, 1982). The Labour Party became aware that, unless it adopted some of their concerns, black people might choose to withdraw their traditional loyalty. At the same time, the Conservative Party, following the implementation of the final piece in the jigsaw of the 1981 Nationality Act which sought to put to an end all primary black immigration to this country from the ex colonies, had its own dilemma. The Conservatives realised that there was a price to be paid for implementing such a racist piece of legislation. They too felt some obligation to a pluralistic agenda. At a more cynical level they also realised the potential impact of 'an end to the immigration debate'. There was a need to fill the void. The language of 'the Other', of 'immigrants' and 'aliens' needed updating. The Right needed to reconstruct a new racialised discourse that was equally potent in its ability to ferment the latent white racist vote bank. In short, a new 'race' card which didn't refer to 'race' directly was required. Consistent with the broader shift of New Right ideology and a crisis of 'Englishness' the debate around immigration and assimilation was transformed into a new debate around ethnicity, culture and nation (Hall, 1982).

Somewhat paradoxically, it was precisely the demand for pluralism that provided the opportunity for the 'New Right' to construct a 'new racism'. This new manifestation of racism was to be based on the misplaced, but very powerful notion that, if preservation of cultural identity was important for minority black communities, then one could not argue if members of the majority, white, British community also expressed such sentiments. Put simply, purity of 'culture' replaced purity of 'blood' ('race') as the ideological ingredient for constructing a new English racism, so clearly expressed by Margaret Thatcher in the following press interview, later to be repeated on national television:

If we went on as we are, then by the end of the century there would be four million people of the New Commonwealth or Pakistan here. Now that is an awful lot and I think it means that people are really rather afraid that this country might be swamped by people with a different culture. And, you know, the British character has done so much for democracy, for law, and done so much throughout the world, that if there is a fear that it might be swamped, people are going to react and be rather hostile to those coming in. (*Margaret Thatcher, Daily Mail, 31/1/78*)

Given that Britain was historically a place of migration, most notably from Ireland and many countries within Europe, the presence of black people simply highlighted the fact that Britain was indeed a society made up of different ethnic/cultural communities and traditions. However, the new departure was that this reality was now officially recognised in the emergence of multiculturalism as the new policy paradigm which 'was premised upon the recognition of cultural diversity within a conceptual framework wherein tolerance was promoted as a social virtue' (Husband, 1995 p92). In effect, the advent of multiculturalism did little more than provide (white) politicians, civil servants, and local government officers with an opportunity to devote their energies to establishing public relations rather than justice and equality. This one dimensional, almost frozen, rendering of the complexities of the lives and aspirations of black people did nothing but recast the concept of 'race'. In short, 'multicultural society' became analogous, not with an equal society, but an alternative one¹⁴.

The social work response to multiculturalism was either to do nothing at all or employ interpreters and/or send white staff on courses to learn about the language and customs of their ethnic service users. Above all, this policy did little to address the real issue of social justice and human and citizen rights and, not surprisingly led to increasing

¹⁴ One needs to be careful not to assume that multiculturalism is a monolithic idea; indeed, some writers have listed anti-racism as a component of multiculturalism (see Bonnett, 2000).

frustrations and tensions between black communities and the state. In the face of the 1981 riots/uprisings, and the ongoing criticisms from radical black activists and academics (CCCS, 1982, Sivanandan, 1990), we saw a discernable shift in the rhetoric from multiculturalism to anti-racism as the preferred policy framework best suited to tackle the unresolved antagonisms between black communities and the British state.

A direct result of the Scarman report was the establishment of 'race' equality policies and 'racism awareness training' (see later). However, Scarman's limited analysis of the problem of racism, which was primarily understood to be because of prejudiced attitudes, proved to be a major obstacle. His diagnosis of the problem reflected a behavioural model that had little resonance with any the sociological critiques discussed in Chapter Two. Gilroy (1987) characterised this approach a 'coat of paint' theory of racism, in which racism was understood as an aberration or wart on the surface of an otherwise decent society. It follows that anti-racism was needed simply to rub off the paint. Sivanandan (1990) suggests that the true intent of this policy was to assimilate black people into the social structure, in order to create a sufficiently large black middle class to defuse charges of structural racism. Nevertheless, the so-called 'equal opportunities' agenda of the 1980's, whilst perhaps not making any significant structural changes did, for some black people change, not only their perception of the state, but also their relationship to it. From my own personal experience, I know many of the leading community activists, during the early 1980's, were rapidly assimilated into the state, often employed as 'race' experts in policy development, training and personnel roles, as well as front line service delivery.

A major policy objective, emanating directly from Scarman's analysis of racism, was the retraining of white managers and professionals to 'unlearn racism' through 'racism awareness training' (RAT) courses (Dominelli, 1988). These courses were mostly based on a pedagogy built on a psychological model of racism. Racism, it was argued, is the product of personal prejudice plus power. Prejudice is the product of socialisation and

negative stereotyping and developing awareness of negative stereotypes, powerful people can begin to unlearn prejudice, which in turn will begin to unravel institutional and individual racism (Katz, 1978). Notwithstanding Katz's warning that, given stereotyped images of black people were so deep rooted in the white psyche, prejudice may never be totally overcome, the main attraction of the model was its simplicity. Indeed, after initial resistance and apprehension, this type of training became fashionable. Why should this be? For some, RAT represented a sincere personal commitment to learning about racism; for others it became a form of therapeutic intervention, for treating white guilt. Most cynically, for others, RAT was a necessary obstacle in the way of promotion, which they needed to clear.

Ironically, RAT became the target of criticism from both the right and the left. For the right, RAT was synonymous with political correctness (PC) which was demonising good people (see later discussion on the end of anti-racism). For the left the underpinning analysis of racism (see Chapter Two) was simplistic at best, and at worst, totally misplaced (Gurnah, 1984; Sivanandan, 1985). Given that the primary emphasis of RAT was on the individual, the very concept of state social work, the body of knowledge from which it gained its legitimisation, and the tools of its practice, were all relatively untouched when it came to locating racism. Whilst agreeing with many aspects of the Katz model, Dominelli (1988) in her 'anti-racism awareness model' draws an important distinction by advocating a more expansive notion of power. For Dominelli (1988), power is exercised by all white people to varying degrees, so all have a responsibility to tackle racism. Further, she argues for an approach that builds an analysis of gender and class, for each impacts on the power one may have. Despite the various pedagogical differences, most models of ARSW have consistently asserted that, given that British society, and its institutions, and by implication social work, were endemically racist (CCETSW 1991a), that, whilst black people may harbour prejudiced attitudes, only white people could be truly racist.

The New Right backlash - Progressing through the 1980's and into the 1990's there was a gradual waning of institutional commitment to what Law (1996) termed 'municipal anti-racism'. Specialist 'race' equality units were either being absorbed into mainstream structures or disbanded altogether. The more timid language of 'equal opportunities' and 'managing diversity' began to supplant the political discourse of anti-racism (Tomlinson and Trew, 2002).

In terms of social work education, perhaps the most active site for anti-racist activism, we saw the, disbanding of the Black Perspectives Committee established by CCETSW in the light of its earlier commitment to anti-racism. Coupled with this was the rewriting of the competencies for social work enshrined in Paper 30 (CCETSW 1995) to rid them of any reference to anti-racism or anti-racist practice (Tomlinson and Trew, 2002). Whilst many DipSW courses remained committed to recruiting black students, we began to witness the stalling of anti-racism, both as a limited project within social work and in society as a whole. The question one needs to pose is, why did this happen?

First, in terms of process, mistakes were made in not paying enough attention to explaining the need for anti-racist change. For example, for some trainers, RAT became an excuse to insult white professionals and little or no attention was paid to the human element involved in promoting adult learning.

Second, there was a general backlash against what became popularised as a new authoritarianism, in the guise of PC. Of course, it would be foolish and simplistic to suggest that this was the only reason for the backlash; nevertheless, one cannot escape from the proposition that some of it was self-inflicted. Compelling critiques, rightly identify how the PC backlash represented a clever, but not altogether surprising, strategy by the opponents of anti-racism to discredit the reasonable demands made by black people for equality and justice (Jones 1992, Singh 1993, Dominelli, 1996).

The backlash against ARSW can be very specifically traced back to 1992, and the advent of Paper 30, the rules and regulations governing social work educations and

training and the new Diploma in Social Work. Yet, almost at once, we saw a wave of vitriolic attacks on Paper 30, and the requirements within it emphasising the centrality of ARSW (see Robert Pinker, *Times Higher Education Supplement* 10/9/93; *Daily Mail* 2/8/93; Melanie Phillips, *Observer*, 1/8/93; Barbara Amiel, *Sunday Times*, 11/10/92; Bryan Appleyard, *Independent*, 4/8/93). The main theme running throughout all these articles was a charge that Paper 30 represented a successful attempt by politically motivated anti-racists to hijack social work for ideological reasons and that social work, in its endeavours to counter oppression, had adopted oppression as key strategy. As Melanie Philips, writing in the *Observer*, noted:

What's going on in university social work departments is nothing to do with improving the lot of black people. The drive to eradicate all politically incorrect attitudes on race, gender oppression and the rest is quite simply an abuse of power. (*Observer* 1/8/93)

Paper 30 was seen as a subversive charter and various social work courses were identified as the arenas where this ideological project was taking shape. A manifestation of this was seen to be a victimisation of all those who refused to, as it were, 'sign up' to the charter. Robert Pinker, for example, painted a near Orwellian picture of coercion and control:

unless training colleges toe the ideological line they will not be licensed and unless social work students do likewise they will not get their qualification....students spend so much time on ideology that they end up ill-prepared to deal with people's real problems. (*Daily Mail* 2/8/93)

One of the central objections was a section in Paper 30 that suggested the existence of 'endemic' and 'institutional racism' in British society. This was dismissed as slanderous and without substance, and according to Brian Appleyard (*Independent*, 4/8/93), a truer reflection of Britain would be 'a society relatively free from racist tension'. He went on to conclude that the British 'might reasonably congratulate ourselves for being the most anti-racist culture on earth'. Ironically, in the post-MacPherson period, some 10 years after these claims, the idea of institutional racism became widely accepted amongst all spectrums of political opinion.

In the New Right culture of managerialism, privatisation and cuts, the implications for the training and education of professionals became clear; control had to be vested away from the legions of PC radical professionals and academics, in the hands of managers. The public vilification of social workers and other public sector professionals most notably teachers, during the 1980's and 1990's, provided an ideal pretext for this strategy. The resultant employer-driven competency model for the education and training of social workers, and the slow but sure bleaching out of the political nature of professional practice, was almost inevitable (Dominelli, 1996).

The way that this political challenge was managed is worth reflecting on. There was no Chinese-style cultural revolution or purging of anti-racists on any grand scale. Through the 1990's we witnessed increasing control of social work by managers and technocrats heading the new social service bureaucracies and, increasingly, private care consortia. Despite the rhetoric of participation and consultation, the new regulatory regimes under the New Right were responsive to the needs for flexible care management and the need to implement cuts in services. Hence, there was to be no critical theoretical basis to social work training - far more threatening, I would argue, than endless encounter groups examining interpersonal oppression. And there would be a denial of the traditions of empowering practice that Ward and Mullender (1991) talk about, other

than highly depoliticised forms. The triumph of 'New Managerialism' in social work has been more erosive of critical praxis than any other development.

New Labour and the 'Third Way' (1990's to present) - Whilst, as argued above, the character of 'social work' began to shift decisively from the late 1980's, under the 'modernisation agenda' (DoH, 1998), there can be little doubt that the transformation of social work, and by default ARSW, has been dramatically accelerated within the project of the 'Third Way' (Jordan, 2002). Though the Conservative Party collapsed electorally in 1997, the fundamental building blocks on which welfare has been restructured have been consolidated and developed by New Labour. Indeed, it may be no exaggeration to argue that the policy of the 'Third Way' has actually attempted to marshal 'Neo-Liberalism' in a form of ideological coherence even more ambitious than the New Right. The dominant theme of social policy in health and welfare provision continues to be defined in terms of a public policy agenda designed to reduce the role of the state through a strategy of commodification and privatisation (Dominelli and Hoogvelt, 1996). Just as the endless reorganisations of public services, begun in earnest in the late 1990s, have come to constitute a 'permanent managerial revolution', so the need to win both the public at large, as well as the staff working within welfare, to 'the cause' continues. It is in this sense that one has to understand that the Blairite project of 'modernization' 'is directed at 'the meanings of welfare and the state as well as to the policy and organizational structures to which they refer' (Clarke et al., 2000 p3).

A key strand of this new agenda, against the backdrop of decades of the vilification of social work, sometimes for incompetence relating to deaths of children in care, at others for being overly concerned with political correctness, is the divesting of 'social work' of any kind of autonomy from the bureaucracies of the state, which, was an important context in for ARSW to developed in the first place. Jordan (2002) characterises this changed role as being essentially an instrument for the imposition of government rules, based on the quasi-scientific application of research findings (p10). Moreover, the

development of inter-professional working, leading towards the merging of social care and health services in the establishment of NHS Care Trusts must be viewed with some scepticism. Whilst opening up possibilities for black and white anti-racists within different sectors to develop a new praxis, the more likely scenario is that the values of health service practices, that have tended to be centered on individualism, will erode further the social and political models critical to sustaining ARSW, that have developed within social work (Humphries 1998),

The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry - Another important aspect of the contemporary policy context is the MacPherson report into the death of Stephen Lawrence, and the re-emergence of a discourse of 'institutional racism', first raised by Lord Scarman, some twenty years earlier following the riots of 1981. Defined by MacPherson (1999) as 'the collective failure of an organisation to provide an appropriate and professional service to people because of their colour, culture, or ethnic origin' (Sec 6.34), the issue of 'race' was one more placed on the centre stage of policy and practice. In interrogating not only the experiences of black people but also the workings of the Metropolitan Police Force, MacPherson found that, although the experience of racism can be brutal, the workings are very often extremely subtle, hidden and more pervasive than was ever imagined by Scarman. As a direct consequence of the Stephen Lawrence report (MacPherson, 1999), as a means of providing new impetus for race equality, New Labour introduced the Race Relations Amendment Act (2000)

Historically speaking, it is a fact that following Scarman, as outlined above, spaces for concerned individuals and organisations to engage in anti-racist change did open up. Ironically, following a systematic vilifying anti-racist social workers for defining British society as endemically and institutionally racist (CCETSW Paper 30, 1991a), following MacPherson, politicians of all shades of political opinion were all too eager to publicly accept the central charge that racism was endemic to the institutions of British society. A cynical view may hold that, given the widespread public sentiment supporting the

Lawrence family in their campaign for justice, anything less than an unequivocal acceptance of the central charge of institutionalised racism would have been tantamount to political suicide. On the other hand, the argument that the reaction to the death of Stephen Lawrence affirmed a general public dislike of racism, and by implication a yearning for a more equal and just society, is not to be taken lightly. Nonetheless, following an initial burst of political fanfare, with some suggesting that MacPherson represented 'a defining moment in race relations' (*The Economist*, 27th Feb 1999) there is every indication that much of the impetus is flagging. Indeed, a recent publication by Marianne Fitzgerald, a former Home Office advisor suggests that we may in fact be seeing a 'white backlash' (*Guardian*, Friday June 1, 2001).

Anti-racist social work: policies, politics and practices.

The previous section focused on the development of policy responses in the face of social and political changes. I began to establish the relationship between institutional racism, and the developments of forms of resistance, ranging from direct action, including violent civil disobedience, through to challenges to the inherently Eurocentric bias in, for example, social work theories and practices. I also pointed out how that the employment of black social workers, as well as generating new manifestations of oppression, established an important dialectic from which ARSW theory and practice becomes envisaged. In this final section, I will develop a discussion about how anti-racism in general, and ARSW in particular, have become conceptualised.

There are many ways in which one can begin to understand anti-racism and for precisely this reason it could be argued that this conflation has rendered the concept redundant. In other words, as a means of articulating any precise methodology for meaningful opposition to racism and the construction of a non-racist society, anti-racism has little relevance. Solomos and Back (1996) suggest that the lack of research on anti-

racism - in contrast to race and ethnicity (my emphasis) – may be one reason why we have ended up with this state of affairs:

With few notable exceptions there have been few attempts to untangle the rather divergent meanings which the notion of anti-racism has come to encompass in recent years, or provide a clear analytic framework for analysing ideas and practices that are associated with it. (Solomos and Back, 1996 p106)

In contrast to France, where anti-racism, over time, became firmly entrenched within debates about civil and political rights (see Lloyd, 1998), in Britain, within public discourses, anti-racism has always been viewed in ways that are more benign; as a means of promoting community relations or community cohesion and tolerance (Cantle 2001) rather than being a political force. This is not to suggest that it has not had a political dimension. To the contrary, British anti-racism, in some ways, has come to represent an important social movement, even if the sphere of this movement has been somewhat restricted, focused mainly on the public sector. The important distinction is that most of the radical anti-racist work done in the UK has centred on the activities of the left and of black workers collectivities.

Thus, British anti-racism is perhaps best understood as an attempt, primarily by black activists from the late 1970's onwards, to develop a new critical praxis, born out of a politics of engagement on a number of different fronts, namely, immigration, racial violence, police harassment, education and state social work. The practice of anti-racism can be understood as an activity or set of activities that directly set out to challenge racist oppression, which itself can be understood in terms of two components: individual actions and intentions ranging from very subtle forms of marginalisation and prejudice to verbal and physical abuse and violence; and oppressive institutional and social practices covering, both the way in which society is organised and resourced and the ideologies

and common sense belief systems that lead to the pathological characterisation of individuals and communities. Of course, these formulations are able to offer only a partial understanding. A whole set of questions about the contingent nature of 'race', racism and anti-racism, both as social categories and as discursive practices, go unanswered in this analysis.

As a set of political ideas and practices, the concepts of 'race' and 'anti-racism' have undergone numerous transitions over the past 30 years (Solomos and Back, 1996). This has resulted in the field being littered with many different theoretical propositions, each one pointing towards a different and often contradictory way forward (Lloyd 1998 p245). For some, this is not necessarily a problem. Banton (1991), for example, seems to imply that an eclectic approach can reap positive benefits. For him, the development of various anti-racist paradigms is important, as each is able to provide a distinctive account of the processes involving the attribution of specific meanings to what he terms 'racial situations' (see Chapter Two)

Anti-racism can therefore be broadly understood in two distinct ways: First, it can be seen to represent a coherent political project, born out of black community activism in the 1970's and 80's. As outlined in Chapter Two, this view, associated particularly with the work of Sivanandan and the journal *Race and Class*, argues that political 'black' identity was mobilised to offer Asian, African-Caribbean and other visible minority communities in the UK¹⁵ a basis for collectivising their struggles against racism.

The other perspective offers an altogether different approach. Here, anti-racism becomes understood as a descriptive term, within which disparate, both complementary and contradictory ideas and practices reside. Bonnett (2000) uses anti-racism as a catch-all

¹⁵ Interestingly, Sivanandan (1983) has even suggested that, given the commonalities between Irish people's experience of racism and those of Afro-Caribbean, Asian and African people, they too should be classified as 'black' people. See also Curtis (1971) who shows how Irish people, became subject to the same dehumanising racialisation processes and economic exploitation as Africans and Asians, throughout the colonial period.

phrase to include a whole range of activities, including, anti-fascist work, the celebration of diversity and the confronting of prejudicial behaviours. Interestingly, he terms the version that seeks to confront power structures as 'radical anti-racism' (Bonnett, 2000 p85). Husband (1995) also draws attention to the multifarious nature of anti-racism. However, in contrast to Bonnett, he makes a clear distinction between what might be termed a 'self conscious' anti-racism in which one has a personal dislike towards racial prejudice, and an anti-racism rooted in the practice of community organisations and voluntary groups, fighting for resources and civil rights.

Conceptualising anti-racist social work - Whilst ARSW was clearly inspired, as I will later discuss, by community action, ARSW, for Husband, represents an important but limited project born out of the British state's response to black demands for social justice:

Here we are talking about anti-racism as an analytic perspective and a paradigm for policy formulation which emerged from the past experience of British policy responses to becoming a multi-ethnic society (Husband 1995 p91).

Whereas black people's struggles have been critical to securing social and political change, it needs to be stated that, within social work, the ongoing promotion of anti-racism has been, and continues to be, shared amongst committed black and white practitioners. Indeed, the broad anti-racist social community is far from a homogeneous collectivity and both black and white practitioners tend to utilise a wide range of theoretical and moral frameworks for their practice (Husband, 1995).

According to Knowles (1990), identifying the precise practices that disadvantage black people and dealing with these is what ARSW is really about. Because ARSW is a product of historical, social and political processes, it is insufficient to reduce it to a task of developing appropriate models of practice, however compatible this may be with the current emphasis on formulaic approaches to social work. Whilst this line of argument

has considerable appeal and perhaps summarises the dominant approach to anti-racist social work as it is currently practised, there is one serious problem with it, namely, to reduce the historical problem of racism to the realms of 'technical accomplishment', thereby diminishing the complex ideological, moral and political aspects.

Perhaps the clearest example of this process is the issue of 'same race' versus 'trans-racial' adoption (ABSWAP, 1983). Leaving aside the relative merits of the argument, even posing the terms makes certain assumptions about the nature of human populations. What, for example, is meant by the term 'race'? Is one proposing a biological construction, or is one adopting a constructivist approach? With this and others example, such as the demand for separate provision, or the promotion of ethnic difference to particular understandings of black family functioning, to advocating placing black students with BPTs, unless one is absolutely clear on what basis one may adopt such positions, the theory of anti-racism comes dangerously close to the theory of 'racism'. Tizzard and Phoenix (2002), commenting on the needs of children of mixed parentage, for example, make the point that fixed notions of identity run the danger of denying, or pathologising the heterogeneity of identity as well as obscuring other divisions with black communities around gender, age, social class and place of upbringing. Similarly, Barn (1999), warns against models of ARSW that lose sight of the bigger picture, or that, in seeking to highlight the problems of black children and families, inadvertently end up simply constructing and reinforcing racist stereotypes:

black children on the whole should not be perceived as objects of pity, as pathological beings who are experiencing grave psychological problems. Such a framework that labels an entire group as a problem is oppressive and highly problematic in itself.
(Barn, 1999 p8)

Conclusion

ARSW can be understood in two distinct ways: first, it can be understood as a politically grounded project, representing a set of coherent ideas, politics or practices, built around various Marxist critiques of the state and its role in the production and reproduction of racism. Second, ARSW can be understood as a descriptive term within which disparate, both complementary and contradictory ideas and practices reside. Social work in general is evaluated as a historically contested and ambiguous activity often representing disparate and competing interests, between, for example, the state's imperative to regulate deviant populations in the interests of national integration, on the one hand, and the interests of oppressed groups and individuals, on the other. Given these constraints, perhaps a more limited and pragmatic ARSW may be appropriate. However in seeking to develop ARSW, one should not lose sight of the fact that, whatever formulation this takes, to a lesser or greater degree, it will be conditioned by the general construction of social work within specific social and political contexts. For example, even though the rhetoric of social work, of user empowerment, anti-oppressive practice and social justice looms large, the reality, within the shrinking confines of New Managerialism and the 'Third Way', is somewhat different.

Yet, as the Stephen Lawrence enquiry exposed, structured racism remains deeply embedded in the fabric of British society. Therefore, something will need to be done and as long as racism remains, anti-racism in some form will be necessary. Clearly, any ARSW project which entertains the idea that we can simply do away with racism is unrealistic. The test then, perhaps, for the viability or otherwise of ARSW will not be whether we now have a social work service purged of racism, but to what extent its protagonists can sustain a dialectical imagination and political commitment for change. Over the past twenty years, this imagination has been built around three key pillars, namely: the mobilisation of the category 'black' which could be seen to represent the best opportunity for opposing white racism; the theorising of race and racism located within a

Marxist structuralist analysis of contemporary class and race formations; and the belief in the possibility of the state (including the professions) being able to deliver race equality and justice.

The literature examined in this chapter would suggest that, whilst change has taken place, there is still good reason to be concerned about the impact of structural, cultural and individual racism on black students, workers and service users. Within social work, the clearest evidence of progress is the substantial black presence in many SSDs, albeit mostly at the lower rungs of the organisational ladder. However, the joint SSI/Audit Commission reviews of SSDs across the country in 1999 paint a less rosy picture, highlighting inadequacies in many aspects of service delivery to black communities. Moreover, the continued over-representation of black people in the 'controlling' services', such as juvenile justice and secure hospitals, and under-representation in mainstream support services is a source of real concern (Simpson, 1999).

At a time where ARSW, for all the reasons outlined above has experienced 'a dramatic loss in confidence' (Williams, 1999 p211), where it has been subjected to criticism from all quarters and political opinion, it would be foolish not to acknowledge that something has gone awry. Whilst problems of racism in social work remain, wider shifts in theory, policy and practice, some of which have been touched upon in this chapter, mean that, new ways of conceptualising ARSW will need to be developed. Chapter Four will focus on some of these new contexts, most notably, postmodernism, postcolonial theory and emergence of a discourse of AOP and ADP, and what implications these have for re-imagining ARSW.

CHAPTER FOUR

POSTMODERNISM, ANTI-RACISM AND ANTI-OPPRESSIVE PRACTICE

Rational anti-racism has no choice. It has to navigate between the Scylla of universalism and the Charybdis of differentialism and to encourage the continual and pragmatic search for an articulation of the two registers. (Michel Wieviorka, 1997: p 149)

Introduction

In Chapter Three I argued that, whilst representing a set of disparate activities, ARSW was predicated on three central ideas: a theory premised on a historical analysis of racism as a set of practices/processes, ideologies/discourses and structures, produced and reproduced over time, resulting in the oppression of black people by white people; a politics of resistance or a social movement built around the mobilisation the political 'black' identity; and an anti-racist practice within state social work built around a combination of pedagogic strategies, organisational policies and the employment of black workers. I also set out an analysis of how this project unfolded and because of the Conservative New Right backlash in the first instance, and New Labour 'Managerialism' in the second, how the possibilities for anti-racist activity within state social work became increasingly problematic. In doing so, I drew attention to the ambivalence associated with working 'in and against' a profession located within the state. In this context, ARSW has served as a powerful case study for critically examining the discourses of 'race', racism and anti-racism in the UK over the past 30 years.

Despite the development of many policy initiatives, as the literature examined in Chapter Three demonstrates, racism remains a major concern and black service users and workers remain subject to a wide array of discriminatory processes. Yet things have not stood still. Local, national and global developments have led to important shifts in the

discourses of 'race' no less significant than those heralded by the emergence of the sociological paradigm during the post war years (Chapter Two). Specifically, as a basis for constructing racialised subjects and systems of 'racial' subordination and exclusion, the category 'race' has been gradually displaced by 'ethnicity' and 'religion' (Lewis, 1998). What has led to these shifts is a complex question although there can be little denying that new waves of migrant labour, asylum seeker communities, resurgence of far right activities, the fragmentation of communities and Islamaphobia all have some import on the way 'racism', and by association anti-racism, has/is being reinterpreted. Amongst other things, the emergence of 'new racisms', placed alongside previous 'forms', has produced an altogether more complex picture (Bhattacharyya et al., 2002).

In sum, the primary task of this chapter is to theorise these new conditions and to discuss the implications for developing ARSW. Within this overall aim, the chapter has three specific objectives:

- to assess the efficacy of postmodernism for theorising the mechanics of racism, both in its classical and new manifestations;
- to identify the problems and possibilities that insights gained from postmodernism offer for reconstructing an ARSW project;
- to assess the relationship between ARSW and anti-oppressive practice (AOP)

The chapter is in four sections. It begins with a general discussion of postmodernism and its capacity for uncovering the insidious and often concealed nature of power. Here, I link in post-colonial theory, for not only has it become an important source for anti-racist thinking, many of the key theorists draw considerably on postmodern analysis. I then outline some of the main critiques of postmodernism before developing a discussion of the way postmodernism has informed anti-racism, in general, and ARSW in particular. The chapter concludes with a critical examination of AOP and the opportunities and threats that this presents for the development of ARSW. Whilst it would be wrong to

suggest that all advocates of AOP reflect a postmodernist agenda¹⁶, nonetheless, I will examine how postmodernist ideas have, in part, influenced the shift from ARP to AOP.

What is postmodernism?

Given that postmodernists tend to argue about the illusive and contingent nature of truth and meaning, any attempt at defining postmodernism must be undertaken with some caution. According to Lyotard (1984), the notion of the postmodern' or postmodernity refers to a historical break from the past, from 'the modern'. This break commenced towards the end of the nineteenth century and was characterised by cultural shift in the realms of literature, science and arts whereby the idea that knowledge and history could be understood according to some overarching framework or 'metanarratives' becomes increasingly problematic. In much of the literature the terms 'postmodernism' and 'postmodernity' are often used interchangeably; although there are clear links to be made there are also some important distinctions as well. Owen (1997) suggests at least four different ways in which the term 'postmodernism' is used:

- as a social and political ideology corresponding to the conditions of postmodernity;
- a set of social and cultural beliefs ;
- as a philosophical position;
- as a critique of foundationalism, which characterises Enlightenment rationalism and universalism (1997 p14).

To confuse matters further, Giddens (1990) suggests that, 'whilst postmodernity is now widely associated with questioning the foundations of the 'western cannon' and 'western civilisation', within the context of a challenge posed by new social and ecological movements (feminism, anti-racism, sexual liberation, environmentalism and so on...),

¹⁶ This is particularly demonstrated in the way local and central government policies on race, gender, disability etc are gradually becoming incorporated into overarching equality and diversity frameworks.

postmodernity 'was widely accepted to mean the replacement of capitalism by socialism' (Giddens, 1990 p46). Clearly, this view is somewhat dated and a more accurate characterisation of political context of postmodernity can be seen as the dissolution of 'old style' capitalism and its re-emergence in more sinuous forms (see Rainbow, 1984).

Notwithstanding the definitional problems, most accounts of postmodernism are characterised by a general critique of Western philosophic thought in relation to the human subject, history, ontology and epistemology. Whilst there are many accounts of postmodernism within most of the academic disciplines, from the humanities, arts, social sciences, through to philosophy and theology, my primary focus here is with those formulations that have some direct bearing on social and political theory and social work as a discipline. Within the sphere of social and political theory, postmodernists coming from a Marxist trajectory, sometimes referred to a 'neo-Marxists' or 'post-Marxists', call into question enlightenment values such as rationality and progress, which they see as masking the brutal and oppressive nature of modern industrial capitalist organisation. Bauman (1989) graphically illustrates this in his account of the systematic extermination of Jews, Gypsies, mentally and physically disabled, and other 'outcaste' people under the Third Reich¹⁷. By questioning the claims of the European enlightenment philosophers, of the possibility of truth, reason and knowledge existing as objective, reliable, and universal, postmodernists have sought to highlight the relationships between discourse and power in order to show how ideological and linguistic constructions of particular groups operate to alienate, control and oppress peoples (Foucault, 1980).

Postmodernism, power and discourse

¹⁷ Otto and Sunker (1989) provide a detailed account of how and why social workers adopted the new order and through technological rationality, routinisation and 'competence' professionals, including social workers, were incorporated into the project of National Socialism.

One of the clearest articulations of power within postmodernism comes from the work of Michele Foucault. By examining institutions such as hospitals, asylums and prisons, Foucault was able to offer insights into the mechanisms of dominance within modern societies. The dominant metaphors replete in his work, of, 'incarceration', 'surveillance' and 'regulation', illustrate the way human beings were dehumanised and oppressed. His overall view of history was that, rather than representing a series of 'real' events, historical accounts must be read as a series of 'fictions' and different perspectives on 'reality'. Postmodernists tend to be suspicious of a view of history as a linear process or 'grand narrative' in which events are filtered, hierarchised and ordered in the name of accumulating true accounts of the past (Sarup, 1993). Since there is no absolute truth in history, then all we can gain from studying historical texts is to know how people come think about things the way they do, and how this helps us to know more about the nature of our present (Foucault, 1984). To do this Foucault engages in the praxis of 'genealogy', a form of critical reflection, what he calls a 'critical ontology of our selves', constituting an invitation to uncover the layers of meaning projected through a wide range of discursive processes that construct and shape the meanings of everyday life (1984).

So, for example, in *'Madness and Civilisation'* Foucault sets out how from the late seventeenth century increased state power meant that mad people were put into institutions; the debate changed from whether mad people were 'magical' to whether they were 'criminal'. Eventually, such behaviour became territorialized into a 'discipline' or a system of knowledge which functions as a regime of truth; hence, madness began to be seen as a medical problem to be treated. Another important metaphor for Foucault (1977) is that of the 'asylum' which, for him, represents the way the modern state imposes surveillance and control over populations, particularly targeting those deemed to be most deviant. The mechanisms of power that exist in modern institutions (asylums, barracks, schools, prisons, hospitals, universities and so) could be applied to society as a whole; they are all ways in which power can and does replicate itself.

Postmodernism also seeks to describe the emergence of a social order in which the power of the mass media and popular culture results in them governing and shaping all other forms of social relationships. Cultural and media images increasingly dominate our sense of reality and the way we define ourselves and our relationships with others. This implies that the distinction between reality and simulation is ever diminishing and that objectivity and the pursuit of truth are impossible goals (Baudrillard, 1998). Therefore, power not only resides in the relations between classes in the Marxist sense, but is also to be found in variety of discourses that shape our lives i.e. those that discipline, 'normalise' and 'naturalise' human relations.

Further, the notion of 'discourse' occupies a central location in postmodernist ideas about the nature of human social relations. Broadly speaking, the concept is used to express the relationship between ideas, practices and ways of constructing knowledge, and how these work together to determine human behaviour. Foucault is at pains to distance his concept of discourse from conventional interpretations. For him, discourse is much more than the arrangements of words and language; it is the totality from which subjects speak or not, gain legitimacy or not and have status or not. By illustration, he uses the example of the way medical doctors exercise power through discourse.

Who, among the totality of speaking individuals, is accorded the right to use this sort of language (medical - emphasis added)? Who is qualified to do so? Who derives from it his own special quality, his prestige, and from whom, in return, does he receive, if not the assurance at least the presumption that what he says is true? What is the status of the individuals who - alone - have the right, sanctioned by law or tradition, juridically defined or spontaneously accepted, to proffer such a discourse? (Foucault, 1972 p50)

It is through the way discourses operate in a domain of power or what Bourdieu (1984) terms 'habitus', that dominance operates. Hence, rather than understanding oppression in the conventional sense of historical and systematic brutalisation and exploitation, postmodernists draw attention to the way subjectivity becomes constructed through the regulation of individuals and groups as well as mechanisms of self regulation, and to the way the human body becomes a site of dominance and resistance. In other words, the body is not reducible to flesh and bones, but becomes a location of power, a surface upon which regimes of truth are enacted out.

Although Foucault makes little direct reference to 'race', racism and post-coloniality, for which he has been criticised (Westwood, 2002), his linkage of power/knowledge and discourse has been influential in contemporary anti-racist theorising. Foucault's sternest critics argue that his analyses of modernity and forms of regulation, governmentality, constructions of sexuality and identity, are flawed in that they fail to adequately factor in the impact that the colonial relationship has in the production of the very discourses he is interested in (Stoler, 1995; McClintock, 1995). Colonies were not merely loci of exploitation but opportunities to test out and develop many of the technologies of modernity that are the core of Foucault's curiosity. Only by understanding the way the rise of modernity is permeated by the colonial relationship, characterised by dominance (e.g. violence of all kinds, incarceration, exploitation and displacement of people) does one begin to make sense of European modernity as a racialised construct (Westwood, 2002, Goldberg, 2002). However, postmodernism does enable an appreciation of the fluidity of racialised discourse and, without always being immediately obvious, its capacity to move in and through other discourses.

Postmodernism and post-colonial theory

Foucault's work has been particularly influential in the development of contemporary post-colonial theory, most notably in the seminal work of Edward Said. Post-colonial

theory was born out of a reflexive moment where colonised people sought to engage the representations of themselves in imperial accounts (Fanon, 1967 and 1968; Bhabha, 1990; Spivak, 1988; Said, 1978 and 1993; Young, 1990). Ashcroft et al. (1995) suggest that post-colonial theory covers a multitude of experiences generated out of the relationship between the coloniser and subaltern, namely:

migration, slavery, suppression, resistance, representation, difference, race, gender, place and responses to master discourses of imperial Europe...and the fundamental experience of speaking and writing. (Ashcroft et al, 1995 p2)

One of the most significant resonances that post-colonial theory has with postmodern theory is in relation to questioning of the legitimacy of Western modernity and its assumptions about the natural and social world. In particular, like some postmodern feminist positions (Flax, 1991; Weedon, 1996), post-colonial theory questions the epistemological and ontological standpoints from which claims to knowledge and truth emerge. Whilst there are clear differences amongst post-colonial writers about how to confront what Spivak (1988) characterises as the 'epistemic violence' of the Western canon, important scholarship has emerged to expose how Eurocentric conceptions of subjectivity were instrumental in the cultural repression and psychiatric disciplining of the 'non-Western other' (Rattansi & Westwood, 1994).

Drawing on postmodernist understanding of representations or signifiers as embedded within a matrix of differential relationships to other signifiers, postmodernists seek to lay bare the hidden ideological meanings in the binary notions such as 'good/bad' 'sane/mad', 'white/black', 'disabled/normal' etc (Rattansi, 1984). In doing so, postmodernism has been particularly effective in exposing the hegemonic nature of these signified terms. This in turn allows alternative significations that enable knowledge to be contested and, ultimately, the hegemonic order challenged (Seidman, 1998).

In relation to the historical marginalisation of the 'non-western Other', sometimes referred to as 'the subaltern'¹⁸, Rattansi (1994) provides a useful framework delineating some of the key dimensions of the post-colonial condition within postmodernity and the key task facing a postmodern anti-racist project:

1. The examination of how the post-colonial condition is a reflection of the nature and limits of Western modernity.
2. The role of Western modernity's 'Others', both internal and external, real and imagined in the formation and continuous reconstruction of Western identities, and the continuous marginalisation of its non-Western 'Others' (cf. Said 1978; Gilroy 1993a)
3. An exploration of the profound impact of new phases and conceptualisations of globalization.
4. A project of decentring and de-essentializing both 'the subject' and 'the social'.
5. An exploration into the contingent nature of identity and subjectivity.
6. Reconsideration of the division between social and 'psychic'.
7. An engagement with questions concerning the symbolic representations of the body and its relationship to questions of race, gender, sexuality, disability etc.

Postmodernism, identity and difference

Broadly speaking, through its aversion to anything essential, postmodernist thought would tend to reject the uncritical employment of categories delineating human difference (e.g. 'race', 'ethnicity', 'nation', 'religion' 'man', 'woman'), in any other way than to situate these as discursive entities, as cultural products or semiotic markers.

¹⁸ The concept of 'subaltern', although originating from the work of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci (1999) to describe lower ranks of the military, has been adopted by postcolonial theorists to identify marginalized groups and individuals who are located outside established dominant structures of political power and cultural representation (see Spivak, 1988).

Ironically, for very different reasons, the politically charged category 'black' (see Chapter Two) has been rejected by both essentialists and postmodernists. For essentialists like Modood (1992), ethnicity and religion provide a more precise basis for marking social affinities and identity; for postmodernists, simply displacing one essential category with another fails to understand the contingent and unstable nature of all identities (Rattansi, 1994). Thus, postmodernists tend to prefer the more fluid concepts of 'culture' and 'difference', understood as 'relational, contingent and variable' (Brah, 1996). It is out of these new understandings of the contingent nature of human diversity¹⁹ that postmodernists have mounted a critique of those anti-racist approaches that have been overly fixated on totalised and unitary notions of 'race' and class (see Chapter 2). Rattansi, for example, suggests that an uncritical use of 'race' can produce simplified interpretations of complex social, economic and cultural relations for anti-racists as well as racists (1992, p29).

Policy approaches, chiefly those identified with multiculturalism that posit cultural identity as bounded and minority communities as separate entities, have been criticised by postmodernists. As argued by Hall (1993), such approaches have also provided a basis for the construction of 'new racisms' that are no longer defined by the idea of 'race' but, through essentialist notions of 'culture' and 'ethnicity'. By conflating ethnicity with religious and geographic affiliation, these new racisms produce teleological constructions of cultural identity as being relatively fixed and eternal. In short, ethnicity, understood as the continuous, unbroken handing down of tradition between generations, or simply a 'natural' affiliation to ones own 'group', becomes the new basis upon which racialisation processes become enacted.

¹⁹ Derrida's (1978) notion of *différance*, primarily a linguistic concept, is employed by in this context to highlight the contingent and indeterminate nature of identity i.e. to differ, and to defer.

More than any other issue, it is with questions of 'difference' or 'otherness', of their suppression, construction, imagination, contestation and representation, with which postmodernists seek to engage. Given that 'otherness' is not restricted to 'race' alone but transcends divisions of gender, class, sexuality, and so on, postmodernists have felt compelled to develop theoretical devices that are capable of easily moving between and through representations of difference (Brah, 1996). In some ways, 'difference' or 'otherness' represent a paradox. On the one hand, throughout the colonial and post-colonial period, European cultural imperialism was dedicated to denying the colonised subject a sense of identity other than that which rendered him/her a 'non person' (see Fanon 1967). This process of dehumanisation, of denial of a positive identity is what Freire terms 'cultural invasion', a phenomenon in which colonisers infiltrate:

the cultural context of another group, and ignoring the potential of the latter, impose their own view of the world on those they invade and inhibit the creativity of the invaded by inhibiting their expression...those who are invaded begin to respond to the values, the standards and the goals of the invaders. (Freire, 1972 p151)

In contrast, it is precisely through representations of the 'other' as being 'different', albeit inferior to non-Europeans, that racist ideologies have been perpetuated (Said, 1978 and 1993). Within the development of what he terms the 'racial state', Goldberg draws attention to this process of defining difference, of configuration, of turning the 'heterogeneous into manageable homogeneity' (2002, p34). In an age where the crude racist terminology of scientific racism has largely been discarded, postmodernist anti-racist writings have sought to unmask racism residing within the cultural and linguistic crevices of representations of difference, identity and otherness.

Race extends across modern conceptions of otherness, in some ways defining, but certainly pervading them... And through this racial characterisation of the external, of the other, by implication, the internal in the form of the self becomes (and at first silently) racially defined also. (Goldberg, 2002 p34)

An example of this process would be the paradoxical situation whereby the black male is at once, god and devil. Constructed in popular culture as sporting hero or rap musician he is adored by both black and white. For his physical and sexual prowess, he is idolised. He has a body like a god and money to go with it and in many ways, he is a 'real man'. Yet, paradoxically, the absence of black men as, for instance, intellectuals, professionals, leaders (other than corrupt African dictators) and carers leads to a dehumanised black man, locked into his 'unique' biological constitution which is seen to determine his lack of rationality, sophistication and sensitivity. He is dangerous not because he represents something undesirable but precisely because he does so. The threat he poses for the white psyche (male in particular) is that equipped with his unique body he is likely to corrupt the minds of women and children. In this complex interplay between real and imaginary representations of blackness, 'race', becomes elusive, an absurdity, it is nowhere, yet everywhere. Foucault's account of the body, constituting a locus of power, is particularly useful in making sense of how these concealed forms of racialisation operate.

Whilst slavery and colonialism belong to an earlier period (see Chapter Two), Western culture and literature is replete with eternalised and essentialist representations of the 'non-Western Other' within British society. Characteristically rooted to places of origin, the (migrant) Others' and their offspring are destined in the imaginary to remain constructed as a mass of foreigners, outsiders, natives of another place, another land. One of the consequences of becoming dislocated from their 'natural' habitat is cultural pathology, leading to a whole set of problems adapting to 'Western norms'. Accordingly,

discipline, punishment, medicalisation and surveillance become justified as a periodic necessity, a way to deal with the consequences of this inevitable cultural pathology.

White bodies, on the other hand, are represented as being 'naturally' boundless and free, the white settler is constructed as a unique individual, a thinker, an explorer and adventurer (Mohanram, 1999), and this imagination becomes reflected back into the psyche of white people, who move about, not as 'white people', but 'normal' people (Dyer, 1997). In contrast to the 'non-white Other', the white man's humanity and rationality stems precisely from his capacity to be free from any libidinal influences²⁰.

Rattansi (1994) suggests that the only way to comprehend and conceive the various forms of western racism is to understand how identities become formed through real and imagined encounters with the 'non-Western others' of modernity. It is by conflating the identities such as 'Western', 'European' and 'White' with conceptions of rationality and 'civilisation', and superimposing upon these images of paganism and savagery as constituted by binarisms such as naked/clothed, oral/literate, primitive/advanced...and so on...that racism becomes reproduced. In other words, racism becomes understood not merely as an ideology for the justification and legitimisation of oppression, but much more profoundly as a philosophy of history, depicted as process of struggle between 'stronger' more 'gifted' 'races' and 'weaker' 'races'. The incarceration and in some instances extermination of black people within the criminal justice and mental health systems becomes another chapter in the 'white man's burden' (Rattansi, 1994 p36).

One of the central preoccupations of both racist and anti-racist discourse therefore is the struggle over 'identity' and representation. The forces of racism, as pointed out above, have always sought to define the subjugated 'Other' in negative and pathological ways. The subjugated 'Other', or colonised 'subject' responds, as Fanon (1986) points out,

²⁰ This embodiment of difference is clearly more complex than and will cut across issues of gender and class. Weedon (2004) offers an excellent account of a wide variety of ways in which narratives of difference and belonging cut across issues of identity, culture, nation and gender.

by either internalising these pathological constructions or, as discussed in previous chapters, by fighting back.

Critiques of postmodernism

Thus far, I have pointed out some of the potential gains of what Seidman (1994) terms the 'postmodern turn'. I have highlighted the relevance of postmodernist ideas to developing a greater understanding of the complexities of racist discourse, particularly at a time when it operates by stealth, within 'common sense' ideologies and discursive formations. Moreover, it is undeniably the case that postmodernism helps to appreciate the multiple dimension of power and the inter connectivity of oppressions. However, in order to assess the overall value of postmodernism for developing anti-racism, it is also necessary look at some of the critiques of it. Below I identify six broad aspects of postmodernism which are problematic.

Exclusivity - One of the goals of most liberation movements such as anti-racism is to combat elitism and exclusion. However, much of the language of postmodernism appears to be written in such a convoluted manner that one is left wondering if those that employ it to theorise oppression really do have the interests of the oppressed in mind. As hooks suggests:

When it [postmodernism] is written or talked about by those who speak it, I find myself on the outside of the discourse looking in. As a discursive practice, it is dominated primarily by the voices of white male intellectuals and/or academic elites who speak to and about one another with coded familiarity. (1991 p23-24)

It's worth noting that just when black (and for that matter feminist) scholarship had managed to open up space for subaltern voices to be heard, to transcend the hegemony of dead white Western male social theorists (e.g. Marx, Weber, Durkheim), a whole new group of white male postmodern social theorists (e.g. Foucault, Lyotard, Derrida, Baudrillard, Giroux) have, by and large, claimed the epistemological high ground.

Deconstruction of identity - Most protagonists of postmodernism argue strongly in favour of anti or non-essentialism. Whilst theoretically this may be desirable, in the (real) world outside of academia, on the streets and in the communities, a relatively fixed sense of identity forms the basis upon which most people gain support and security. The fact that some post-Marxist intellectuals who, in the face of a significant defeat at the hands of the forces of 'neo liberalism', may have lost confidence in their analysis, this does not mean that the notion of identity, per se, has become untenable (Eagleton, 1996). How does one construct political and social movements whilst deconstructing the very categories that those movements are based upon? Given that socialists managed to take account of feminist critiques without feeling the need to abandon the class struggle, perhaps it is possible. As social movements are born out of a rejection of the status quo, then perhaps it is possible to move beyond the black/white binaries and build new collectivities without abandoning the anti-racist struggle altogether. Spivak (1987) offers the notion of strategic essentialism as a means out of holding on to the political necessity of collective struggle.. She suggests that the 'risk' of essentialism may be worth taking with one precondition, that it is framed from the vantage point of the dominated/subaltern subject position. In a similar vein but with an emphasis on action, Appiah (1995) argues that as identities are very real in their personal and social effect and have concrete consequences, one should not discard them lightly. He goes on to argue that whilst never surrendering one's critical approach towards categories and labels that essentialise and totalise group identities, one should nonetheless, be prepared to defend socially constructed categories that are aimed at strategic (social and political) ends.

Cultural relativism - Closely linked to the previous point is the problem identified with rejection of anything 'universal' in favour of relativist positions. The argument is based on the proposition that, given that there is no absolute truth, what may be true or apposite for one person or cultural group may not be for another. Notwithstanding the fundamental philosophical paradox inherent in this proposition, namely, that to assert that all is relative or that we live in a 'foundationless' world is in itself a universalist posture, there are real practical problems with cultural relativism. How, for example, does one confront white racist demands for separate provision on the grounds of their particular cultural needs? On what basis can/should social workers intervene in families where child abuse is suspected whilst the alleged abuser claims their actions were motivated by the customs and norms of their own community? Who decides how a particular cultural/ethnic group is to be constituted and represented?

A new metaphysics - One of the greatest ironies of postmodernism is its claim to move beyond metaphysics²¹. Yet, ironically, for most postmodernists there appears to be an obsession with what one can and cannot say or know. Far from doing away with metaphysics, the intervention of postmodernism has arguably led to a dramatic revival of it. A closer examination of the 'foundationless' perch of postmodernism, of anti-essentialism, indeterminacy and ambivalence, reveals an altogether different reality of writings replete with general assumptions about culture, human nature, values, and inquiry. Indeed, the act of asserting 'the postmodern' is in itself arguably a claim to a new metaphysics. Malik (1996) questions the reasoning behind postmodernist assertions that only by embracing indeterminacy can the meanings of social forms be exposed for, to trade certainty for ambivalence, one is denied 'the ability to grasp social phenomena in their specificity (p248).

²¹ By 'metaphysics' I refer to the branch of philosophy that examines the nature of reality, including the relationship between mind and matter, substance and attribute, fact and value, specifically related to philosophical claims about the nature of "being" (ontology) and "knowing" (epistemology).

Denial of continuity and commonality (essentialism) - To deny continuity and commonality where it self evidently exists may be just as irrational and problematic as to see knowledge as eternal and universal. It betrays an absolutist attachment to such values as innovation, originality and diversity. Furthermore, my own contention would be that since it leaves people without an adequate basis for daily living or making any kind of judgement that society can agree upon, postmodernism could result in limiting the possibilities of social change. In a somewhat paradoxical sense in developing a shared belief that reality is fragmented, postmodernists, through an act of negation, have in effect constructed a common identity for themselves. It is one thing to reject the idea of a fixed, universal foundation to reality, quite another to claim that no shared guidelines can ever be identified.

Theory without practice; practice without politics - Whilst postmodernism has the potential to offer social work professionals more sophisticated tools for analysing the contexts and relations of power inherent in professional client relationships and institutional practices, it is uncertain what, if any, politics can be forged from these insights. Hill-Collins warns that the dilution of differences 'runs the danger of leading to a politics of impotence' (2000b p66). The emphasis on discourse, unpacking, deconstructing, narrative, and imagination, on the surface, seems to be advantageous. Even so, one consequence of a shift from the social to the linguistic and cultural, from the macro to the micro, from the metanarratives of anti-racism, anti-sexism and Marxism, is that this may lead to 'difference' becoming the new essentialism, resulting in a 'corrosive narcissism and rampant individualism' (Hill-Collins, 2000b p66). Haber (1994) goes further by suggesting that, rather than representing a politics of impotence, the lack of attention to collective and structural concerns positions postmodernism within a politically conservative paradigm. Moreover, by overemphasising the 'newness' of contemporary processes, as postmodernity tends to do, one may end up underemphasising the ongoing impact of European colonialism and imperialism in

the production and reproduction of racialised states and structures (see O'Brien and Penna, 1998; Goldberg, 2002).

Postmodernism and anti-racism

Against the backdrop of a critical analysis of new racism, which in a sense follows earlier critiques of scientific racism, Rattansi (1992), lays down the gauntlet for a reconstituted postmodern anti-racist project that is no longer bound to notions of 'the black struggle', which he argues are both politically and conceptually no longer tenable. He argues that 'in a context where older socialist and anti-racist certainties no longer hold...we need to move beyond both multiculturalism and anti-racism' (Rattansi, 1992 p41). However, whilst anti-racists may have largely rejected biological and cultural essentialism, there is no unanimity about the efficacy of postmodernism and post-colonial theory. As pointed out above, advocates claim that postmodernism is capable of offering more complex and comprehensive explanations for the nature of human oppression (Seidman, 1994; Nicholson and Seidman, 1995; Rattansi, 1994; West, 1994; Brah, 1996; Hall, 1996). On the other hand, detractors not only question the usefulness of postmodernism but even suggest the turn to postmodernism represents a politics of defeat (Malik, 1996; Sivanandan, 1985 and 1990; Eagleton, 1996). Malik (1996), for example, argues that the over emphasis on difference and the particular, and the lack of emphasis on universalistic concerns about such things as human rights, citizenship and equality not only distorts the priorities of the oppressed but also help to maintain and cement power inequalities.

A consequence of moving away from older racialised unitary conceptions of identity has, as discussed in Chapter Two, led to the emergence of a new politics of identity centred on ethnic and cultural affiliations. One way these have become manifest and

reinforced is through globalisation (mass global communications such as the internet and satellite broadcasting being particularly important), and the resultant development of new trans-national diasporic identities (Gilroy, 1993; Brah, 1996; Westwood, 2002; Bhattacharyya et al, 2002). Whilst the nature and constitution of these new identities is subject to different interpretations, for some they offer a basis for overcoming the essentialism/ant-essentialism paradox. Diasporic identities appear to offer a mechanism whereby one may retain sense of a unitary identity (e.g. being a Muslim) of belonging and connectedness whilst at the same time allowing the recognition that identities are inherently unstable (e.g. being a British Muslim of Indian Origin).

However, critics of the concept of diaspora argue that rather than escaping essentialism it simply moves or shifts the goal posts. Anthias (1998), offers three specific criticisms: First, however much fluidity one may choose to accept there is a primordialist root and terms such as Asian, Indian, African, Sikh, Jewish, etc all point to a particular origin or primary attachment; second, in line with Brah (1996), she suggests that the concept tends to abstain from an analysis of gender and class differences; third, it negates the reality that within diasporas lies deep rooted political and religious differences.

In terms of social work, as discussed in Chapters Two and Three, whereas previous notions of 'racial absolutism' led to a dual policy of assimilation and control current constructions of 'ethnic absolutism' have resulted in a view that all provision must be built around ethnically determined needs (Lewis, 1996). In responding to the fragmentation of service provision, on one level, and traditional class, race and gender based forms of opposition on the other, some radical social workers and academics have turned to postmodernism (Rojek et al., 1988; Parton, 1994, 1996; Howe, 1994; Featherstone and Fawcett, 1995; Leonard, 1997; Pease and Fook, 1999; Parton and OByrne, 2000). The appeal of postmodernism to social work in general and ARSW in particular can be summarised as follows:

First, it offers theoretical mechanisms for linking the psychological, economic, social and cultural domains in providing new insights into the production, nature and function of power, particularly within institutional contexts.

Second, by uncovering the relationship between power and discourse it resonates with many of the critiques and concerns of marginalised groups being articulated throughout the 1980's and 1990's, of the marginalisation and pathologisation of difference, of the importance of self-knowledge and self-definition and of normalisation and legitimisation.

Third, it gives legitimacy to the sense of ambivalence and eternal crisis that has characterised debates about the meaning and purpose of state social work. Indeed, Parton (1994) suggests social work itself is symptomatic of a crisis of modernity, of the inability of rationality to construct a society that is at ease with itself, that can deliver the needs of all its members.

Fourth, it accommodates post-colonial critiques of Western cultural imperialism and, in doing so, offers the possibility of new forms of practice based on multitude of different traditions and perspectives in social work. Dominelli et al., (2001), by exposing a wide array of different 'non-European' social work models provide a rich example of what can be possible when one moves beyond established binarisms such as, white/black, west/east, Asian/African, modern/traditional...and so on.

Fifth, postmodernism gives legitimacy to some feminist and anti-racist critiques of the nature of white patriarchal power within contemporary Western social organisation exercised through, for example, the normalising and disciplining role of expert professional discourses (see Flax, 1991; Weedon, 1999).

Sixth, it provides an account of current changes taking place within social work and social welfare organisations, particularly those relating to the spread of new and subtle forms of regulation. In this respect, Foucault's work is of particular relevance.

Katz (1995) offers a forceful defence of postmodernism in relation to its capacity to explain and critique the current culture of managerialism within social work which, amongst other things, equated good practice with efficiency and economy. He suggests that postmodernism makes it possible to build new anti-racist alliances, whilst at the same time develop critical positions concerning the new managerially driven anti-discriminatory orthodoxies. For Katz, postmodernism operates as a 'critical friend' who seeks to unmask essentialism from whatever direction it comes, be it from racists or what he terms, 'modernist anti-racists'. By means of illustration he cites the work of Small (1986) and Maxine (1986) who he argues, in advocating the importance of nurturing a positive black identity in black children in care, 'echo the biologically based 'eugenic' racists of the early twentieth century...where a black 'essence' underlies superficial differences' (Katz, 1995, p124). Whilst Katz offers some compelling critiques, he fails to take into account the political context in which the 'same race placement' debate unfolded during the late 1970's and 1980's, the brutalisation of black children in care and the rationale behind (black) anti-racist challenges to the child care system at the time.²² Finally, beyond offering a series of critiques, Katz has very little to say about how this new postmodern anti-racism may be configured, implemented or who will take up the mantle. I will return to this issue in subsequent chapters.

Anti-oppressive practice (AOP)

One of the more positive suggestions for developing ARSW comes from advocates of AOP (Dalymphe and Burke, 1995; Thompson, 1998; Macey and Moxon, 1996). Most formations of AOP promote an understanding of knowledge as situated and multiple. By drawing on a range of philosophical traditions, including feminist, critical pedagogy, post-colonial studies, disability studies and postmodernism, advocates seek to compute,

²² See Barn (1996) for a comprehensive account of racism in the child care system and the rationale behind some of the demands for 'same race' placement policies.

notably, a wide variety of social, economic, cultural and linguistic factors to develop 'egalitarian forms of client centred practice' (Dominelli 2002, p36).

Whilst much of the rhetoric of AOP resonates with postmodern theory, it would be incorrect to suggest all formations of AOP necessarily rely upon it. Williams (1999), for example, suggests that AOP displays ambivalence about its theoretical underpinnings; it moves between, 'ahistoricism and historicism, between pluralism and conflict theory, between principle and pragmatism' (p227). Nonetheless, it is apparent that one of the consequences of postmodern critiques of the parochialism of the politics of social movements has led, in part, to undermining single issue identity based politics. The argument has been that the politics of 'race', gender, class and disability has led to situations where groups start competing with each other resulting in the establishing hierarchies of oppression. As Brah warns:

It seems imperative that we do not compartmentalise oppressions but instead formulate strategies for challenging all on the basis of an understanding of how they interconnect and articulate. (1996 p127)

Moreover, a consequence of the displacement of projects rooted in social movements speaking to particular constituencies of oppressed people - i.e. anti-racism (black people), anti-sexism (women), radical social work (working classes); disability activism (disabled people) - by those that have little or no purchase outside the confines of state social work, (AOP, Anti-discriminatory practice (ADP), managing diversity and so on) is that increasingly, regulated social work professionals appear no longer able or willing to address fundamental forms of social injustice. In the context of the disability rights movement, Wilson and Beresford (2000) suggest that AOP has resulted in professionals appropriating service users knowledge's and experiences without any real attempt to involve them on an equal basis.

However, an examination of the literature on AOP does reveal new and important insights into such things as: the general features of society that contribute to injustice, inequality and discrimination; the complexities of power relations; the interlinkages between oppressions; problems associated with essentialist constructions of identity (Ward and Mullender, 1991; Darylmp and Burke, 1995; Macey and Moxon, 1996; Pugh, 1997; Thompson, 1998; Trew, 2002). However, the politics and practice of AOP remains less certain, underdeveloped and largely individualised.

More than anything else what distinguishes AOP (and ADP) from ARSW is the way it allows adherents to remain 'non-political' - you don't have to attend any meetings, rallies or demonstrations, you don't need to develop an alternative state of consciousness - which, arguably lies at the heart of anti-racist, socialist, feminist, gay and disability activism. Williams (1999) suggests that under the veil of 'equal opportunities', 'competency', 'managing diversity' and 'anti-discriminatory practice', AOP is rendered politically sterile. Most crucially, by overly focusing on what Thompson (1998) terms, the 'processes of discrimination' (p79), at the expense of the 'process of resistance', AOP draws attention away from the specificities of lived experience. One way of understanding this fundamental flaw in reasoning is to look at the issue of the oppression of children. There are rightly many statutory and voluntary sector organisations focused on addressing the oppression of children, perhaps even the majority of the social work profession. Now, whilst, it would be absurd to suggest that children's oppression can in anyway be understood without a broader analysis of the processes of discrimination and oppression, it would be equally absurd to suggest that, given these comprehensive insights, there is no longer any need for specialist organisations to actively campaign for children's rights, nor provide specialist services to respond to the particular needs of children.

Whilst for writers like Thompson, ADP and AOP are complimentary to ARSW, for others, the project represents a displacement of it. Macey and Moxon (1996), for example,

question whether criticisms levelled toward, what they term, 'the anti-racist orthodoxy', by the government and some sections of the media, were not justified (see Chapter Three for a detailed account of the backlash), and perhaps reflected a genuine failure of anti-racism to address the complexity of the issues involved. Where Macey and Moxon (1996) diverge with the popular criticisms of anti-racism is that, for them, the primacy given to 'race' tends to simplify the complex and multidimensional nature of oppression. Their demand is for a more comprehensive and inclusive model of practice, whereas the media criticisms tended to argue that social workers should not be concerning themselves with any notion of anti-racist or AOP, period. In a slightly different vein, particularly targeting the work of Dominelli, Tourney (1996) argues that ARSW's doctrinaire tendencies fell into the trap of essentialism and rhetoric, thereby falling prey to 'political correctness'. However, given that anti-racism begins, not with a general formula, but a strategic alliance, a community of resistance, a moment of critical consciousness, shifting focus away from historically situated struggles, to a method, a formula, or a means of understanding alone, AOP runs the danger of depoliticising struggles against racism. Paradoxically, Macey and Moxon (1996) appear in the following defence of AOP, to suggest the opposite:

the shift from anti-racist to anti-oppressive social work education is radical rather than reactionary. It moves from the narrow, exclusive focus on racial oppression to a broader, more inclusive understanding of the links between various forms and expressions of oppression. (1996, p309)

The other problem with this notion of AOP is its lack of practicality. A cursory scan of the history of struggles against human oppression reveals the dialectical and historical nature of the practices of liberation. There is in most formations of AOP a general tendency to collapse, both the problems of historically determined oppressions, and the

solution to these into neat constructs and formulas. Whilst this may prove useful for managerial purposes, in developing, for example, individual and organisational audits, it is less clear what relevance these will have for facilitating collective struggles against oppression. In an insightful critique, Trew (2002) suggests lying at the heart of this move is desire for certainty, where the problem of and solution to oppression come neatly bundled together without, in a sense having to engage in any dialectical process. 'AOP...seems to come with a 'theory' of how the problem is constructed with a ready-made strategy for its resolution. (Trew, 2002 p163-4)

These concerns appear to be born out in a recent study by Heron (2004) that looked at the impact of the shift from a politicised language of anti-racism to a professionalised discourse of AOP on social work students. In a systematic content analysis of 112 social work students' 'integrated practice study assignments' Heron's research reveals alarmingly low levels of awareness of anti-racism or anti-racist strategies. He suggests that displacing anti-racism may adversely affect a student's capacity to comprehend racism, for each concept is dependent on the other to make any sense:

Replacing anti-racism with the terms anti-discrimination or anti-oppressive practice not only removes anti-racism from the agenda, it distorts the very meaning of racism. This distortion limits students' ability to construct a logical way to understand 'race'. (Heron 2004 p290)

Heron offers a word of caution about abandoning categories such as 'race' and being seduced by the new inclusive language of AOP. He argues that if anti-racism did open up possibilities for other oppressions (sexism, ageism, ableism etc) to be recognised, 'its demise may signal a similar fate...put simply, the ideas that undermine the anti-racist agenda may be the same ones that attack egalitarianism in all forms' (Heron, 2004 p292).

It would be wrong to suggest that postmodernism alone has been responsible for undermining anti-racism - one only needs to hark back to the days of the new right attacks in the early 90's to know this is not the case. Moreover, there can be little doubt that the popularity of a formulaic approach to AOP, encouraged by the popularity of 'how to do social work guides', has not been helpful. Malik (1996), however, is particularly scathing about the lack of political conviction in much postmodern theory. He suggests that rather than offering a new way forward, the postmodern turn represents:

the politics of defeat, born out of defeat. It is the product of disillusionment with the possibilities of social change and the acceptance of the inevitability of an unequal, fragmented world. (Malik, 1996 p265)

According to Eagleton (1996) the politics of postmodernists, has at once led to, enrichment and evasion. If adherents to postmodernism opened up vital new political questions, it is partly because they have beaten an undignified retreat from older political struggles.

Yet, political struggles continue, and the various black communities continue to face and resist racism. Ironically, what appears to unify postmodernists and essentialists is the shared belief that the black/white binarism has little or no purchase, for the community at large. Throughout the 1990's there was a distinct shift in the forms of racialisation, whereby markers other than skin colour (religion, nationality, status etc) began to undermine the 'black/white binarisms. Mac an Ghail (1999), for example, argues that the tendency to privilege colour by contemporary British anti-racism led to a failure to adequately address anti-Irish racism, thereby making 'England's largest immigrant group culturally invisible. (p78). In a similar vein, in relation to the particular racialisation of Muslims in the post 'Satanic Verses' period, Modood (1992) argues that

mainstream anti-racism, in failing to address the question of religious disadvantage, has been incapable of responding to the particular marginalisation of Muslims and the growing prominence of Islamophobia²³. A recent survey revealing high levels of discrimination and social exclusion of British Muslims, compared to other groups would lend support to Modood's position (Independent 22/11/04). For Modood, given 'Muslims do not see themselves as belonging to a community defined by colour, they are only interested in anti-racism that has a religious dimension' (1992 p272).

One of the most interesting aspects of these and other challenges to the brand of anti-racism historically built around the black/white binarism (see Chapters Two and Three) is that they do not cohere with earlier left/right divisions within the wider politics of 'race'. There was a time when British anti-racism was intimately linked with some variant of Marxist analysis and many of the key theorists (e.g. Sivanandan, Gilroy, Hall, Carby) drew inspiration from anti-imperial struggles. In the current context, however, any remaining political conviction and theoretical coherence appears to have become laced with a degree of pragmatism - which may not in itself be a bad thing, particularly if one sees the primary purpose of anti-racism to secure resources and recognition for minority communities. Modood's work in particular appears to have no difficulty in adopting positions that would appeal to both left and right, in, for example, rejecting 'racial categorisation' yet at the same time asserting the importance of religious identification (Mac an Ghail, 1999 p77).

Whilst few people concerned about racism would deny the need for anti-racist responses, it is less clear how such responses are configured in terms of politics, ideology and practice.

Conclusion

²³ Against the backdrop of a series of global and local events (e.g. The Iranian revolution, the Honeyford and Rushdie affairs, Middle Eastern terrorism), the concept 'Islamophobia' was coined in the 1990's to encapsulate the emergence of a new 'cultural racism' based on stereotypical constructions of Islam (and by default Muslims) as threatening, primitive, unchanging and inherently oppressive (The Runnymede Trust 1997).

Postmodern and post-colonial ideas pose some important questions for ARSW as it is presently configured. Specific to social work, in relation to uncovering the regulatory nature of professional practice and the deployment 'expert knowledge', postmodernism offers some compelling insights. In particular, it does so by drawing attention to the limitations of state social work conceived in the very narrow technical rational terms of managerialism. In so far as postmodernism gives legitimacy to 'other voices', there is clear resonance with ARSW demands for different 'non white' perspectives (Graham, 1999 and 2000; John-Baptiste 2001, Dominelli, et al, 2001). However, as Graham points out, a particular nihilistic tendency within postmodernism is the danger it runs of denying a key demand of oppressed communities, namely, recognition of collective experience, ontology and identity:

fragmentation and discontinuity becomes problematic for black communities where these aspects are part of a unified experience. It is this unified experience that embraces locally produced knowledge emanating from cultural histories, social interactions and the experience of daily life. (Graham 2000 p427)

I prefaced this chapter with Michel Wieviorka reflections on the fragmentation of anti-racist collectivities in France. By invoking the Greek mythological sea nymph Scylla, a sea monster, devouring drowning sailors who tried to escape Charybdis, a whirlpool, on the other side of the strait, Wieviorka (1997) characterises the theoretical crossroads that anti-racist movements are facing. He argues that the only way forward is to construct an anti-racist strategy that is capable of linking questions of equality on the one hand, and difference on the other; in more abstract terms, by navigating a path between universalism and particularism.

Much of the rhetoric of postmodernism is difficult to disagree with. Take for example the following statement by Seidman (1998), one of the most passionate advocates of postmodernism:

postmodernity may renounce the dream of one reason and one humanity marching forward along one path towards absolute freedom, but it offers its own ideal of a society that tolerates human differences, accepts ambiguity and uncertainty, and values choice, diversity, and democratisation. (1998, p.347)

On the surface Seidman appears to offer a compelling defence of postmodernity, after all, who can reject a utopian world in which we can all exercise our difference; a Shangri-La of relativity where everybody can claim a unique world view; where the only universal element is freedom to choose, and since ambiguity and uncertainty are virtues, there is no compulsion to justify ones beliefs. However, such a de-essentialised, relativist world runs the danger of demotivating oppressed people to act, not only because it emphasises the potential to become individualised, but more importantly by sowing seeds of doubt about not knowing whether ones actions have any intrinsic value whatsoever. For alienated and post-Marxist intellectuals endless deconstruction of all truths, categories and binarisms may well provide them with the basis for accumulating intellectual capital (Hill-Collins 2000b). However, for those in less privileged positions who may choose to employ a strategic essentialist identity, this runs the danger of undermining their very authority to speak.

ARSW is not immune from design faults. As discussed in Chapters One and Three, many of the criticisms of anti-racism, of political posturing, of rhetoric, of the uncritical use of racialised discourse, are well made by postmodernists and others. However, to what extent the solution lies in a postmodernist relativism alone is debatable. Clearly, there is much work needed to move things forward in response to both the social and

political realities of late/post modernity: the formation of new identities and the attendant and complex re configurations taking place. As a means for informing analysis, for reflecting on the current milieu, postmodernism has much to offer. Though, as a basis for building a reconstituted emancipatory project that is of relevance to 'real' communities and individuals, it needs to be treated with a degree of caution. The key question remains, how does one construct an ARSW project that is capable of posing a significant challenge to racism and avoiding fixing black people into social practices that simply end up reproducing new forms of racialisation? For some, given the multidimensional nature of oppression, connecting or even subsuming ARSW with AOP offers one possible way forward; for others such a move would be tantamount to depoliticising ARSW. Whilst not providing an answer, Lewis (1996) offers some useful pointers, which will be explored further in subsequent chapters:

such struggle needs to begin from the premise that a new politics of belonging must reformulate the dominant meanings attached to 'race' and ethnicity, whether these meanings emerge from the radical right or the nationalist left of black politics. What we must aim for is a rejection of a politics of anti-racism which closes off the possibility of shared understandings, correspondences of experience, or fluidity of identities across group boundaries. (Lewis, 1996 p119)

SECTION TWO

Mapping and Analysing the Significance of Black Practice Teachers Experiences of Social Work and Practice Teaching.

Introduction

Section One provides three key related themes from which the empirical aspects of this thesis are able to proceed.

Chapter Two identifies the historical and contemporary constructions of 'race' and racism. In doing so, it offers a theoretical template and discursive framework from which to make sense of the central focus of this thesis, namely a critical assessment of ARSW.

Chapter Three, by charting the ideological, political and organisational antecedents of ARSW, presents an analytical framework for exploring further the structural and ideological location of BPTs within social work organisations and the inherent problems and possibilities of ARSW, more generally. Specifically, through an exploration of 'institutionalised' and 'structural' racism the chapter establishes a rationale for theorising the particular experiences of BPTs.

Chapter Four, through a critical evaluation of ideas and challenges presented by postmodernism (and postcolonial theory), constructs a framework for the re-imagination of ARSW. Moreover, in critically examining the issues identity, difference, essentialism, on the one hand and power and oppression, on the other, this chapter provides a basis upon which to mount an exploration of the problems and possibilities offered by the notion of AOP.

Within the overall aim of this thesis, namely a critical evaluation of context and development of ARSW, refracted through the experiences of BPTs, the research themes developed in Section One of the thesis can now be brought to address the questions set out below. The linked debates specifically relevant to contextualising each question are identified in brackets:

1. How do BPTs perceive their own identity, and in what ways do they identify with a collective black identity, in particular, and ARSW in general? (Chapter One, Contours, concepts and contexts; Chapter Two, Theorising 'race' and racism; Chapter Three: racism and ARSW)
2. What factors motivated BPTs to embark on a career in social work and practice teaching? (Chapter One, Contours, concepts and contexts; Chapter Three: Racism, antiracism and ARSW)
3. In what ways do BPTs experience racism in social work? (Chapter Three: Racism, antiracism and ARSW; Chapter Four, Postmodernism, antiracism and AOP)
4. In what ways do BPTs understand and promote ARSW? (Chapter Two: Theorising 'race' and racism; Chapter Three, Racism, antiracism and ARSW)
5. How do BPTs understand the notions of 'black perspectives' and AOP and their relevance to ARSW? (Chapter Two: Theorising 'race', racism; Chapter Three, Racism, antiracism and ARSW, Chapter Four: postmodernism, antiracism and AOP)
6. How do BPTs perceive the current impact of managerialism and policy frameworks associated with New Labour and the 'Third Way' on the development of ARSW? (Chapter Three, Racism, antiracism and ARSW; Chapter Four, Postmodernism, antiracism and AOP)

These research themes are able to make three significant and original contributions to knowledge. First, they offer the opportunity to plug a significant gap in the research literature through documenting and analysing the significance of the experiences of experienced black social work practitioners and practice teachers. Second, they offer assessment of the impact of managerialism and other contemporary theoretical and political frameworks on ARSW from a black practitioner perspective. Third, they provide a basis from which to develop a critical evaluation into formations of ARSW in the light of postmodernity and the emergence on AOP.

As a preliminary, Chapter Five seeks to outline the underpinning research perspective for this study. By conducting a critical analysis of social work research with black and ethnic minorities, the chapter sets out a rationale for critical social research that is methodologically rigorous and capable of facilitating and promoting emancipatory outcomes. Chapter Six outlines the overall design of the research. Chapters Seven and Eight report on the findings from the field-work. Chapter Seven maps and theorises the trajectories, identities and experiences of racism of BPTs (research questions One, Two and Three). Chapter Eight focuses specifically on how BPTs have sought to develop an anti-racist praxis both within their roles as social worker practitioners and practice teachers (research questions Four, Five and Six).

CHAPTER FIVE
SOCIAL RESEARCH AND 'RACE': DEVELOPING A CRITICAL PARADIGM.

Alternative knowledge claims in and of themselves are rarely threatening to conventional knowledge. Such claims are routinely ignored, discarded, or simply absorbed and marginalised in existing paradigms. Much more threatening is the challenge that alternative epistemologies offer. (Patricia Hill Collins, 2000a p270-271)

Introduction

This chapter engages in a critical discussion of the different orientations of social research with black people. In doing so, it seeks to develop a model that is more responsive to oppressed groups whilst remaining committed to methodological rigour. The first section provides a historical context to the orientation of social work research with black and minority ethnic individuals and communities outlining, in particular, the ways social research has often acted to generate and reinforce racist oppression. The second section engages more directly with methodological issues and delineates the key components of the underpinning research paradigm of this thesis. The purpose of this chapter is to provide insights into the ways in which 'race' has been addressed in social work/welfare research and identify approaches that inform, and are informed by, anti-racism.

Under conditions of relative powerlessness, black people are more likely to come under the gaze of state authorities and professionals. This has ramifications for both the practice of social research by members of these professions, and the collection and keeping of information relating to minority populations (Johnson 1996). Research activity in such circumstances takes on specific and conflicting functions. On the one hand, it can become complicit in reinforcing and reproducing oppression by seeking to explain the problems faced by black people in terms of their individual and collective (cultural) pathology. One can see how through a process of racialisation research on minorities in

Britain has tended to reinforce stereotypical and colonial constructions of black people (Ahmad, 1993). Whilst, the field of epidemiological research is particularly culpable in this respect (Bhopal, 1992), there are many examples of the way researchers have legitimised racist oppression by making direct and indirect associations between physiology and real or imagined phenotypical characteristics and/or traditional cultural practices. Ahmad (1993) points out how such tendencies are evident in the ideological constructions of such things as:

black people's reproductive capacity, sexuality, intelligence, ability to control the universe, 'rascality', mental breakdown, desire to run away from their slave-masters, lack of political achievements, and so on. (Ahmad, 1993 p18)

On the other hand, through connecting individual problems to social, structural, economic and political domains, social research can/should function to counteract the processes of discrimination and oppression (Everitt et al, 1992).

Historical perspective - models of research

Although the level of interest in ethnic minority and refugee communities across Europe has never been greater, sadly, questions about their welfare have always been subservient to larger political concerns with the 'problem' of immigration and integration. It is not surprising then that with few exceptions, much of the research on ethnic minorities has been problematic (Ahmed, 1993; Humphries & Truman, 1994). Three perspectives have characterised most public policy discussions and research about the provision of welfare services to members of minority ethnic communities in Britain; 'positivistic', 'phenomenological' and 'critical'.

Positivistic perspectives - The dominant and perhaps most enduring perspective is one that has set out to address 'race' from an essentially 'information gathering exercise'. This

policy orientated research paradigm has been born out of both liberal sentiments to help black immigrants and refugees to integrate, and right wing fears about maintaining social order and controlling immigration (Layton-Henry, 1984). Primarily through the use of quantitative methodologies, certain facts about the scale and nature of minority populations, coupled with the range problems they may be encountering have been seen as critical to informing the decision making process. In Britain, for example, throughout the 1960's and 1970's large demographic surveys into 'race relations' set out to identify both the numbers of minorities in the country and the extent of discrimination and disadvantage they were encountering (Rose, 1969; Daniel, 1968; Smith, 1977; Brown, 1984). The positivist perspective has continued to hold the centre stage as can be seen in, for example the work of Modood et al (1997). Whilst there is no denying the value of empirical evidence that exposes discrimination and disadvantage, there are many problems with such an approach; mostly, ones which echo the more general critiques of positivism made by feminist researchers (Roberts, 1981; Harding, 1987; Letherby, 2003). Without delving into a detailed critique of the positivist empirical paradigm, I would like to offer a few words of caution.

First, whilst statistics may reveal interesting features about, for example, the age profile of a particular minority community, they unable tell us much about the particular needs of children and elders in that community, which may be influenced by a complex range of factors. Moreover, this type of policy research does little to help one understand the underlying social and political processes that may result in the production of social problems, such as, for example, higher rates of physical abuse and neglect amongst minority families (Creighton, 1992). Further, the potential consequence of simplistic correlations based on statistical averages runs the danger of reinforcing stereotypical images of minority communities. Ahmad (1993), for instance, highlights examples where epidemiological studies that reveal disproportionate levels of disease or ill-health

amongst minorities uncritically attribute these different levels to cultural and ethnic factors:

Higher rates of consanguinity among Asians, particularly Pakistanis, in Britain has become the ultimate 'explanatory hypothesis' within medicine. This includes serious researchers who wish to disentangle the complex interplay between socio-economic, lifestyle, environmental and health service factors in influencing, for example, birth outcome - perinatal mortality and congenital malformations. A larger group, however, is happy to hang anything from poor birth 'outcome' to blood disorders, cancers, diseases of the eye, and much more onto this new found explanatory peg. (Ahmad, 1993 p21)

Phenomenological perspectives - The second perspective is one that has sought to develop a more 'textured' dimension to 'race' related questions the lives of members of black communities. Here minorities with particular attributed labels (e.g. immigrants and asylum seekers) are not reduced to 'social facts'. To the contrary, through qualitative methodologies such as focus groups, participant observation and life-history work, researchers have attempted to map out the complex texture of their lives. Another important aspect of this paradigm is the rejection of the 'problem' finding/curing mentality and a corresponding concentration on describing the concrete interactions of minority communities, both between each other and with state agencies. Above all, this approach attempts to subjectivise otherwise highly objectified and abstract conceptualisations of black minority communities. At the most fundamental level there is a change from enumerating 'the exotic' to describing, with some level of understanding, the needs and aspirations of black ethnic minority communities in terms of their new cultural contexts and perspectives. These inevitably constitute a complex synthesis of past and present. By placing the concepts of culture and ethnicity as central to the

analysis, texts written during the late 1970's and 1980's began to influence social work practice of the time (Cashmore, 1979; Watson, 1977; Khan, 1979; Cheetham, 1981).

However, a major criticism with what became known as the 'ethnic sensitivity approach' was the tendency to underplay the structural and political issues centred on the unresolved issues of racism, poverty and social exclusion (Ely and Denny, 1987; Dominelli, 1988). Indeed, by focusing too narrowly on black minority communities, explanations for the problems they were facing tended to reinforce and reproduce the kinds of frameworks emerging out of the black family pathology model, evident in much of the social work and health literature of the 1970's and 1980's (Lawrence, 1982; Barn, 1993; Prevatt-Goldstein, 1999).

Emerging from these early attempts to address questions of ethnic and cultural difference (by mostly white researchers) was a series of misleading stereotypical representations of black communities. For example, studies often portrayed Afro-Caribbean families as being decadent, culturally deficient, disorganised and disintegrating - the high incidence of single parenthood, offending behaviour and low educational achievement being seen as evidence for this assertion (Cashmore and Troyna, 1982). On the other hand, Asian family life was portrayed as an island of morality in a sea of (Western) decadence. It attempted to take a positive view of the Asian community, in contrast to broader trends in society, of chronic family breakdown (evidenced by high divorce rates and growth of single parenthood) and the contingent problems of juvenile delinquency and homelessness, had managed to retain a sense of piety, financial independence and social and familial cohesiveness. Ironically, the problems with such families were seen to lie in their inherent rigid traditional conservative outlook and repressive 'feudal' familial regimes (Singh, 1992).

One of the major pre-occupations of researchers was the issue of 'cultural conflict'. This referred to second generation black young people that were seen to be trapped between the traditional expectations of their parents, on the one hand, and the conflicting

social norms associated with Western culture into which they were being assimilated, on the other (Watson, 1977). Particularly in relation to what became popularly known as the phenomena of Asian girls running away from home escaping forced marriages, a number of influential social work texts during the 60's and 1970's sought to construct 'cultural conflict' within Asian family life as matter of fact (for example Fitzherbert, 1967; Davies, 1967; Cheetham 1972; Treseliotis, 1972). These highly problematic and simplistic representations were given official credibility by organisations such as the Community Relations Council (CRC), which, ironically, was established to promote a better understanding of the 'ethnic minorities' and their respective cultures (Lawrence, 1982 p112). It wasn't until the late 1980's that critiques of this approach began to register and somewhat ironically, it was young Asian women social workers and researchers that offered some of the most powerful challenges. Patel (1994), for example, in her research on homelessness amongst black young women, concludes that amongst other factors they were running away because of 'physical violence, emotional and sexual abuse' (Patel, 1994 p35). Thus, whilst researchers were seeking to incorporate a 'race' perspective, there was a tendency to underestimate the importance of class, gender, sexuality and disability, particularly in the context of family violence (Mullender, 1996; Mullender et al., 2002).

Leaving aside broader epistemological questions, at the level of research design and execution one can identify key elements that can characterise the failure of both perspectives described above. There has been the tendency to present ethnic identification as a given fact, and ethnic minority groups as being essentially homogeneous and self-contained. Such an approach, where policy makers and service delivery planners seek to 'treat all Asian needs as one, or to wish to find a single point of access to the black and minority ethnic population' may be convenient, but it is inappropriate (Johnson, 1996 p11). In doing so, a number of critical questions have been ignored.

First, as discussed earlier, quite apart from the variety of religious affiliations and languages involved, there are questions of gender, class and sexuality and their impact on both the ability of members of minority communities to resist oppression and determining need for delivery of appropriate social services.

Second, research has tended to ignore the relationship between 'white ethnicity' as an undefined entity and 'black ethnicity' as something 'other', as discussed in Chapters Two and Four. Indeed, the whole question of identity formation and difference as social and psychological mechanisms has received little or no attention within social policy research until fairly recently.

Third, with the exception of feminist researchers, the importance of difference, between researcher and researched, and how this may shape the research process - from question formulation through to dissemination of findings - has tended to be neglected. The failure to take into account the cultural, social, and economic position of both the researchers and research subjects has resulted in a 'tendency of research to reinforce and contribute to the plethora of stereotypes and derogatory myths that prevail in the dominant society' (Mama, p28 1990).

Critical Perspectives

As a direct consequence of the failure of academic and research institutions to develop critical understandings of the politics of research and their own Eurocentric bias (Ladner, 1973; Mama 1990), debates within and outside social work and emerged during the late 1980's and 1990's. In contrast to the previous perspectives which tended to take a functionalist approach, a critical perspective sets out make politics, structural inequalities, power and oppression, its prime concern (Everitt et al, 1992; Barn, 1994; Trinder 1996).

Drawing on many of the themes of community and radical social work of the 1970's and feminist, anti-racist and more recently anti-disablist, and service user perspectives, this approach takes on very specific modes. By employing and developing enabling skills and by linking individual concerns to wider social,

political and economic factors, perhaps the singularly most important aim of a critical approach is to challenge oppression at all levels (Mullender and Ward, 1991).

Inevitably, in seeking to confront power relations one immediately politicises the process of research. Whilst the collection of good quality information remains important, it can no longer be the only concern for critical researchers. Trinder (1996) identifies two specific strands to research that is driven by political rather than 'scientific' or managerial imperatives. First, the researcher/practitioner needs to be located 'alongside members of oppressed groups in a non-hierarchical way drawing links between an individual's situation and structural factors' (1996, p239). The second strand seeks to disrupt the privileged location and knowledge of the expert in order to create space for 'the voices of the oppressed and their subjective experiences' (Trinder, 1996, p239).

It is often assumed that in seeking to give 'voice' to the experiences of the oppressed, critical approaches is only interested in qualitative methodologies. Harvey (1990), however, emphasises the danger of reducing critical social research to one domain alone. He argues that, with an overall aim of unmasking the nature of oppressive social structures, critical researchers should employ a range of methodologies and analytical techniques. Revealing a Marxist orientation, Harvey suggests that critical research can be characterised by a number of key elements of abstraction, namely, 'essence', 'totality', 'praxis', 'ideology', 'history' and 'structure', but most importantly, they must be rooted in a materialist and dialectical conception of the world. More specifically, Mama (1990), in her study of professional responses to violence against black women in the home, identifies four specific steps that researchers can take to reduce racism in the research process: First, to minimise the possibility of miscommunication and to rectify some of the power imbalance 'ethnic matching of researchers' should be considered. Second, to give credence and priority to the accounts given by research subjects. Third, to analyse research findings in the light of the collective histories and cultures of minority groups, paying particular attention to colonial conquests, enslavement and economic exploitation. In short, critical researchers should not underestimate the ongoing legacy of the past and how this can affect relationships in the present.

Within the critical model, a three-way mutually beneficial partnership between academic researchers, social work professionals and service users emerges. For academic researchers one of the obvious benefits of such a partnership is the opportunity of

overcoming problems in obtaining access to research sites, subjects and, in some instances, funding. For social workers, the opportunity to participate in the construction, execution and dissemination of research offers the potential to enhance professional autonomy and to participate in a process that seeks to promote social change (Everitt et al., 1992; Broad, 1994). Finally, for service users the clearest benefits are the possibility of defining research the agendas, gaining self-confidence, raising consciousness, and establishing support networks.

The language of classification

In nearly any case of social research, particularly when seeking to explore issues related to social diversity, it will be necessary to classify or label people. The point needs to be re-iterated that such classifications need to be seen as a means to an end, and not the object of the study, as Truman & Humphries (1994) point out:

Studies of different forms of inequality need to differentiate, for instance, the experiences of black people from the experiences of white people, disabled people from those of non-disabled people. However, it is neither the *blackness* or *whiteness* nor the *disability* or *non-disability* that forms the focus of the investigation but the differential *experiences* of being black or white, that fundamentally reveal how inequalities are maintained. (1994 p3)

Many research texts warn against the dangers of essentialist assumptions, the use of a group label as if it somehow was real and by itself explained difference - and these are not confined to 'race and ethnicity' (Ahmad & Sheldon, 1993). Similar dangers can arise in relation to gender (Humphries, 1994), religion (Macourt, 1995) or sexual relations and family structures - including the often uncontested nature of 'marriage' and household relationships (Graham, 1993). Researchers should need no reminding that a person may

be 'described' in all of these categories - for example, as a black, female, Buddhist and (lesbian) lone parent; and disadvantaged or advantaged by membership of each group. Equally, one should pay attention to the undefined 'control' 'white' majority category; very seldom, is this group examined or explicitly defined (Frankenberg, 1993; Dyer, 1997). Therefore, in drawing attention to subdivisions amongst black groups, one should not forget the same consideration applies to the majority 'white' society'.

The question may be rephrased - it all may be seen to depend upon how one addresses identity and difference (researcher and researched) within the research process. Spivak, (1987) makes an important observation that for very specific, often political, purposes most people operate and deploy a form of 'strategic essentialism' whereby identity is presumed to be 'real' but cannot be said to be 'real' in any other sense that will determine their complete being. The danger is that the label becomes used in place of the person. As discussed in Chapters Two and Four, one also needs to avoid categories that end up racialising individuals and groups. Arguably, if one argues against racism, then logically one must say that 'race' is an invalid empirical category (Miles, 1989; Carter, 2000). Yet, whatever category one uses, given the wider context, it is likely to assume some degree of racial intent. For example, the religious category Muslim, increasingly employed by social researchers (e.g. Modood et al, 1997), has historically, within the context of Orientalism (Said, 1978) and more recently Islamaphobia, become extensively racialised.

For communication, it remains true that certain stereotypes and clichés, however dangerous, remain necessary; life is really a series of approximations and simplifications. Researchers must communicate, but at the same time be clear about the limitations of terms and labels they use and how these are understood and mobilised by others. In sum, it is accepted that, as Humphries & Truman (1994) insist, there is no such thing as an unproblematic reality - even research is not based solely on objective knowledge, but on (as well as, in the process, making) constructed reality. Therefore, researchers are

faced with the kinds of paradoxes talked about in Chapter Four, particularly so since it is often through deploying labels and categories that they exercise power. Perhaps the best that can be hoped for is that labels are used consciously and with the sort of footnote that Barn feels constrained to add to her discussion of anti-discriminatory research in social work:

Although the author accepts the concept of race to be a social construction and not a biological entity, the term is being employed here in the absence of other suitable terminology. (Barn, 1994 p55)

It follows that when conducting social research of any kind, one needs to be explicit and aware in our use of such words in conducting and writing up research.

Towards an emancipatory paradigm

So far, I have concentrated on developing a broad discussion of a range of research approaches and how these have historically been deployed to research black people. I have argued that critical research perspectives are most suited to promote the kinds of emancipatory goals envisaged by ARSW. In the remainder of this chapter, I will develop a more sustained discussion of the research paradigm that underpins the present thesis, which I characterise as emancipatory research. I begin this section with a discussion of the qualitative versus quantitative debate.

Theories of research are often divided into quantitative (emphasising the collection of numerical data and statistical analysis) or qualitative (emphasising the non-numerical and interpretative analysis of social phenomena). However, Silverman (2000) suggests that such polarities are problematic in that the resulting antagonisms do not help one group learn from another. Whilst this may be true, in some cases the use of mixed methodologies shows that researchers do value both approaches, but that

each paradigm will answer a different question. For some, either approach may be emancipatory. Scott (1999), for example, identifies the strength of quantitative research in revealing the extent and systematic patterning of social inequalities in health and illness, whilst qualitative research brings into focus personal experience.

When it comes to research funding quantitative is still seen as the gold standard (Forbes and Wainwright, 2000). This may in part be due to methods employed within quantitative research tending to produce clear answers, which are easy to reject or accept according to whether or not they favour government policy. The most powerful defence of quantitative research is its claims to objective and value free enquiry, although this is a claim that has been questioned, notably, by feminist researchers (Harding 1987; Letherby, 2003).

Bryman (1988) and Hammersley (1993) suggest that qualitative methodology is more likely to empower as it focuses on the self-generated meanings and understandings of participants, rather than on their actions and behaviours alone. It is also particularly useful for the study of sensitive topics and marginalised and/or difficult to access groups. This is mainly due to its flexible (and naturalistic) approach, typically using small samples for semi-structured, individual and group interviews intimately linked to agendas that are important to the research subjects. However, the intimacy involved in qualitative research raises additional questions about the identity of the researcher and the influence this may have on what respondents reveal. To conceptualise the knowledge and power differentials, which may facilitate or impede researchers from pursuing anti-racist goals, Boushel (2000) develops a notion of 'experiential affinity' and 'experiential interdependence'. She suggests researchers need to develop a 'costs and benefits' framework to decide what might be the most appropriate course of action. One needs to insert a word of caution about an uncritical acceptance of 'ethnic matching' in research. No one individual possesses by virtue of their ascribed identity, a 'natural' inclination to empower 'their kind'. Whilst,

matching may open up the possibility of greater affinity, it doesn't guarantee it. As Ratcliffe points out, 'simply being black is not enough' (2004, p163).

Jayartine and Oakley (cited in Hammersley, 1993) suggest that researchers using qualitative methodologies should work towards minimising power differentials and exploitation. For example, in conducting face-to-face in-depth interviews, researchers should adapt, re-phrase and clarify questions. Moreover, they should 'check out' answers as well as observe the body language and demeanour of participants, and query them if necessary. The potential benefits are clear: participant involvement is promoted; through the development of trust and empathy, respondents feel more able to tell their own stories and voice their own views; misunderstandings are likely to be reduced; rapport and validity may be enhanced; and more in-depth information is gained as a result.

Whilst the benefits outlined above are difficult to deny, qualitative research can be exploitative, particularly when interviews are conducted within a sensitive environment and/or when researching sensitive topics (Finch, quoted in Hammersley, 1993). Therefore, the establishment of integrity must be a priority with study participants, and study findings must not be used to increase their oppression. Qualitative approaches are criticised by Forbes and Wainwright (2001) as overly focusing on the micro level at the expense of the macro level. Concentration on lived experience alone may 'blind' researchers to the wider social context.

Whilst qualitative research may also be criticised for its lack of structure, its relative flexibility allows researchers to be more responsive to the requirements of the participants. Conversely, there is a danger of a flexible approach that is not in some way accounted for. As Humphries (1997) warns:

commitment to self-reflexivity is fundamental, although this can deteriorate into a self-indulgence which places the researcher as the norm. An emancipatory intent

is no guarantee of an emancipatory outcome. A self-critical account that situates the researcher at the centre of the text can perpetuate the dominance our emancipatory intentions hope to fight. Our own frameworks need to be interrogated as we look for the tensions and contradictions in our research practice, paradoxically aware of our own complicity in what we critique. (Humphries, 1997 para 4.10)

Research as politics

Whilst the purpose of all research is to generate new insights, a critical anti-racist perspective would seek to extend this remit by identifying political imperatives that transcend the desire to generate new knowledge, theory and insights alone. Thus, anti-racist researchers must seek, as a bare minimum, to diminish the effects of racist oppression for the research subjects. French and Swain (1997) speaking from a disability perspective propose that emancipatory research needs to go further in its liberation of the participants; participants should control the research agenda, process and outcome, and the researcher should place their knowledge and skill at the disposal of the researched. Whilst such perspectives offer an important ideal, a more realistic position may be to ensure a high degree of reflexivity and openness between researcher/s and researched in order to develop sensitivity to potential of oppression at each stage of the research process. Cotterill and Letherby (1993) point out how, even if one has managed to be inclusive and participatory from the outset, participants have little control at the writing-up stage. Ribbons and Edwards (1998) point out, more often than not, the researcher chooses what to leave in and what to discard. A way to deal with this power imbalance could be to make findings available to research subjects for them to offer their own critiques and conclusion, which in turn could be incorporated into final reporting.

Despite good intentions, social researchers need to be aware of the near impossibility of equalising the power relationship. In analysing qualitative

researchers, Fine (1994) draws attention to the potential for self-deception and the dangers therein. She argues that qualitative researchers often reproduce a 'colonising discourse' of the 'other' whilst maintaining a self-delusion that they have given voice to the oppressed. The challenge, therefore, for the critical anti-racist researcher is to relay the story of the research subjects; interpretation yes, but total reconstruction, no. Even where the researcher is from the researched 'other' group, s/he cannot assume that membership alone will be sufficient to prevent this from occurring.

Conclusion

Whether or not one feels that research should be a neutral dispassionate fact finding activity, one cannot escape the historical, political, and social contexts in which it takes place. The distribution of power within society is undoubtedly influenced by 'race', gender, class and other axes of social differentiation. It follows that the process of research, from funding, the types of questions asked, methodologies adopted, and writing-up and dissemination, becomes implicated as political activity, even if this goes unacknowledged. Social research is rarely a benign activity, it serves to explain and explain away, and therefore it can serve different functions. Moreover, depending on such disparate factors as personal motivation, circumstance, funding sources and access arrangements, conflicts of interest will always be a factor. An approach that is complacent about the insidious modalities of power is likely to lead to oppressive outcomes, even where there is no obvious intent. Since people's lives are structured by the unequal distribution of power, social work research can either be used to ignore, obscure or reinforce such inequalities, or it can be used to uncover, confront and reduce them (Trinder, 1996). In this chapter, I have sought to outline key aspects of an approach that is capable of doing the latter.

Yet one needs to be realistic about what can be achieved given the inherent power inequalities in the research process. For example, as no two human beings share exactly

the same experience of living, degrees of ontological separation will always exist. A more realistic and honest approach, particularly one which involves the production of a PhD thesis, will be where the researcher (me) seeks to maximise and encourage participation, whilst recognising the limits of ones own subjectivity. In this particular study of BPTs, this was done through four distinct strategies:

First, for the developmental aspect/action research part of the project, a monitoring group made up of six experienced BPTs was established. This group met regularly during the full length of the project, from developing the original tender that secured funding from CCETSW, through to helping to organise the national conference, overseeing the project to completion;

Second, the focus groups were facilitated and key points were written up by the very same members of the group, which helped in the development of research themes.

Third, full participation of BPTs in the interviews was promoted up to and including allowing them an opportunity to read and amend interview transcripts.

Fourth, my own personal and professional experience, coupled with a long standing commitment to anti-racism and practice teaching (see Chapter One) placed me in a good position to explore the issues involved in this study with a high level of what, Strauss and Corbin (1990) term, 'theoretical sensitivity':

This term is used to describe the additional sensitisation to the research material that is provided when the researcher has a professional and/or personal experience in a particular area. (1990, p. 43)

Whereas this chapter has set out the broader approach informing the research dimension of this thesis, Chapter Six outlines how the research design and methodology was developed and implemented.

CHAPTER SIX

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

In writing up research, we tell (structured) stories about data. It is only natural then, that our readers should expect to be told how we gathered our data, what data we ended up with, and how we analysed them. (Silverman, 2000 p233)

Introduction

This chapter seeks to describe and discuss the research process and methodological issues related to the fieldwork component of the thesis. The previous chapter offered a detailed analysis of social work research within the arena of 'race'. In doing so, it mapped out some of the contours for developing a critical social research approach that is equally committed to methodological rigour and emancipatory change. The epistemological standpoint of this approach reflects the belief that there can never be a separation between the act of pursuing knowledge and the knowledge produced, or that the researcher (more so in qualitative research given the greater degree of subjectivity), even if this were desirable, can never claim to be a disinterested participant. Furthermore, notwithstanding the importance of adhering to ethical principles, research about, with, and on human beings is often unpredictable and messy.

Therefore, one of the challenges of critical social research is to build a degree of reflexivity that is capable of responding to such contingencies; it requires a high level of honesty in reporting the research 'as it happened' rather than 'as it was planned'. One outcome of this unpredictability can be that the research design develops and evolves as a study progresses. Through, 'observing new situations or previous situations with a slightly different lens, or narrowing of what is important to study' (Maykunt and Morehouse, 1994 p44), constant refocusing and orientation becomes an inherent part of the process. Scott (1999) in her qualitative study black people's health draws attention to

the underlying importance of subjectivity and reflexivity to the totality of research process:

research is both 'experiential' and 'reflective' practice: in the 'research economy' all processes, activities and experiences need to be considered for their potential value in the analysis and interpretation of data. (Scott, 1999 p81)

In reflecting on my own role as a researcher, I became increasingly aware of the power and influence that I wielded at every stage of the research process. Not only was I framing the research questions in gathering participants accounts, I was, as Fine (1994) points out, editing and deploying these narrative accounts in order to endorse my own arguments. It therefore became apparent to me that my aim to use the research to give voice to BPTs and their experiences of social work, whilst well intentioned, reflected a degree of naivety. Like Letherby (2002), in realizing that my fingerprints and marks were to be found everywhere, the impossibility of complete representation became clear, leaving me:

supporting an approach which may possibly involve a less than complete representation of the other, but I suggest that this is better than no representation at all. (Letherby, 2002 par 4.4)

Development of the project

As set out in Chapter One, this thesis, from inception to the present moment of writing up, has its own evolutionary trajectory. It began with an initial theoretical concern about the coherence of contemporary ARSW. This also, most crucially, was a time when my personal interest in the possibilities that postmodernism had to offer for critical analysis was at its peak. However, as time progressed, becoming intellectually more critical about the uses of postmodernism, along with an opportunity to lead a

funded action research project on the experiences and support needs of BPTs, new possibilities emerged for re-orientating the study.

First, it offered the prospects of introducing an action element to the research thereby opening up possibilities for a closer alignment with the aspirations of emancipatory research.

Second, given that my initial research interest was to examine the theoretical perspectives underpinning ARSW, the possibility of linking the thesis to social work education could be beneficial.

Third, a purposive sample of BPTs was highly likely to identify experienced black social workers that were actively engaged in promoting anti-racism in their dual roles as practitioners and educators. Moreover, this group could also enable me to explore the tensions between theory and practice.

Fourth, on a pragmatic level, £8,000 worth of research funding provided me with an opportunity to support my thesis which to this point was self-funded and carried out on top of existing full-time academic duties.

Therefore, the revised overall aim of the thesis was to develop a critical analysis of the context and development of anti-racist social work in Britain, refracted through the experiences and accounts of Black Practice Teachers.

Section 1 of this thesis provided a number of linked strands of analysis in establishing the context for the fieldwork. The fieldwork itself consisted of two distinct phases set out in Table 1:

- A developmental phase, funded by a research grant from CCETSW, with an overall aim to generate data on the location and experiences of BPTs, identify their support and development needs, and establish and enhance support networks (national and local).
- A follow-up qualitative phase incorporating semi-structured interviews to explore the experiences and insights of BPTs in more depth.

One of the difficulties with undertaking part-time PhD work spread over a number of years is the impact of time-lag on the process. Whilst accepting that one can never eliminate time-lag, there are four features of this work that go some way to militate against these factors:

First, the two elements of the project were completed within specific time-blocks which made it possible for some degree of coherence across stages.

Second, the flexibility of the overall research design meant that the two distinct phases had a degree, of autonomy. This was a requirement of the funding, and made it possible to write up the developmental aspect as a discrete component of the research.

Third, the two strands are linked in terms of strand one providing both a backdrop to strand two and development of research themes.

Fourth, the writing up phase of the thesis, and the necessity to move between the empirical data and literature, has meant that the literature, and indeed, all sections of the thesis have been subject to continuous updating and refinement. As Silverman indicates, the majority of reading will be centred on the data collection and analysis, as only then can you 'know which literature will be most relevant to your treatment of your topic' (Silverman, 2000 p230).

Research design

The design of this study is rooted in three equally important considerations.

First, in order to ensure internal validity the methodology needed to be sufficiently rigorous i.e. it had to produce data that was capable of answering the key research questions (see introduction to Section Two)

Second, that it was congruent with the key principles of emancipatory research;

Third, that it was sufficiently flexible and varied to enable the two distinctive phases of the project to proceed with some degree of coherence. The two phases being:

developmental, incorporating a survey and focus groups; and semi semi-structured qualitative interviews (see Table 1 below).

Table 1 - Overview of Design and Methodology

Phase	Aims	Sampling	Data	Analysis
Developmental Stage One: Postal survey	Establish contact Build data base/ Identify needs Develop support strategy Build research themes	Non- probability Purposive Self-selecting 62 completed questionnaires	Mixture of qualitative and quantitative	Descriptive statistics Identification of key themes
Developmental Stage One: Focus Group Discussions	Enable reflection Explore current debates Build research themes	Non- Probability Purposive Four groups of 15	Qualitative	Account of key themes
Stage Two: Semi-structured interviews	Explore research themes in more depth Map the experiences and thoughts of the participants	Non- Probability Purposive Opportunistic	Qualitative,	Account of key themes and perspectives, including convergence and divergence Constant comparison Grounded theory

Altogether, this study utilises four overlapping methods:

- A detailed critical review of the relevant literature as set out in Section 1 of the thesis - this enabled the development of a number of key themes for further investigation (see introduction to Section Two)
- A short postal survey designed to elicit biographical information and the respondent's general experiences of practice teaching and support needs (see Appendix 1).

- Focus group discussions held at a workshop attended by all the respondents to the survey (see Appendix 2). This provided the opportunity to feedback themes identified in the postal survey questionnaire, as a basis for refining and expanding themes to inform the development of semi-structured interview schedule
- In-depth semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 3) with BPTs aimed at generating data about the respondent's experiences and analysis of racism of social work and practice teaching, and their understandings of ARSW.

The design for study follows a multi-method that is most commonly associated with designs that combine a mixture of qualitative and quantitative approaches. Brewer and Hunter (1989) suggest that such an approach is more likely to ensure triangulation, which seeks to 'pinpoint the values of a phenomenon more accurately by sighting in on it from different methodological viewpoints' (p17). It is in the belief that no one single method is free from some imperfection, that the efficacy of this approach is justified. In other words, by meshing different, albeit imperfect methods, one is able to build a more robust design:

Its fundamental strategy is to attack a research problem with an arsenal of methods that have non-overlapping weaknesses in addition to their complimentary strengths. (Brewer and Hunter, 1989 p17)

Research perspective

The overall perspective of the approach follows on from the arguments presented in Chapter Five regarding the centrality of an emancipatory agenda to this study. As pointed out above and in Chapter Five, such an approach rejects the notion that there can be 'objective' knowledge or a disinterested knowledge seeker, therefore placing specific value on the presence of shared understandings and experiences between the researcher and the researched (Schwandt, 1990; Neilson, 1990; Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Of particular relevance in the context of this study is the ethnological strand of the

constructivist approach which emphasises its concern with 'understanding as nearly as possible some aspect of human experience as it is lived, felt or undergone by the participants in that experience' (Schwandt 1990, p. 266).

The critical and interpretive dimension of the study is consistent with an aim 'to give voice to' and 'make visible' those whose story to date has been largely ignored or interpreted by white people who predominate in the institutions of social work and social work education (see Swigonski, 1993). It is also consistent with the researcher approximately sharing the same 'location' both socially and historically as members of the researched cohort. Thus my own perspective, as a black social work educator placed me in a good position to gain trust and develop interpretations of the data which are more likely to accurately reflect the respondents' perceptions of their lived experience and to be critical of the dominant discourse in relation to 'race' and racism (Mama, 1989; Scott, 1999).

Although, in keeping with the grounded theory approach, my primary task was to highlight and analyse common and divergent themes, I was conscious of the dangers of oversimplification, of succumbing to the temptation to produce 'neat' conclusions which some policy driven research agendas on 'race' and racism have tended to encourage (see Chapter Five). Accordingly, I was cognisant of the need to give due regard to the issue of representation, identity and divergence as it is 'in this conflictual dialogue that the meanings of 'race', racism and anti-racism are forged, broken and remade (Donald and Ratanssi, 1992 p 4).

Validity and reliability

Given the interpretive and subjective nature of qualitative research, traditional positivistic notions of reliability and validity are almost impossible to apply. This of course does not mean that qualitative researchers do not need to concern themselves with addressing such questions; noble intentions are no guarantor of good research:

Unless you can show your audience the procedures you used to ensure that your methods were reliable and your conclusions valid, there is little point in aiming to conclude a research dissertation. (Silverman, 2000 p175)

The challenge for me was not to ignore questions of validity and reliability, but to re-imagine how these important aspects could be addressed within the epistemological standpoint of the thesis. Specifically the task was to identify ways of verifying that the data was a true reflection of the respondents' opinions, and that the analysis and conclusions I drew were consistent with the data examined.

At a very general level, one way to address this problem is to instil trustworthiness, underpinned, as mentioned earlier, by a high level of transparency in the research process. Accordingly, the strategies developed to maximise validity and reliability are summarised as follows:

- Through prolonged and varied field experience, I was able to develop the spread of different perspectives, whilst at the same time confirm and check emergent themes at each stage of the project.
- Through regular meetings with my research supervisor, and in relation to the developmental stage, by providing verbal written reports to CCETSW, the research funder and the project advisory group, I was able to review my own thinking and the efficacy of the research design.
- By providing feedback on the initial findings from the survey at the BPTs workshop in the form of a presentation.
- By tape recording and transcribing all the semi-structured interviews; going back to the participants with the transcripts to verify their own accounts; and making amendments and or additional comments accordingly. In reality, of the 21 participants only three responded with amendments.

- By developing a purposive sample of key individuals for the semi-structured interviews, I was able to maximise the richness and variety of data.
- By providing a detailed description of methods used and the thought processes involved in the analysis of the data,
- In relation to data analysis, by following a 'critical enquiry approach' suggested by Patton (1990). This approach seeks out 'rival explanations' for the linkages and patterns that emerge from data analysis and that 'the exceptions that prove the rule' must be sought out, i.e. examples that do not fit patterns emerging from the data (Patton, 1990 pp 57-58).

A further step that I could have taken, but did not, was to go back to my research subjects with some tentative analysis of data (Reason and Rowan, 1981 in Silverman 2000). However, this kind of 'respondent validation' has been criticised by Fielding and Fielding (1986, in Silverman, 2000) who caution against assuming respondents are always best placed to comment on their own actions. Others also question whether respondents are capable of following reports that may be written for a specialist audience (Bloor 1978 in Silverman, 2000). Given the fact that the respondents in the present study were social work educators with graduate and in many instances post-graduate levels qualifications, I had no doubt about their capacity for understanding analysis of the data. Clearly, with more resources, a further meeting with the respondents, perhaps in the form of a focus group where some of my data analysis could have been presented, would have strengthened the validity of the study. Nevertheless, whilst the subjective nature of this study makes it impossible to replicate, this does not impinge on further studies being carried out on the subject matter, regardless of the limitations of the present design.

Sampling

The purpose of sampling in social research is to identify a manageable number of research cases from a population group in order to investigate a particular phenomena or

test out a hypothesis, whilst maintaining some basis for claiming validity of the research findings (Fielding and Gilbert, 2000). Broadly speaking, the various sampling strategies can be 'divided into two main groups, probability and non probability sampling' (Blaxter et al., 1997 p 79).

Quantitative research relies primarily on some variation of probability sampling, which is used when it would be impossible, unrealistic or uneconomical to survey the whole population. Inevitably, sampling introduces a margin of error since one does not take the whole population. Nevertheless, the object is to minimise the error by taking 'representative samples' from which to make an 'inference'. 'Probability sampling' is the preferred option where one is seeking to map the feature of a given population and/or to test empirical hypothesis (Arber, 1993).

As my primary interest was to elicit the thoughts and experiences of BPTs, as a means for developing ARSW, the chosen method for this study was 'non probability sampling'. Some times referred to as purposive sampling, this approach is particularly suited to research that is seeking to explore a phenomena in depth or to aid theory development (Arber, 1993). In the next section, I detail each aspect of the study design, including issues relating to sampling.

Postal survey of BPTs

As was the case in the present study, complete or accurate lists are simply not available. Indeed, in relation to this study, one of the key aspects of the developmental component was to build a sampling frame (or data base) of BPTs in England whereby not only could they be offered support, but also as a means of further investigating their experiences.

The consultation process began by initially establishing a small project advisory group consisting of experienced BPTs. This group was instrumental in designing the project and securing funding from the CCETSW, who had put the work out to tender. After securing

the funding, I made a number of contacts with key individuals that had been active in establishing and facilitating BPTs networks in the past. With the help of CCETSW's existing databases and the internet, it was possible to optimise the number of BPTs receiving details of the project and conference. Information about the conference (see Appendix 5) was sent to all DipSW partnerships, Practice Teaching Programmes, the National Organisation of Practice Teachers (NOPT), SSDs and a small number of voluntary and private sector organisations. Additionally, information about the conference was published in Community Care magazine, the main UK social work e-mail discussion forum (uksocwork@nisw.org.uk) and the Social Work and Social Policy web site (www.swap.ac.uk).

Given my own experience, I was conscious that penetrating the bureaucratic barriers was a key challenge if I were to make contact with BPTs. Indeed, the success depended on persuading or bypassing the gatekeepers (mostly white) who 'safeguard the privacy of powerful people or institutions' (Hornsby-Smith, 1993 p53). Success in gaining access involves the social researcher in adopting a variety of strategies, ranging from persistence, charm and imperviousness to rejection, negotiation and flexibility. Given that I was not seeking physical access to subjects at this stage, the challenge I faced related more to the gatekeepers being sympathetic to the cause, rather than being hostile to my presence. My greatest concern was that they would simply not pass on the information to BPTs. However, four important factors were able to ameliorate the inevitable institutional blocks.

First, the fact that the study was supported by CCETSW gave it an official stamp of approval in the eyes of gatekeepers. Moreover, given CCETSW's positive track record on promoting ARSW (see Chapter Three), credibility amongst black staff was enhanced.

Second, my own personal networks meant that I was able to contact staff directly within key organizations. These people were often, but not always, in gate keeping roles

(e.g. training officers, directors of practice teaching programmes, DipSW course leaders) and they were able to take personal responsibility for disseminating the publicity.

Third, the Internet proved particularly helpful in accessing black workers in the voluntary sector, who would otherwise miss information channelled through staff development units in statutory agencies.

Fourth, by combining the questionnaire with the possibility of a free place at a national workshop (Appendix 4) I managed to provide some immediate material incentive for information to be circulated (i.e. no cost to the organisation) and questionnaires to be returned.

62 completed questionnaires were returned. Given that there are no figures on the total number of BPTs in England, it is difficult to gauge the degree to which this number is statistically representative. Nevertheless, based on the variety of respondents - in relation to location, role, experience, gender and ethnicity - one can safely assert that a good cross-section of opinion was obtained.

Focus Groups

The overall aim of the focus group discussions was to supplement the data obtained through the postal survey, as well as contribute to generating and refining themes for the semi-structured interviews. Specifically the focus groups set out to enable participants to reflect upon:

- the past and present in discussing their own feelings and thoughts about black struggles in social work.
- their experiences as BPTs, and to explore ways to build and enhance support networks.

The choice of method for this stage of the study was informed by three interrelated considerations.

First, on a pragmatic level, given the paucity of literature on black social workers experiences in general and BPTs in particular, the research approach had to be sufficiently capable of generating and sparking new ideas, which could inform the development of themes for the next stage of the study.

Second, by creating a safe facilitative space where the participants feel a sense of collective identity and common cause, one is more likely to enable the exploration of consensus or otherwise on any given topic.

Third, it needed to be capable of promoting the empowerment of BPTs by providing a space for the development of common knowledge and critical awareness.

Within the broad parameters outlined earlier, the decision was taken to use a suitably modified form of the focus-group approach (Basch, 1987; Williams et al, 1997). A topic guide (see Appendix 2) informed by the literature review, initial research questions, survey findings and discussions with the project co-ordination group was developed. A few minor modifications were made following the training session for facilitators, who were drawn from the project-coordination group. Each one of the facilitators was provided with an instruction sheet (see Appendix 2) containing a series of prompts. The questions were also supplied to workshop participants in their packs.

Given the large size of the groups and the fact their primary purpose was to identify action points for developing BPT support networks and inform the development of a semi-structured interview schedule, discussions were not tape-recorded. Tape-recording of the proceedings would have enabled more detailed and nuanced accounts of the discussions. However, facilitators were asked to take notes of the key discussion points that were fed-back at a plenary.

The groups were constituted from the participants at the workshop that was organised as part of the development aspects of this study. In total 60 participants were divided up into four groups each.

Two 45 minutes sessions were held and following each session, group facilitators provided a short overview of the key discussion points as a mean of feedback. This process enabled a degree of internal validity, as participants in each of the groups were given the opportunity to comment on the feedback for accuracy of representation. A number of themes did emerge (see Appendix 2b) that were instrumental in building upon the reviewed literature, postal survey and informing the semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews

The purpose of this stage of the overall design was to pursue in greater depth, the themes that emerged out of the survey and focus groups. The discussion of this aspect is in two parts: the first develops a broader analysis of the place of interviews in this study; the second looks more closely at issues related to the conduct of the interviews.

Why semi-structured interviews? Clarity of purpose is a critical prerequisite for choosing a methodology. As Miles and Huberman (1984, quoted in Silverman, 2000) point out, 'knowing what you want to find out leads inexorably to the question of how you will get that information' (p88). Stage one of the empirical component (survey and focus groups) managed to generate many important points concerning the experience and support needs of BPTs. From this data, a broad map of the situation of BPTs and their collective thoughts about their experiences of social work was established. Moreover, this enabled the further refinement and development of research themes that were identified from the literature review. However, the data was not able to provide sufficient insights into the careers of BPTs, their personal experiences of racism in social work, and the ways in which they sought to promote ARSW in their various contexts and roles. It was the desire to develop a 'deeper' understanding of social phenomena (Silverman, 2000) that led to the adoption of semi-structured interviews as a research approach. This approach was especially conducive to excavating both the explicit and

tacit understandings that research participants employed in making sense of their experiences as black social work professionals, and practice teachers.

Selection of Interviewees - Sampling for qualitative work tends to be very different from quantitative. Arber (1993) identifies two types of sampling that may be used in qualitative work: snowball and theoretical sampling. Snowball sampling is a technique used where it may be difficult to generate a sample (e.g. where lists are not readily available) or difficult to reach population groups. As the term implies it is based on using one known person who fits a criteria, and asking if she/he knows anybody else who also fits and so on. In the present study, participants were selected to reflect a range of the total study population in terms of role, location, ethnicity and gender. The samples were drawn from two sources, namely, the databases that were established from the postal survey and national workshop, and my own personal contacts. One of the advantages of this strategy was that I had some control over determining the variety of the sample. Moreover, I was aware that for this aspect of the study to reveal any useful data, I needed a sample that would be most likely to provide the richest information. French advocates that this should be 'a sample of specific people who are considered best able to answer the particular research question' (1993 p.57).

Prospective subjects were invited to participate on a purely voluntary basis, since any form of coercion would not only have been unethical, but could have invalidated my findings. The pressures encountered in completing my thesis as a part-time student meant that my sample was also influenced by convenience; it was self-selecting. In spite of this, I did manage to establish a sample reflecting a range of backgrounds and perspectives. In total 21 interviews were carried out. The decision to stop at 21 was determined by three factors, namely, resource and time considerations, the richness and quantity of the data produced, and a notable decrease in the emergence of any new themes or insights of significance. By regularly reviewing my interview data throughout the period of the fieldwork, I was able to come to a

judgement that the point of 'theoretical saturation' (Glaser and Strauss, 1967) had been achieved and there was little point collecting any further data.

There were three key reasons for basing my sampling frame on BPTs:

- it enabled me to explore the extent and nature of both personal and institutional racism from the various black perspectives;
- as experienced black professionals they were in an ideal position to offer a historical perspective on the development of ARSW; given their unique role as practice educators who, both through their work with student and their wider agency role are, rightly or wrongly, been seen as 'race' experts',
- it felt important to explore and evaluate the kinds of conceptualisations, understandings and knowledge's they were holding and communicating to others.

Piloting and refining the interview schedule - Three of the 21 interviews formed a pilot. This enabled me to trial the interview schedule, establish the clarity of questions and identify any issues that were important to the interviewees that had not already been addressed. Given the flexible approach taken in the interviews, in effect, very few changes were made to the original schedule. Nonetheless, one important difficulty did emerge. My own observations of interviewees reactions and verbal feedback from them, suggested that that they found some of the questions, specifically those designed to elicit theoretical understandings, difficult to answer. Indeed, one interviewee suggested that she felt, at times, the interview was more akin to being examined, which made her feel uncomfortable. Whilst this indicated the advisability of a less direct approach to the elicitation of theoretical knowledge, I do also think that such feelings may have been compounded by my presence and perceived status as an expert on the very issues that I was seeking their insights. To address these issues, two changes were made.

First, some of the wording of the questions was altered in order to enable respondents to provide more reflexive accounts of their understandings of key theoretical issues. For

example, a direct question seeking the respondents understanding of 'black perspectives' was replaced by a question asking them to discuss 'how their understandings of black perspectives had changed over time'.

Second, in seeking to deconstruct, as far as possible, the perception of me as 'expert', I adopted a more conversational approach in which I would share my own indeterminacy about the theoretical issues. This helped establish a sense that there were no 'correct' responses and what was important was participant's subjective thoughts and feelings (see Bhavnani, 1991).

All interviews were carried out at the participant's work place and were arranged by mutually convenient appointment. Individual interviews lasted between 45 and 75 minutes. All interviews were taped with the participant's consent. The taped interviews were fully transcribed and a copy was sent to each participant, asking them to confirm its accuracy, make corrections or suggest additions. Of the 21 participants, only three responded; one provided additional comments, whilst the other two wanted to correct some factual details. With more resources, further validation would have been obtained if I could have arranged a further focus group of participants. Not only would this have enabled me to 'check' my initial data analysis, but also, in keeping with the underlying commitment to emancipatory research, would have given back some of the knowledge and insights that I was extracting.

Approach to the interviews - In order to gain the informed and genuine consent of participants each one was given brief details of the study along with an explanation of its aims and possible benefits. Confidentiality and anonymity was to be guaranteed, and they were informed of the approximate length of each interview, and of their right to withdraw at any time. All participants were asked to complete an informed consent form, both consenting to the interview and tape recording (see Appendix 4). Of the 21 participants, only one refused to allow tape recording, so hand written notes were taken throughout the interview.

A key underpinning consideration in the conduct of the interviews was that they should enable each participant to tell their story. Whereas, standardised interviews are formal, and demand that the interviewer ask the same questions in the same order in every interview, the semi-structured approach allows the flexibility to schedule and adapt questions to each respondent's understanding (Bennett and Wright, 1984; Gilbert, 1993). In this manner, interviewees have the freedom to speak freely and at length in their own natural way. In this way, Oakley (1981) suggests the participant is enabled to engage as fully and as equally as possible, thus avoiding '...an exploitative and hierarchical relationship between interviewer and interviewee' (Quoted in Jupp, 1989 p.67).

French (1993), states that the validity of semi-structured interviews can be undermined by the various unchangeable characteristics such as race, gender, class etc., which are known to have an impact upon participants responses. When interviewing my participants, I was constantly aware of my own subjectivity. I recognised that aspects of my identity (as a middle-aged Sikh male academic) was inevitably a factor in the interviews, and what information the respondents chose/chose not to disclose. In terms of gender, one of my greatest concerns was the potential incongruence between my understanding, as a male, and the understanding of the women respondents. Whilst there is acceptance that in general, men's and women's ontological perspectives do differ, the interviewer will need to be prepared to 'invest his or her own personal identity into the relationship' (Oakley, 1981 in Jupp, 1989 p41). One of the ways in which I managed to address this issue, was to adopting a conversational approach and, where appropriate, connect my own biography with that expressed by the respondents. Moreover, I was aware of the need to avoid establishing a hierarchical relationship and simply using the interview for my own purposes. Whilst recognising the impossibility of creating equal power relationships, a number of steps were taken to ameliorate the power imbalance.

First, all the interviews were conducted on the respondents' territory, which in all but two cases was in private offices in their work place; the remaining two interviews being

conducted in the respondents' home. French (1993) explains that research participants are voluntarily giving their time to aid the study and therefore, the researcher should attempt to arrange interviews at times that are convenient to them in places of their choosing.

Second, respondents were written to in advance with details of the interview schedule and themes that would be covered (Appendix 3), and were told that transcripts of the taped interviews would be sent to them. This had the effect of not only enabling them to make an informed choice, but also to allow them to have a degree of control over the process, before, during and after the interview.

Third, my involvement in the BPTs project and my known commitment to anti-racism enabled me to commence the interviews with a degree of trust. I cannot underestimate the importance of my own black identity to the interview process. Scott (1999), in her study of diabetes reports how much easier it was to establish rapport with those respondents that shared her own Caribbean background.

Although I had decided, beforehand, to start by inviting interviewees to ask any question they had about the research or myself, it seldom proved necessary to issue this invitation to the Caribbean sample. We traded stories about how we ended up in England. The interviews developed out of these conversations and the ensuing discussions were punctuated with heartrending stories of loneliness and isolation as well as details of ...encounters with racism. (Scott, 1999 p87)

Like Scott, I found establishing rapport to be very easy and respondents would often talk with me on a level of intimacy that indicated a high degree of trust. However, whilst being aware of the advantages of occupying a shared ontological, I was equally conscious of the potential pitfalls. For example, over identification could lead to giving excess significance to certain events, or to overlook data which somebody with a different

perspective may spot. It is plausible that if a white female researcher had carried out the interviews, some the data would have been different. This does not invalidate the findings or efficacy of qualitative research, but it does place a responsibility on the researcher to give a full account of the way the data was arrived at and the possible influences present.

A key ethical principle of social research is that of beneficence or non-maleficence. One of my concerns was that I should not simply be involved in a process of gathering data in order to complete my thesis, but that the respondents felt that there were some tangible benefits for them. Scott (1999), suggests that a lack of interest by participants in the outcomes of research 'could be rooted in a view of research as remote and 'powerless' to effect changes in their lives' (p90). The fact that I found the reverse to be true perhaps serves as a reminder that the sense of powerlessness and remoteness is relative. All participants expressed an interest in receiving transcripts of their interviews; some used these for their own personal development, whilst three participants, who at the time were completing the CCETSW Practice Teaching Award, used these for their assessed portfolios as part of a 'critical self reflection'.

Data Analysis - Whilst qualitative data analysis may take different forms, the underlying principle is that one is seeking to examine the words and actions of people within particular contexts (Maykunt and Morehouse, 1994). The main divergence of approaches centres on the level of interpretation and degree of abstraction. Therefore, on one extreme, one may utilise the data without any analysis, simply as anecdotal evidence to support or refuting certain pre-determined positions or hypotheses. On the other end of the spectrum, one may utilise the data to build completely new theories and concepts. The approach taken in this study lies somewhere between these two extremes.

My primary concern was to gain critical insights into ARSW as understood by BPTs. Following Maykunt and Morehouse (1994), in seeking to isolate and develop conclusions 'derived from a systematic analysis of the data' (p126), one of my central concerns was to

not lose the unique oral histories of the participants. Indeed, a tacit aim of this thesis was to document the narrative accounts of black social work practitioners and practice teachers; something that, as outlined in previous chapters, is unreported in the social work research literature. In order to allow a degree of abstraction, whilst not losing the narrative account, I decided to use the 'general style' of a grounded theory approach borrowed from that developed by Glaser & Strauss (1967). Thus, I adapted their 'constant comparison method' and its suggested application by Dye et al (2000) to organise my data under the themed headings.

Accepting, at face value, the participants' different perspectives, I undertook a cross-case analysis of their views and opinions, comparing their individual commentaries under each theme in order to identify any common and divergent elements. These elements were then used to open up new themes for enquiry and subsequent analysis. Hence, the grounded theory approach, when triangulated with the findings from my research literature, postal survey and focus groups, enabled me to build a number of viable theories and perspectives relating to ARSW within the context of contemporary social theory and policy.

Given that the interviews had generated in excess of 150,000 words, a decision to use a qualitative data analysis computer programme, Nvivo2, was taken. Whilst there can be little doubt that computer aided analysis has many advantages, some writers express caution with seeing this as a panacea. Coffey et al (1996), point out the danger in simply equating coding and software with the actual process of analysis and 'grounded theorising'. It is argued that an over reliance on the technology may have the effect of distancing the researchers from the data (Welsh 2002), although Coffey et al. (1996) indicate that this need not be a consequence of the software per se, but more related to the psychology of human interaction with computers.

Interviews were transcribed and fed into the computer package over a six-month period. Gradually, the mass of data was refined into themes with relevant quotes

extracted for inclusion in Chapters Seven and Eight. Data discarded from the transcripts included repetitive or less coherent quotations related to the major themes and anecdotal or procedural information. In keeping with the ethical principle to safeguard confidentiality, information which could potentially identify the participants and which could not be safely anonymised was also discarded.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have presented a detailed description and analysis of the various strands of the research design and the methods adopted to collate and analyse the data. I have sought to explain how my overall philosophical orientations, discussed in Chapter Five, were applied to the design and executions. In keeping with the general thrust of the thesis, I have sought to be as transparent as possible. Having established the basis upon which the data was gathered, in Chapters Seven and Eight I set out and analyse the empirical data.

CHAPTER SEVEN

STAKING OUT THE GROUND: ROOTS, ROUTES AND RACISM

The subject, previously experienced as having a unified and stable identity, is becoming fragmented; composed not of a single, but of several, sometimes contradictory or unresolved identities...Identity becomes a 'moveable feast': formed and transformed continuously in relation to the ways we are represented or addressed in the cultural systems which surround us. (Stuart Hall, 1992 p276)

Research Questions

1. How do BPTs perceive their own identity?
2. What motivated BPTs to enter social work in general and practice teaching in particular?
3. In what ways do BPTs experience racism in social work?

Introduction

The overall aims of this chapter are to map, contextualise and analyse the experiences of BPTs. It is organised in two distinct parts. The first section reports on the feedback from the postal survey. Here I seek to provide some base line statistics about the distribution and make-up of BPTs. Moreover, this section provides an important opportunity to progress the development of research themes relating to the motivation and experiences of BPTs, which is followed up in the semi-structured interviews. The second and more substantial second of this Chapter focuses on the qualitative data collected from the 21 semi-structured interviews. Overall, themes addressed here related to the biographies of BPTs and their experiences of racism in social work.

Section One: The postal survey

The postal survey was based on a short questionnaire (see Appendix 1), that was attached to the application for the BPTs national conference. Applicants were requested

to complete the questionnaire and were assured that information provided would be anonymous. Making a place at the conference dependent on returning a completed questionnaire assured a good response rate. 62 completed questionnaires were returned. Given that there are no statistics on the total number of BPTs in England, it is difficult to gauge the degree to which this number is representative. Nevertheless, based on the wide geographical spread of the respondents, one can safely assert that a good cross section of opinion was obtainable.

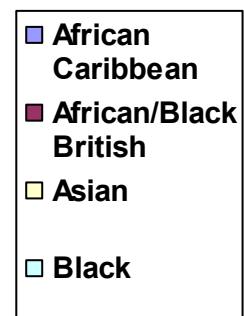
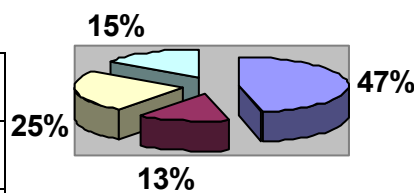
The questionnaire was divided into 2 parts. The first part sought biographical data on the distribution and make up of BPTs; the second, sought to elicit specific experiences. The survey was not designed as a scientific analysis, but rather as an opportunity for BPTs to record and share some of their experiences (positive and negative). A summary of the responses received followed by brief discussion and explanation is set out below.

(n= number of respondents answering that particular question)

Table 2: Ethnic Origin

(n=60)

African Caribbean	28	47%
African/Black British	8	13%
Asian	15	25%
Black	9	15%



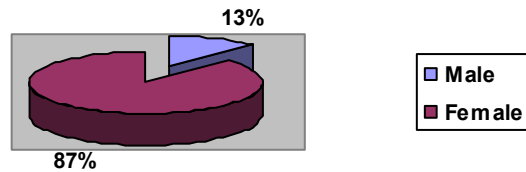
Comment - These figures would suggest that in relation to numbers of BPTs African Caribbean out number Asians by a ratio of 2:1. As there are no statistics regarding the

overall ethnic make up of black staff within the social work profession, it is difficult to draw any comparisons.

Table 3: Gender

(n=62)

Male	8	13%
Female	54	87%

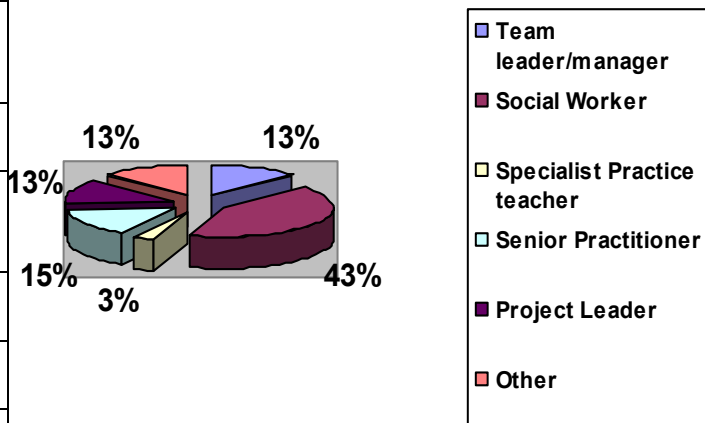


Comment - These figures indicate that female BPTs outnumber male practice teachers by nearly 7:1. This figure is comparable to the general ratios for males to females within front line non management roles as reported in a Department of Health Survey of Social Services Workforce in the 90's (DOH, 1998).

Table 4: Job Title

(n=60)

Team leader/manager	8	13%
Social Worker	25	42%
Specialist Practice teacher	2	3%
Senior Practitioner	9	15%
Project Leader	8	13%
Other	8	13%

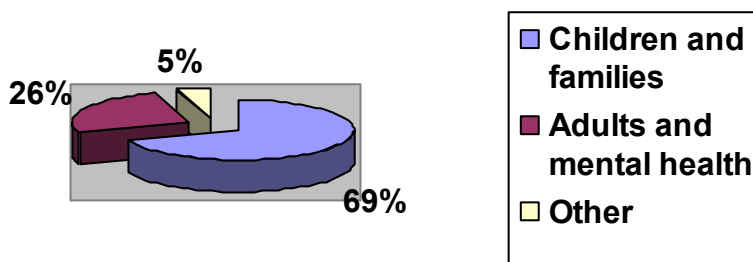


Comment - The most interesting aspect of this breakdown is that nearly half of all practice teachers are in some kind of leadership/supervisory post. This figure may confirm the generally held view that practice teaching is an important route into managerial roles as was reported by Lindsey and Walton (2000).

Table 5: Service User Group

(n=62)

Children and families	43	70%
Adults and mental health	16	25%
Other	3	5%

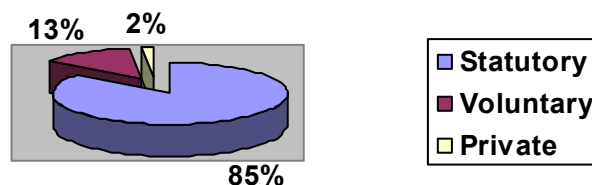


Comment - The vast majority of BPTs work with children and families.

Table 6: Sector

(n=61)

Statutory	53	86%
Voluntary	8	12%
Private	1	2%

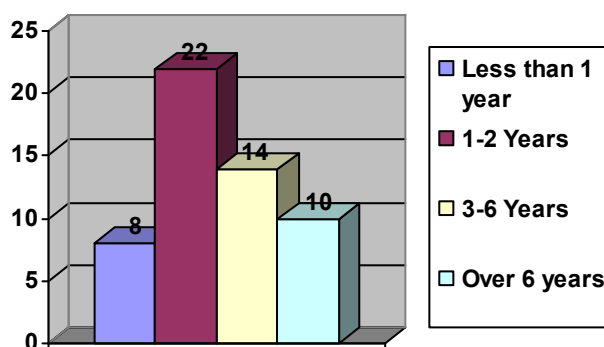


Comment - Although this figure suggests the vast majority of respondents work within the statutory sector, it would be unsafe to conclude that most BPTs are to be found in this sector. It could be the case that, due to lack of access to information on the conference the sample was mostly drawn from the statutory sector.

Table 7: Length of Experience as Practice Teacher

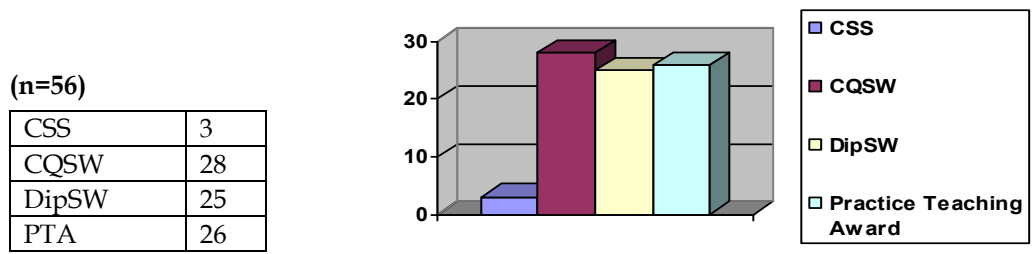
(n=54)

Less than 1 year	8	15%
1-2 Years	22	41%
3-6 Years	14	26%
Over 6 years	10	18%



Comment - These figures suggest that there is a good mix of new and experienced BPTs. The fact that nearly half of respondents had been practice teaching for less than 2 years would imply a good throughput of BPTs. However, this throughput often ends up with practice teachers gradually moving on and being 'lost' once they begin to get experienced. Lindsey and Tompsett (1998 and 1999) in two linked studies looking at career of practice teachers and agency practices in the London and the South East report, identified a number of factors that impacted the retention of practice teachers, namely, organisational restructuring, lack of sanctions if practice teachers refused to take students, poor levels of remuneration and promotion and negative experiences in relation to failing or difficult students.

Table 8: Qualifications



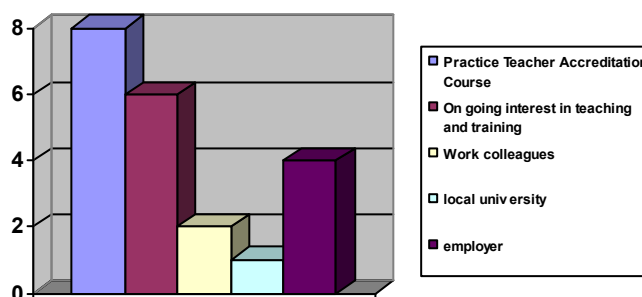
Comment - 42% of all respondents indicated that they were holders of the CCETSW practice teaching award. Whilst this is an encouraging figure, it would be unsafe to draw too much from it. It is likely that award holders had better access to information

about the conference and thus one may expect them to be over represented in the sample.

Table 9: Routes into practice teaching

(n=22)

Practice Teacher Accreditation Course	8
On going interest in teaching and training	6
Work colleagues	2
Encouragement from local university	1
Encouragement from employer	4

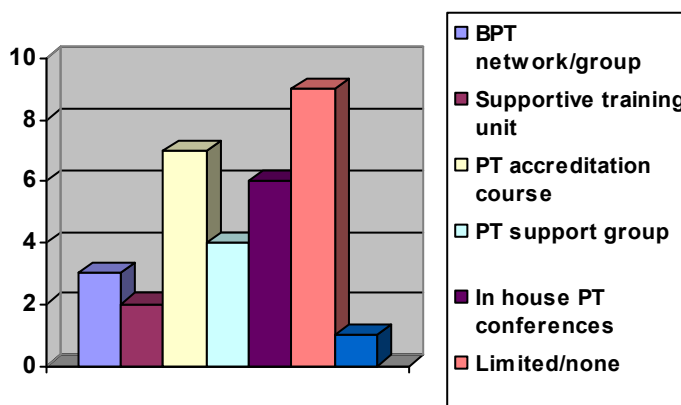


Comment - The above responses would suggest that a combination of self-motivation and organisational support, particularly to complete an accredited practice teaching programme are the best mechanisms for entering practice teaching.

Table 10: Opportunities for training for practice teaching

(n=32)

BPT network/group	3
Supportive training unit	2
PT accreditation course	7
PT support group	4
In house PT conferences	6
Limited or none	9
Links with university	1



Comment - From these responses, confirming Lindsey and Tompsett's (1999) findings, is clear that 'Staff Development and Training Sections' play a critical role in promoting opportunities for those interested in practice teaching. The key to success was gaining access to the information streams and networks. Some respondents indicated that there

were few opportunities open to them and they felt a ‘word by mouth’ system could be operating to their as this tended to restrict information to those workers (mostly white) that were most able to access the formal and informal networks and flows of information.

Table 11: Blocks to professional development

(n=30)

No blocks	6
Time and financial constraints set by organisation and workload	9
Opportunities and information to access training limited	3
Isolation/being labelled as difficult by management/racism	8
Lack of encouragement by management	5

Comment – Although about 10% of respondents stated that unequal access was an issue, time constraints and lack of workload relief are key factors. Significantly, 20% respondents indicated no blocks, which would suggest that there are models of good practice to be emulated. The fact that nearly half of respondents cited organisations blocks might also indicate either relatively low priority given to practice teaching and/or continuing professional development, organisations that are constantly ‘fire fighting’ or a combination of the two. Moreover, there is an indication that these blocks may have some element of racism.

Suggestions for enhancing the support and development of BPTs

Local, regional and national BPT networks/support groups/workshops	69
Black perspectives training and development for self empowerment	11
Electronic networks	10

Awareness of BPT networks

(n=56)

Yes	26
No	30

Comment – The most significant theme to come out of the above two questions was the need for opportunities to meet and network and establish BPT collectivities. There was strong indication of a need for some kind of national body that could organise annual events from BPTs. Some respondents suggest that such a body could provide advocacy for BPTs on various training and education bodies. The need for closer links and opportunities for sharing information was another important theme, as was the possibility of harnessing new information technologies to facilitate this. Interestingly, from a number of respondents there was also an emphasis on self-empowerment as a means of personal development, as one black female put it:

“Be assertive and think of others that may need support. Think about what you want for your future/future students. Make sure that you are qualified to teach. Never sit back and think it will all fall into your lap. You have to make it happen for you!”

About 40% of the respondents indicated that they were aware of local networks although some indicated that these were not always operating effectively. Significantly, 60% of respondents said they had no knowledge of any BPTs networks. Moreover, it seems that the success of networks can be correlated to the degree to which they are embedded within progressive staff development sections and/or practice teaching consortia.

Concluding comments

One of the most significant findings of the survey is - despite the absence of any reliable baseline statistics from which one may make a comparison – the discovery of a significant critical mass of able and committed BPTs in England. Whilst this and the

general increase in the black presence within social work is clearly to be welcomed, as highlighted in Chapter Three, this study reminds us that, for many BPTs, the glass ceiling still exists to restrict their capacity for career development and to influence organisation development (McGinn, 1996). Moreover, the postal survey confirmed much of what was revealed in the literature. With some notable exceptions, the lack of time and support for practice teaching within their organisations was a recurring theme. Clearly, these issues do not only reflect the experience of BPTs alone, although given the relatively marginal location of BPTs the impact is likely to be disproportionate.

Finally, whilst the survey is useful in providing a general overview of the make-up and location of BPTs in England, it reveals little about the specificity of their experience as black social workers and practice teachers in general and their own perceptions and conceptualisations of ARSW theory and practice in particular. The intention of qualitative aspects of the study, discussed next is to generate data in this respect.

Part Two: Semi Structured Interviews

Having established some background information about the location and experience of BPTs, the remainder of this chapter focuses on the qualitative data collected through the semi-structured interviews. The primary purpose in this section is to develop greater insights into BPTs reflection on their identities, their motivation for becoming a social worker and practice teacher, and their experiences of racism working in white social work organisations.

This section is organised in three parts broadly corresponding to the three research questions identified at the beginning of the chapter. Each part begins with the distinctive narrative accounts given by participants, followed by analysis. which is conducted at two levels. First, at the end of each section, under the heading 'general observations' comments are made about significant emerging themes/insights within the data. Second,

at the end of this chapter, I seek to triangulate the findings against the wider literature on ARSW that was considered in Section One of the thesis.

1. Identities/Biographical Details

The participants in the semi-structured interviews were asked to share specific biographical details relating to their age, ethnicity and gender, as well as experiences of social work and practice teaching, employment and educational background. A complete table is reproduced in Appendix 6.

1.1 Summary - The age range of the sample was between 32 and 57. In relation to gender breakdown, the ratio was three females to one male. The length of time that participants had spent in social work varied from six to 23 years, with the sample roughly equally divided between those in social work posts (the majority being senior social workers) and management/leadership posts. All participants were in full-time posts and their experience of practice teaching ranged from two to 18 years.

In terms of occupational roles, as well as being involved in practice teaching, eight were social work practitioners, four were team leaders, two were resource centre managers, two were directors of practice teaching programmes, two were training officers and one was an independent practice teacher. Additionally, two participants were senior lecturers in social work, although both had previously been specialist practice teachers and were still involved in long-arm practice teaching.

The number of social work students that participants said they had supervised²⁴ covered a wide spread, ranging from two to a 50. Indeed, one of the most striking

²⁴ Reforms instigated by the bodies that regulate social work education and training have led, over time, to changes in the description given to those responsible for supervising students in practice learning. The original title of 'student supervisor' was replaced in 1989 with the introduction of the CCETSW Practice Teaching Award of 'practice teacher'. More recently, reforms associated with the introduction of the new social work degree have heralded the term 'practice assessor'.

statistics was the overall number of students that participants said they had supervised, which was 440, or an average of 20 per participant. One explanation for this number is that six of the participants had, at some time in their careers, been in specialist 'long-arm' practice teaching roles, so would have been taking on substantial numbers of students at any one time; this group accounted for about half of all students.

With reference to qualifications, all except one participant was social work qualified, the vast majority (16) possessing a CQSW qualification. All except two had embarked on their social work studies having achieved a degree or other professional qualification, and about half had accumulated postgraduate awards. Finally, all had received some post-qualifying training to support their roles as practice teachers; 10 had the CCETSW Practice Teaching Award with another three currently undergoing the course.

1.2 Identity and Ethnicity - Rather than impose categories concerning ethnicity, an open question about how they described their identity produced some very varied and interesting responses. Perhaps the most significant finding was that in fact no prominent category emerged. The category 'African-Caribbean' was the preferred description for three participants. 'Indian' was offered by four participants, although in two instances this was qualified with 'but' statements, one indicating it was contingent on 'where she was and when', the other offering 'Black and Hindu' in that order. Notably, only three participants offered a singular identity, namely, 'Asian', 'Indian' or 'Sikh', whereas the rest preferred hybridised categories such as, 'Asian-Black', 'Punjabi-Sikh-British', 'British-Anglo-Indian' and 'African-Caribbean-West-Indian with African roots'. It was also striking that less than a quarter of the participants chose to identify the category 'British' as forming some aspect of their ethnicity. Likewise, religious markers were only prevalent in four cases.

The issue of identity and identification also featured in interviews with some interesting differences emerging. Ranjit, for example, talked about how his identity was

shaped by growing up in Birmingham during the 1960's and 70's within a context of where anti-racist struggles. These were very much rooted in a community-based politics of 'race':

the family house was really the focal point for local politics...a lot of the meetings would take place between the African Caribbean, the Irish Workers Groups, the Sikh, the Bangladeshi workers...They would plan their action; this was in times of the British National Party, late 60s up to the late 70s. People would come round a lot of the time for help and advice. (Ranjit: Asian Male)

This account also draws attention to the way familial and community identities have shifted between one generation and the next. It also highlights, what Sivanandan (1990) suggests was the transformation of black 'communities of resistance' fighting a common cause to ones that, as a consequence of government policies in the post-Scarman period of the 1980's, became fragmented, often working against each other to fight for meagre resources. Interestingly, the quote also highlights solidarity between different black groups and Irish groups, which, was, as Brah (1996) points out, best understood as representing a collective consciousness 'influenced by the memory of recent anti-colonial struggles and decolonisation in Africa, Asia and the Caribbean' (p98) as well as the ongoing Irish liberation struggles.

In contrast to Ranjit, for whom objective material and political conditions were critical in shaping his sense of self, Susan, talked about identity in more existential terms, as a process of self discovery and self meaning:

I'm possibly exploring what this means for me...colour, food we eat, language we speak, very odd English, and taking pride in that really... it's about retracing my history and knowing where I could be because of that, what I've internalised. (Susan: Anglo/Indian Female)

Interestingly, whilst one may assume, by agreeing to take part in a research interview designed for 'BPTs', all participants had some sense of being 'black', when asked about how they define their identity, only 6 mentioned the word 'black'; and this was always qualified with other categories. A striking aspect of the data on identity and ethnicity was the sense of ambivalence that was portrayed. For many, identity appeared to be elusive and contingent as the following quote illustrates:

I see myself as black, but within that, I see myself very much as an Asian...Err...Well I see myself very much as an Asian woman. So first, I would see myself as Asian. (Jaswinder: Asian female)

Further exploration of the issue of a politicised black identity indicated mixed feelings. Whilst most felt the maintenance of a collective form of identification against white racism was a strategic necessity, there was tension amongst workers along the lines of ethnicities:

Talking about racism, we are talking about power; then we must talk about political issues. Therefore I think the term 'black' is still valid...I know people who have a different definition make their own personal choice. However, in the black workers group people are fragmented. (Gurpreet: Asian female)

I have my doubts about 'black' because, what I find on the surface, when Afro Caribbean and Asian people get together in a gathering, people will say, black, black, black! But when the real crunch comes they will say Asian and African Caribbean. (Devi: Asian female)

although politically, I come under the umbrella of black, I also come from a Sikh background and, within certain arenas, I would like to be referred to as a Sikh. (Gurbax: Asian Female)

A particularly interesting aspect about Gurbax's reflections is her recognition of the contingent/fluid nature of identity, so she is a black person in some instances and a Sikh 'within certain arenas'.

There was a general impression given that the fragmentation of a political black consensus was something that was almost irresistible; it was beyond their control and one needed to live with the reality. The following extract from an account by Seema of her experiences and thoughts surrounding a split within the Black Probation Officers group gives some insight into these tensions:

there was a group of them that had a really strong view about people from South Asian backgrounds and they set up a South Asian probation officers organisation at that point, which separated from the black probation officers association. So there was a big discussion about and identity and culture and all the rest of it, which actually I didn't support at that point. I said 'if you go separate, you will divide and mess it up for the rest of us'. But maybe they were right, now I'm more laid back about it than I used to be. (Seema: Asian female)

Finally, although, given the small numbers involved, one cannot claim statistical significance, it is worth noting that, whereas for the male participants, gender identification was absent, for the female participants gender was usually mentioned without hesitation.

General observations - identity

It is difficult to identify any significant patterns in the data concerning biographical details. This is partly because the data is self evidently very individualised and partly

because the small overall sample warrants caution in giving significance to patterns. Nonetheless, the data does throw some interesting light on one of the research questions relating to how BPTs perceive their own identity

First, there is a clear sense that participants were unwilling to see their identities reduced to any one overarching category. To differing degrees, most chose to identify with combinations of different markers associated with religion, geography as well as 'race'. Such patterns would confirm the wider discussions within the literature, particularly the arguments presented by post-modern writers, that one is seeing the gradual displacement of 'racialised' categories with those more aligned to ethnicity (Hall 1992). One of the more important contributions that postmodernism and postcolonial theory (see Chapter Four) has made is to challenge the notion of the unitary subject, whilst at the same-time locating hybridity and multiple contingent identities as a norm. Moreover, in the way in which *diasporic* identities become situated within national contexts (e.g. Black-British, British-Sikh) one can see the direct impact of globalisation on identity formation.

One of the most striking features of globalisation is the way in which time and space become compressed. The proliferation of global telecommunications and the internet has at once generated the feeling that we all live in and belong to one world community²⁵. However, another feature of globalisation is the development of new and contradictory outcomes. Hall (1993), for example, suggests that the decline of national identities, and the ascendancy of new hybrid identities represents a complex cultural process that seeks to resolve this apparent contradiction. In the construction of hybridised identities (e.g. British-Muslim), one component works to signify an unchanging, essential dimension, increasingly expressed as a 'diasporic' identity (see Brah, 1996), the other component signifies the imminent, situated aspect of identity.

²⁵ This can be particularly seen, for example in the way that advertising of brands such as *Coca Cola* and *Benetton* appeals this sense of common 'multi-racial' humanity.

Of course, the ways in which these new identities become constructed, and imagined, relates to the material and political conditions within which people live their lives (see concluding Chapter for a more detailed discussion). For Mercer (1994) the emergence of these new hybrid identities, of the creating of new cultures, far from being symptomatic of cultural decline or loss, represents an important mechanism of regeneration:

In a world in which everyone's identity has been thrown into question, the mixing and fusing of disparate elements to create new, hybridised identities point to ways of surviving, and thriving, in conditions of crisis and transition. (Mercer, 1994 p5)

Second, whilst only six participants chose to use the label 'black' as one marker of their identity, one should be careful about drawing any conclusions about the merits, for or against, the continuing relevance of the term within the anti-racist movement. Given that participants were asked to describe their identity in terms of ethnicity, this may have been interpreted as a prompt to reflect on their sense of what they perceived to be their cultural make-up, rather than make a statement about their sense of political *rootedness*. However, it would have been informative to explore the question of black political identity further, particularly given its historical importance to the construction of an anti-racist politics²⁶.

Third, significantly, but not surprising, gender identity was something that was more likely to be identified amongst the female participants. Black feminists (Carby, 1982; Hooks, 1982; Lorde, 1984) have drawn attention to the tension that exists for black women with regard to their own positioning within the nexus of 'race', gender and class. Black women's oppression, as discussed in Chapter Two, has been manifest through a complex meshing of 'race', gender and class, resulting in difficult decisions for black

²⁶ The issue of a black collective voice is further explored in Chapter Eight within the context of BPTs understanding of anti-racist and black perspectives in social work.

women about where to locate their sense of identity and community. The ontological uncertainty that is reflected has been commented upon by postmodernists, who pose important questions about the utility and coherence of traditional markers of difference. Orme (1998), for example, questions essentialist constructions of 'womanhood' that fail to recognise the many forms that women's experience and the corresponding sense of self, can take. Whilst there is an undeniable kernel of truth in Orme's position, postmodernist attempts to de-essentialise 'womanhood' run the danger of deconstructing the category 'woman' altogether (see Jackson, 1992). Mullender (1997), through her notion of a 'gender power perspective', situates women's oppression into a wider socio-political context. This allows her to maintain the commonality of women's experience, whilst simultaneously maintaining a basis for responding to the criticisms that feminism has tended to be too overly focused on the concerns of white middle-class non-disabled women. Parmar (1997) speaking from a black feminist perspective argues that, for black women, the question of identity is of critical importance to their capacity to resist oppression:

Being cast into the role of the Other, marginalized, discriminated against, and too often invisible, not only within everyday discourses of affirmation but also within the 'grand narratives' of European thought, black women in particular have fought to assert privately and publicly our sense of self: a self rooted in particular histories, cultures and languages. (Parmar, 1997 p68)

2. Career Trajectories into Social Work

In exploring the reasons why and how the participants became interested in social work, three distinct themes emerged, although in many instances, participants both overtly and tacitly implied more than one factor. Across the range of participants, it was clear that, as a career option, social work never really entered their minds until sometime

after their secondary, and in a significant number of cases, higher education. All participants indicated that they had done other jobs before entering social work, although a majority did indicate that their previous roles were broadly within the health and social care sector.

2.1 Accident/opportunity - By far the most common reason given for entering social work was in fact no real positive reason at all. Ten participants indicated their arrival was accidental or opportunistic, although, their attitudes towards and expectations of entering the profession show clear variations, as the following extract illustrate:

It's something that I suppose always appealed to me in some respect and something else that I kind of fell into as well at the same time. After passing my degree I looked around at the different options that were open to me and this was the one that appealed most to me.
(Gurmit: Asian Male)

Whilst, for most, a social work trajectory was a decision about which they expressed little regret, some did display varying degrees of ambivalence:

I am confused, the reasons why I came into social work are not the reasons why I am here, i.e. what my employer expects me to do, and how to behave...I have become part of a system which controls and attempts to deal with peoples needs on a superficial level. (Jag: Asian Male)

I didn't want to go into a controlling profession, you know professionals with negative powers which really in those days as we were very idealistic, thought that wasn't the thing to do.
(Seema: Asian Female)

A number of participants identified how voluntary and community work formed an important bridge into social work for them:

I had qualifications in beauty therapy, and came into social work through youth work really. I was delivering sessions to young Asian girls about looking after themselves,...and from that sort of work, in youth work I was able to apply for a social work post. (Gurbax: Asian Female)

After I graduated, I worked for a year as a mental health co-ordinator setting up a directory for mental health services in that region, which then inspired me to go into social work. It was like a stepping stone really. (Nisha: Asian Female)

I did bits and pieces that were related so I did play leadership. A lot of that is around community development work because you're dealing with deprived children and being looked after by their parents...after qualification, I did quite a lot of voluntary work...and then I went into child care social work. (Cherry: Asian/AC Female)

2.2 Activism - Six participants did identify to varying degrees a clear moral imperative behind their decision to become social workers (Husband, 1995). Whilst for some this 'awakening' was a direct consequence of their own personal experiences of racist and other forms of oppression, particularly in relation to domestic violence, for others it arose out of living and growing up in socially deprived communities. In Chapters One and Three, I discussed how ARSW was born out of an activist movement, inspired by wider political struggles directed against extreme right-wing racist organisations, on the one hand, and state oppression on the other. For many of these black activists, particularly through various Section 11 initiatives, social work became a natural career option (Rooney, 1987).

For Gurpreet, the antecedents of her trajectory into social work began during her time in India at a time when she was completing an undergraduate dissertation on Asian women and development. She talked about how the insights gained in researching the

plight of women and the racism of 'Non-Governmental Organisations' (NGO's) had left a big impression on her. The rather full quote is offered here as being illustrative of the wide-ranging talents, experiences and critiques that the respondents were willing to share:

To be honest I didn't know anything about social work when I came to this country, and basically the reason why I did was because of my personal experience. It started with experience and reflection. I did a study of Asian women and development when I was studying in India. I came across some very well educated white NGO women who were working with Indian women. I was shocked to discover that they these NGO women with Masters and PhDs were loudly saying that these Asian women were nothing! I wondered, gosh how could they say this? What experiences have they gone through to have ended up with views like that and say these things about us? I read the magazine 'Manushi' about India women's activism - This had a significant impact in my own politicisation. I came in touch with social services because I needed their help, and I thought it was quite a good idea. In terms of social work, my first job was working in a hostel, Asian women's hostel, Women's Aid, and that's how I started. After I worked for Women's Aid for a year as a women's officer I applied for a job with social services as a social work assistant and interpreter, because I had qualification in interpreting. So that's how I started. I did actually, I was employed as a social work assistant interpreter; then I moved on to a Section 11, unqualified social work post.

(Gurpreet: Asian-Female)

Similarly, for Gurbax, previous experience of working with Asian women fleeing domestic violence had an important bearing on her decision to enter social work. Additionally, she expressed how her interface with the wider black community through working in a family run pharmacy had awakened her consciousness to the needs of the community:

we used to have a lot of Asians from different backgrounds and Afro Caribbean's, ad we ended up giving them advice and referring them to the health centres, to the GP or the community nurse or the hospital. So it was almost like a problem solving area of work that we were already involved, but not realising, and you almost ended up counselling people who came to the pharmacy. (Gurbax: Asian Female)

The above quote also draws attention to the ways in which ethnic minority groups have sought to develop self-help kinship networks as a means of ameliorating the effects of racism. It is to these structures that individuals and families often turn for support; particularly so in circumstances where they feel socially excluded and impotent in representing themselves in formal mechanisms for acquiring goods and services or influencing service providers to be sensitive to their particular needs. Rex suggests that community reliance on particular individuals possessing particular resources, most crucially linguistic skills, leads them to develop specialised associations in which new forms of leadership and ethnic mobilisation becomes possible. Another way to think of these representatives is through Gramsci's notion of organic intellectuals. Gramsci suggested that all social groups develop within them individuals who take on the mantle of intermediary, representative and advocate (Gramsci, 1999). Since minority communities tend to be the most impoverished and socially excluded, the inevitable reliance on the state posits these organic intellectuals or 'community leaders' into 'social and pastoral work...and helping to solve the problems faced by the community as a result of immigration' (Rex, 1991 p68-69). However, as Ballard (1979) notes, this loyalty can extract a heavy price for black professionals. The concentration on ethnic minority concerns their can shunt these professionals into a ghetto position within organisations, thus presenting greater barriers in career development. In the following extract, Gurmit, talks directly about his loyalty to the Sikh community as being a key factor in entering social work:

towards the late 80s there was quite a bit of interest in meeting the needs of the black communities, and living in the Smethwick area where you've got a high proportion of Sikh people that obviously wasn't happening. So that really prompted me to applying for a development post in the first place. (Gurmit: Asian/Male)

Sanjay talked about the way his own developing critical consciousness, through a combination of education and voluntary work led him to a realisation about the oppressive nature of prevailing social work theories and practices and a desire to make a difference:

I did some voluntary work at University, where I was doing a humanities/history degree and I came across some students who were on the social work course, and I was introduced to it then. Back in 1991 in Scotland there were very few black social workers, and during my social work course, I became aware of limitations of my training and I was really angry about 'race' not being covered in any adequate way. I could understand what the lecturers were trying to teach but couldn't relate it to the communities I knew and my own background - I was angry about the Eurocentric nature of the curriculum. (Sanjay: Asian Male)

Likewise, Devi talked about painful personal experiences of racism and the bearing this had on her decision to embark on social work:

I felt racism. I became mindful of the way black children were growing up in a culture that looked down upon them. Like you go into shops, you stand in a queue and people ignore you, they serve next door, the person after you. I had to be assertive and say, hang on I am here before this person. (Devi: Asian female)

Susan, who had began her career as an unqualified residential care child worker, reflected on how her negative experiences on the in-service CSS course paradoxically increased her awareness of the problem of racism in social work:

CSS - it was horrendous. I mean that experience made me realise we were pawns, but that hadn't been made explicit. I was the catalyst for that change. (Susan: Mixed Asian/British female)

2.3 Career change - Six participants identified how their decision to become a social worker represented a career change determined by better career opportunities and/or a greater sense that the role was potentially more fulfilling. This was usually because of personal insight gained through friends and relatives or by working in situations where there was contact with social workers.

Kiran, talked about how one particular (black) individual, who was active in the local community, had inspired her to enter social work in the late 1970's, a time when there were few black social workers:

At that time there were very, very few qualified (black) social workers; in Leamington there was only one who did a lot of outreach work...the whole community used to talk about her...she was my role model. (Kiran: Asian Female)

For Jaswinder, who had been educated to degree level in India, there was a rapid career change of career from clerk to qualified social worker in just 3 years:

I actually came into social work by accident...The first job I got was as a clerk within social services, and then within about 5 or 6 months I was offered the post of welfare assistant. The

City Council at that time was seconding for graduates to go and do the DIPSW; they recognised my degree and they seconded me. (Jaswinder: Asian Female)

Three participants, Sharon, Susan and Claudia had made career switches during the late 1970's early 1980's from nursing, a period where social work was beginning to become accessible to black workers. Whilst Sharon went from general nursing, the other two had previously been working in nursery nursing. Sharon suggested that her original option of nursing was a consequence of peer pressure, whereas Claudia felt that gender and 'racial' stereotyping played a part. It is unclear why Susan went into nursery nursing, but, given the number of professional, management and academic qualifications she had accumulated throughout her career, one may speculate that she was also subject to low aspirations resulting from gender and 'racial' stereotyping. The possibility of working with families in a more holistic way appears to have been an important motivating factor for all three. For example, Sharon states:

The nursing bit, I enjoyed that but you couldn't at that stage give a holistic approach to the work you were doing with patients. I just felt that I needed to do more really...So it gave me the opportunity to see people as a whole person rather than just dealing with the presenting complain. (Sharon: AC Female)

3. Career Trajectories into Practice Teaching

From the responses, although none of the participants identified any preconceived plan or desire to become a practice teacher, three broad factors can be identified that influenced the participant's decision to take on the role.

3.1 Pressure to provide placements - The majority of participants indicated that their introduction to practice teaching was directly related to demands from training managers to provide placements. It is evident that the context was one of managing the tension

within work teams of providing student placements and other work pressures. However, as the following quote illustrate, taking a student proved to provide a positive experience that generated a desire to develop this role further:

Basically it began with the training manager asking me to take on a student, and at that time, I have to admit I was somewhat reluctant to do so because it was added responsibility...Then having taken a student I began to see how it was challenging me as well. And to be honest, at that time, I don't think I was too happy; I needed something else. (Gurmit: Asian Male)

3.2 Development of anti-racist practice - Three participants stated that they had specifically taken on specialist full-time practice teaching roles, which involved providing supervision, usually off site (long arm) to a small group of students and developmental activities. Interestingly, all of these participants indicated that a key dimension of their role was to provide a specialist function in relation to anti-racism. To this end, as the following quotes illustrate, the post holders had developed a high degree of commitment and expertise in relation to addressing the issue of 'race' and supporting black students in particular:

It is a specialist practice teaching post... it was actually originally created to focus on anti discriminatory practice teaching. So it was earmarked for a black practice teacher. (Jaswinder: Asian female)

I just felt this is a really good way to influence how people learn and how black students are treated within the system...I went into it with a view that I could make some difference and empower black people to come into the profession, and to successfully complete the course. (Sharon: A/C Female)

3.3 Stepping stone into social work education - Another significant category was that related to four participants, all of whom had previously been specialist practice teachers but were now working in university settings, two being responsible for managing practice teaching programmes and two who were lecturing on social work courses. Participants identified how their involvement in practice teaching had provided them with the motivation and vision to contemplate a move into academia. As one participant put it:

that role in one sense got me into higher education...having supervised students, I then had a lot more contact with the universities...I think at the time I wasn't thinking I want to go into higher education or I want to teach! I wasn't really aware of it, I think it grew really (Nisha: Asian Female).

Finally, a significant proportion of participants indicated that, in general, requests to attend workshops and external conferences, particularly those specifically designed to support BPTs, were received favourably. Interesting Lindsey and Tompsett (1998), in their large scale study of the experiences of practice teachers in London, noted that opportunities for practice teachers to attend conferences and workshops were generally restricted to free events, although two agencies did indicate 'that they might make an exception to this policy in the case of BPTs' (p24).

General Observations - career trajectories

When asked about their motivation for becoming a social worker, responses ranged from a sense of moral agency, a desire to do something for 'the community', to combat racism and a career option. However, from a sociological perspective, personal motivation alone is an insufficient explanation for the employment of black social workers from the 1980's; a more complete explanation needs to take into account the

wider social and political milieu that was examined in Chapter Three. What we know is that up to the late 1970's, state social work was virtually a white profession (ADSS, 1978).

Interestingly, a significant proportion of the participants pointed out that they were recruited to speciality posts specifically designated to work with black and Asian communities, often funded through positive action initiatives (e.g. Sec 11 funding). Connelly (1985) suggests that a combination of anti-racist activism, graphically demonstrated in the 1981 inner riots, and a policy shift from assimilation to multiculturalism, that was already in train, jolted Social Service Departments out of their complacency. Optimistically, she contends that the employment of black social workers reflected real change in which black peoples interests and needs were beginning to be acknowledged at the public policy level. However, the fact that many of these initiatives were heavily reliant on Section 11 funding (CRE 1989), which was primarily designated to assist the assimilation or integration of post war black migrants, meant, at best, the response was piecemeal; at worst it reinforced an underlying assumption that cultural and linguistic differences and not racism, were the primary issue. As will be discussed later, the persistence of racism would suggest that the idea that employing black workers alone can thwart institutional racism was deeply flawed (see also Chapter Three).

On a positive note, some respondents pointed out the positive impact that practice teaching had on their career development. Nisha, for example identities that taking on students gave her *'a lot more contact with universities'* and how this was instrumental in her subsequently moving into higher education. Whilst this wasn't talked about in any detail, significantly, a majority of the sample were occupying some kind of managerial or developmental role, which would suggest clear career benefits in practice teaching students. These observations support Lindsay and Walton's (2000) research on the strategic deployment of practice teachers. They found that the majority of those agencies surveyed felt that practice teachers produced important benefits for both professional and organisational development. Specifically those holding the PT award were 'found to

have expanded their remit into a range of learning, supervision and support roles within their agencies' (Lindsay and Watson, 2000 p22).

Of particular significance to this thesis is, notwithstanding the extra pressures that practice teaching can create for professionals and the relative lack of organisational support, the overwhelming evidence that taking students can enhance career opportunities. Indeed, the overall profile of the sample, with the majority in senior positions (developmental and managerial) would suggest that practice teaching could serve as an important route to professional development. Historically, practice teaching or student supervision, as it was previously known, has been seen to be crucial mechanism for entering into managerial roles (Lindsay and Walton, 2000). As well as enhanced career possibilities, clearly, the attraction of taking students for BPTs is the opportunity to reflect on and refresh their own perspectives of social work, although, given the highly prescriptive competency model of practice learning, it can appear more like a administrative role.

4. Experiences of Racism in Social Work

Having identified some of the underlying reasons BPTs gave for pursuing their chosen paths and the potential benefits of practice teaching, this section seeks to uncover aspects of their experience of racism within social work, both in their roles as practitioners and practice teachers. Specifically, participants were asked to talk about their relationships with clients and white colleagues and any experiences of racism that they may have encountered. Overall, the data revealed five distinct themes or forms of racism, which are summarised in Table 12 below. The data has also made it possible to identify how these forms of racism are manifest and their impact on individuals. Finally, the table has a column that highlights some of theories and underpinning ideological mechanisms in play, which are discussed in detail in various sections of this thesis.

4.1 Racism - It is important to note at this point that the manifestation of racism uncovered by the data falls on a continuum, from covert to overt. So, whereas in some instances participants articulated experiences in quite subjective language, as a feeling or an impression, in other times, quite clear acts of discrimination are talked about in a very factual sense. The two quotes below illustrate this continuum from covert to overt. The first account is from Claudia, who had over 20 years' experience in childcare services and was currently managing a family centre. Quite perceptively, in identifying the well-documented negative attitudes towards residential social work in general (for example see Wagner, 1992) she is careful to locate her particular experience within a broader understanding of the institutional mechanisms:

I was the first black residential social worker within that unit and I suppose it wasn't the done thing to have black qualified staff in that setting anyway. (Claudia: AC Female)

Table 12 - BPTs Experiences of Racism

Themes	How this is manifest	Dynamics and levels of racism	Impact
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hostility from white service users 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Refusal to have a black worker/carer • Violence and abuse • Undermining black workers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conscious and unconscious racism • Process of 'othering' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Isolation and marginalisation • Low self esteem • Conflict
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hostility from white workers 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lack of commitment to 'racism' • Viewing black workers as deficient and/or untrustworthy • Abuse • Black workers feeling undermined 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conscious and unconscious racism • Individualism • 'othering' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conflict, polarisation and mistrust • Divided loyalties for black workers • Low self esteem
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pathologisation of black service users 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stereotypical views of black service users • Eurocentric approach to practice • Under and over compensation for black service users failings • Control taking precedence over care 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Common sense racism • Cultural racism • Ethnocentricism • Process of 'othering' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Passivity • Anger • Loss of control • Powerlessness • Loss of esteem • Conflict
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Pathologisation of black professionals 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stereotypical views of black workers • Reluctance to allow black workers to take a lead role/autonomy • Recognition of black workers expertise limited to sphere of 'race' and cultural diversity i.e. as black experts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Common sense racism • Cultural racism • Ethnocentricism • Process of 'othering' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Passivity • Anger • Internalised oppression • Loss of control • Powerlessness • Marginalisation • Conflict
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Institutional racism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Glass ceiling • Lack of encouragement • Lack of support • Burn out • Having to work twice as hard or be exceptional • Token Gestures 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Individualism • Rational action • Exploitation • Displacement of the problem of racism to one of 'managing' diversity • Racism as epiphenomena • Racialised organisation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Low expectation from white colleagues • Stagnation • Defensiveness • Poor career development • Conflict

In the following account, Zoebia talks about an experience involving overt racism, where there appeared to be collusion between a white client and her white colleague.

I was only the black worker at that time in my team....I visited a family with a white colleague. The woman said "you can't come in as a black person; the other person can come in!" So the other white colleague goes in without realising that she shouldn't have gone.

(Zoebia: Asian Female)

Hostility from clients towards health and social care professionals is well documented and can be understood in many ways. Some hostility may represent legitimate expressions of powerlessness by clients. It is apparent that racism and sexism is likely to influence the nature and intensity of the hostility, as well as feelings and perceptions about professionals in general. For example, Gabe et al. (2001), looking at the experiences of different professionals working in the community reported that black and Asian probation officers were more likely to suffer threats of violence and verbal abuse compared to their white colleagues. In contrast, a qualitative study by Oser (2000), covering different groups of staff in social care services, reported that black and Asian workers felt their difference was not any more or less likely to result in violence or abuse. However, where there was abuse, ethnicity often became instrumental and this was particularly hurtful. In relation to gender, Oser found that, whilst men were more likely to be physically attacked than women, women reported much greater concern with experiences of sexual harassment.

4.2 Hostility from white service users - Consistent with other studies (Butt and Davey, 1997; Brockman et al., 2001), a number of participants reported concrete experiences of degrees of racially motivated hostility from white clients and carers. However, it is worth noting that the way this was manifest and the responses from both

the black worker and their manager varied considerably. In the following example, Zoebia outlines a very direct case of hostility and a lack of recognition from her white colleagues:

I was on duty ...and this white woman came. I asked, "How can I help you?" and she said, "Can you send somebody out who can speak in English." All my white colleagues were there and they said nothing. (Zoebia: Asian Female)

Whilst the above example illustrates subtle collusion by white colleagues, either by refusing to support their black colleague or by uncritically responding to the clients' request, importantly, there were examples of white colleagues adopting anti-racist stances. In the following example, Kiran talks about a situation in which the son of a white service user was objecting to his mother being looked after by a black carer:

the son ...didn't say things to me directly, but he was talking about carers we arranged for his mother, because they were black, he said "these black carers, I'm not having them because they're from Africa and they always feel cold" and all this and that. I told him he must be thinking about me in a similar way. Because I was angry with him, he asked my manager if he could have another social worker, but my manager supported me. He (white manager) said if I feel threatened or don't want to work with the family then they will change social worker. If I'm feeling strong enough to work with the family he wouldn't do that. (Kiran: Asian Female)

The above examples relate to the dynamics between clients and black social workers, who, despite the racism, nonetheless, by virtue of their professional authority, are were to exert some degree of control on the situation. In contrast, in the following extract, Ranjit talks about his experience of a residential unit where there was little or no support:

The first day there I walked into the common room and there were 2 skin heads, and I thought, what have I let myself in for? There was quite a lot of racist name calling, and social work skills went out the window for a short while. They were aggressive so basically, I had to protect myself. (Ranjit: Asian male)

4.3 Hostility from white workers - Regarding experiences of discrimination from white workers, most participants talked about difficulties they had encountered with white managers. In seeking to make sense of these accounts, clearly one needs to be careful about the complex power dynamics that can be at play in worker/manager relationships. Nevertheless, where a culture of racism prevails within an organisation, and where workers within organisations carry with them, often unconsciously, individual and collective memories of racism, either as perpetrators or recipients, then inevitably relations of power will be understood and articulated through those subjectivities. The following account from Susan characterises both the general feeling that white managers tended not only to be more sympathetic to white staff, but also the mechanisms by which white managers respond to black staff, particularly those who may seek to challenge their attitudes and behaviour:

Her behaviour with white staff was more amenable, she seemed to develop closer relationships with them and they seemed to feed off that...she wasn't recognising her collusion, so we did have quite a lot of confrontation. Then she would feel threatened, and become defensive - her communication with me would suddenly change. She'd write in the book so that everybody could see that she was irritated at something. (Susan: AC Female)

Regarding other white professionals, the general impression was that 'race' a constant issue and it would raise its head in different ways. However, conflict tended to

arise primarily were white workers were ill prepared or unwilling to respond to critiques of their practice by their black colleagues:

Tensions between white social workers and black social workers within the team... were all at different levels. One level was around the debate about cases; you know working with black clients and the role of black workers in that, the issues that black workers were facing, which white social workers didn't understand. The other level was in terms of admin support, they were pain in the neck quite often as far as black workers were concerned, they weren't supporting the black workers the same as they were supporting white workers. So it was at different levels really. (Nisha: Asian female)

Devi recalls hostility from a supervisor simply because she chose to speak in her mother tongue:

when I started working there was another admin staff who spoke Hindi and I used to talk to her in Hindi and my supervisor started telling me to "talk English," and she reminded me several times. (Devi: Asian Female)

The above quotes also highlight an additional dimension, namely that of the relationship between black workers and colleagues other than social workers. The following example highlights another recurrent theme relating to inter-professional working and low-level hostility against black workers because of being different:

I'd go onto the ward and say, "I'm from the social work department". They'd kind of look at me and say, "have you got your ID?" And the hospital social work system is set up so that you can pick up patient records... and you can write in the patient daily record of care. So again, ward sisters and others would challenge me, "what right have you to be looking at

that? What right have you to be writing on that?" So I had all of that, that's what I've experienced from day one really, that daily challenge. (Sharon: AC female)

This quote resonates with a wider issue about of black workers being pressurised to conform to white norms and the likely consequences of conforming or resisting, which are highlighted in the literature review (Fernandez, 1975; Davidson, 1997; Ahmad, 1992).

4.4 Pathologisation of black service users - In discussing experiences of discrimination, participants talked about the prevalence of a tendency by white colleagues to attribute black service users problems to cultural pathology (see Chapters Two and Three). The following two quotes show how these views were manifest in both direct and indirect ways:

There were a lot of issues around black and Asian children not being cared for adequately by their families. I think what hit me was the racist attitudes and assumptions of not just social workers, but other professionals like health visitors. (Nisha: Asian Female)

I visited a residential home for elderly people and there were a couple Mr and Mrs Singh who were placed there... it was a predominantly white organisation. They were feeding them on fish and chips all the time. They said Mr and Mrs Singh loved fish and chips, but when I had a word with them in Punjabi they were not happy about the food at all but they felt they had no choice. Regarding Mrs Singh's personal care, she didn't like male carers giving her personal care so she was not having baths, and they were thinking she's not having a bath because she's being stubborn. I had a chat with her and she said, "I am a religious person I want to do my prayer every day and I can't do it without having a bath because of having this male carer I can't. (Shushila: Asian Female)

Interestingly, the service users felt unable to complain and accepted what food was provided; one can only imagine the degree of powerlessness they must have felt. Participants were asked to talk about how they sought to deal with the racism that they were witnessing. The following quote raises issues about the kinds of dilemmas relating to divided loyalties faced by black workers, for example, whether to cross professional boundaries and how to confront colleagues:

any allegation of a concern about black families would immediately be seen as abuse without investigating it further. With other black workers, we'd talk about these cases and say, well sometimes you would have to work with that black family in a different way to stop them going into the system. So they were not further prejudiced or accused of things they perhaps didn't do...There were times when it was very difficult to work with black families because, you wanted to protect them from social workers...And at the same time and you had the responsibility as a social worker, to making sure that you didn't over step the boundaries; it was a very thin line we were crossing. (Jag: Asian Male)

Another dimension of the impact of racism on black service users was them internalising negative stereotypical perceptions resulting in them rejecting black workers:

Funnily enough the people who treated me worst in practice were the black clients. I had some clients from West Africa who were convinced that white foster parents would be better because they're superior and black people aren't particularly; black people in this country who come from Jamaica are less educated. They didn't want a black member of staff because they were inferior. (Cherry: AC female)

4.5 Pathologisation of black professionals - Whilst some of the themes uncovered in relation to hostility from service users are replicated here, there are some important

difference in power dynamics when professional relationships are concerned. Themes emerging from how the participants felt they had been understood or rather misunderstood by white colleagues fell into four insidious processes:

- of stereotyping;
- a reluctance to allow black workers a lead role or autonomy;
- a tendency to limit recognition of black workers' expertise to the sphere of 'race' and cultural diversity;
- questioning black workers' competence;

One of the recurring themes was tokenism from some white colleagues. The following account demonstrates the contradictory experience of many participants of working with white colleagues who, on the surface, appeared to be aware of the need for anti-racist practice and were equipped with all the appropriate jargon, but were nonetheless capable of taking up racist postures. Sanjay talked about how black professions are often treading a thin divide between 'hero' and 'villain'.

Because I was the only black worker in the department at the time I was allowed to do things and attend various events. However, at the sometime there was resentment from white colleagues as to why was I allowed to go away and they were not? On the one hand, the Director started an initiative on race equality and I was invited to join the group, I was newly qualified and what could I know about policy development - I ask this question my self - but I was the only black social worker so I was invited. I could see the resentment in off the cuff comments... I was disciplined in my second year in the post and I know these two issues were linked. (Sanjay: Asian Male)

Whilst being valued for their experience of being black or the insights they bring to understanding racism was widely reported, there was a downside. Participants reported that often this was used as a justification for exploitation and/or providing a reason for

white workers to be absolved of responsibility towards race equality. The following quotes provide insights into the dynamics associated with positing black workers as 'cultural/race experts' and 'representatives of black communities' and the pressures they may face because of raised expectations associated with this:

an Indian woman client and her children were in care...she was asking me if I could help her to get her children back; it wasn't my case but I translated for a letter a colleague who had this case once. Someone else recognised my handwriting and must have told the client that it was me, so she approached me and thought because I wrote that letter I could help with anything. I explained what my role was, but she didn't understand. She phoned me several times and made threats because I hadn't helped her. (Kiran: Asian female)

when I got the job, because I'd done a lot of racial equality work and equal opportunities...I think it was imagined that somehow I would sort out the organisation, but as...I wasn't brought in as a 'race equality expert', I constantly reminded them that they needed to take responsibility for it...I got into some real barneys with my line manager who thought I was very obstructive. He was receiving complaints from the white staff. I think they were also threatened, not only because I refused to play ball with them, with the way they were behaving, they took no responsibility for race equality what so ever. If any black staff complained, they thought it was my issue to sort out, because I was the most senior black member of staff. (Cherry: AC Female)

Well intentioned attempts to employ black workers as catalysts for anti-racist change (see Stubbs, 1985) can backfire. Far from combating racism, the employment of black workers may end up highlighting how pervasive and deep-rooted it can be. To shore up the situation, particularly where black workers begin to confront racism by and mobilising formal grievance mechanisms, organisations have responded by supporting the establishment black workers support groups and black mentoring schemes (see

Husband, 1995). However, if not done as part of an overall organisational strategy to combat institutional racism, these actions can in themselves end up creating black ghettos within organisations and further entrenchment and mistrust between black and white workers. The identification of black workers as 'race expert', irrespective of whether or not they were employed in a specialist role, was a recurrent theme. Participants identified the double-edged nature of being seen as such. On the one hand, it allowed them a sense of power and authority, of legitimation and importance, whilst on the other, there was a potentially serious downside in that the 'expert' tag could result in some or all of the following consequences:

- further stereotyping in that white workers tended to only value their black colleagues expertise in relation to working with cases involving minority families
- extra pressure that they were expected to take on a consultancy role over and above their normal duties
- unrealistic expectations of their own abilities (by self and others) to deal with often complex and demanding cases as well as supervise students
- tendency by white workers to treat their advice uncritically or reluctance to critically challenge due to a fear of being accused of racism
- pressure from the black community, often outside the work setting
- being seen as incapable to make objective judgements due to over identification with black clients (see also Ahmad, 1992)
- divided loyalties regarding the organisation which was known to be institutionally racist but was paying their wage and enabling them to acquire status
- potentially negative impact on career development in that one is only seen as being limited to the sphere of 'race'

5. Institutional racism

Whilst some of the manifestations of discrimination highlighted above resonate with what has already been discussed earlier, the data uncovered some important specific insights into the subtle mechanisms of institutional racism experienced by black workers. Here we are concerned with racism that is less clearly associated with individual intentions but a consequence of what MacPherson termed, 'The collective failure of an organisation 'detected in processes, attitudes and behaviour which amount to discrimination (MacPherson, 1999 Para 6.34)'. In short, one is focussing particularly on the processes and mechanisms that disadvantage people.

If one accepts these processes and mechanisms may be invisible, particularly to those within a system, then it raises issues about both the capacity of individuals to identify that, which is 'invisible', and the relevance of subjective narrative accounts in this regard. The utility of the concept of institutional racism emerges primarily in the way that it moves the analysis of racism beyond perceptions, or human agency, which, in research terms would suggest the possibility of a more positivistic approach measuring input and outcomes²⁷. Therefore, the following data is perhaps best understood, not as evidence of institutional racism in itself (although it may indicate clear instances of personal racism), but as BPTs own theorising of their perceived disadvantaged. Stanley (1991) talks about the importance of appreciating that research participants, in giving their accounts, are simultaneously beginning the process of theorising, thus, 'researchers of the social are faced with an already "first order" theorized material of social reality' (p208). Bearing this in mind, as a researcher, I was conscious that my task wasn't just about analysing raw

²⁷ It's worth recalling the original definition of 'institutional racism' offered by Carmichael and Hamilton (1967). In quite positivistic terms, albeit using dramatic language, they characterise the difference between individual and institutional racism as the difference between the bombing of a black church and killing of 5 black children and the deaths of 50 black babies in Alabama because of the lack of proper food, shelter and medical facilities.

data but of building on the dialectical process already commenced by BPTs. Indeed, much of the data to be considered in the next chapter involves in a much more direct way the analysing of theoretical accounts of anti-racism.

5.1 Career Progression - Whilst a cursory scan of the job profiles of the sample may suggest a good level of career progression (see Appendix 6) the evidence tended to reflect other studies that, despite the quality of their work, the level of their qualifications or the depth of their commitment to the organisation, career progression was still something that could not be taken for granted (Williams, 1995; Ginn, 1997; Audit Commission/SSI, 1999; Butt and Davey, 1997; Brockmann et al., 2001). The following quote encapsulates the widely expressed view that career progression often felt like trying to negotiate an 'escalator in reverse':

Most of the people I'm working with, who are from a black background...are slightly more qualified than their white counterparts. Not in every respects obviously, but in most situations, and in terms of career progression, I think that we do have to try harder. From my own personal experiences, it's almost like running fast to stand still, and you have to justify your position as well. (Gurmit: Asian Male)

Several participants identified a lack of encouragement and/or opportunities to pursue and develop new skills and attributes. Although one could not be categorical about whether this was a consequence of 'race', participants highlighted how their own careers seemed to be dependent on the good will of individual white managers, whereas the overall level of encouragement for staff development from the organisation was poor. In the following quote, Gurbax argues that gender and 'racial stereotypes come together to deny her career opportunities:

I've been qualified since 1994 and I just look at my career development which is quite stagnant really. When I look at my white peers they've moved up the ladder a lot quicker...I think the people that have worked around have seen I don't fit into the stereotype of the Asian woman. I think my peers have struggled with that, and I was the only black worker in a predominantly white team with very little support. (Gurbax: Asian Female)

Whilst research specifically looking at Asian women's experiences of social work is sparse, any serious analysis of their position will require an examination of the way in which 'race', gender, class, ethnicity become articulated within 'economic, political and cultural modalities' (Brah, 1996 p67). Shah (1989), reflecting on her own experience of social work provided some insight into the nature of the pressure and marginalisation faced by black women:

The racist concepts of female dependency and aggression follow black women into employment. The pressures...to conform include the threat of being seen as 'disruptive' or 'dependent'; either way, the threat is particularly powerful when used against black women already marginalised through racism underpinned by white feminist acquiescence. (Shah, 1989 p184)

5.2 Black staff into management - Much has been written about the 'glass ceiling' and the nature of institutional racism that limits black workers chances of progressing up organisations (Ballock et al., 1995). As reported in Chapter Three, across most organisations, despite possessing higher qualifications, black workers are significantly underrepresented at senior management levels (TUC, 1999). A study of ethnic minority graduates by Brennan and McGeevor (1990) indicated that they were more likely to experience unemployment, face more difficulty in obtaining suitable employment, are less satisfied in the jobs they obtain, and are less likely to obtain training and promotion

than their white counterparts. A recent Cabinet Office report on ethnic minorities in the employment market concludes that 'all ethnic minority groups – even those enjoying relative success, such as the Indians and Chinese – are not doing as well as they should be, given their education and other characteristics' (Cabinet Office, 2003)

Whilst a significant proportion (one third) of the participants were in management positions, mostly at team leader level, a large majority also felt that the 'glass ceiling' was still a significant factor for black workers seeking to develop their careers. Although this apparent discrepancy was not explored further, one may speculate that, particularly for those in managerial positions, this reflects a frustration about further career development, or simply a shifting of the glass ceiling. A recent study of black managers in social services by Charles (2003) found that they tend to be more qualified than their white counterparts and they remained in post on average twice as long as them (eight years against four years). Consequently, black managers reach a point where their careers begin to stagnate, leading to a sense of alienation from all quarters. Not only can they become isolated from the bulk of black colleagues, who may see them as having 'sold out', but also potential employers may question their motivation and competence. 'The situation then becomes self-perpetuating as potential employers begin to question the reasons behind their applicant's slow career progression (Charles, 2003 para 6).

Of the explanations given as to why black workers remain excluded from managerial positions, three categories emerged: First, there was a view that institutional racism was working through such mechanisms as word of mouth recruitment and negative labelling of black workers, perhaps questioning their loyalty to the organisation:

I think it is things like the old boys, old girls network. Word of mouth, situations crop up word of mouth, or people are head hunted for jobs. (Clinton: AC male)

I applied for an assistant team manager post on 3 occasions. When I went for a debriefing session to explore in detail why I was unsuccessful, it was obvious they ...did not want anybody in a management post that might be vocal and assertive...they wanted yes people.

(Ali: Asian Male)

Second, there was an issue of discouragement, or lack of encouragement from white managers:

I reached my two years post qualification stage and I was anxious to progress to the next level. I recognised that I wanted to go through to management...I felt there were barriers there, it was like questioning, do you think you're ready, and do you think the work that we're doing is complex enough cases that you can demonstrate that you're operating at that level. (Sharon: AC female)

Third, a sense of trepidation of the 'white organisation' and /or being aware of the negative experiences of the few other black workers that have managed to secure management positions:

It is quite clear because we haven't got many black managers around...black people don't put themselves forward or they're afraid of rejection...it's a white peoples organisation. (Shushila: Asian female)

I went for a managerial post and I had to perform 200% whereas my white colleagues have to perform 100% .and even if like I can't afford to make mistakes...It's like a subtle form of racism. (Gurpreet: Asian female)

When I became a team leader I was already working well beyond my hours. I still find that, a few black people who are senior, even now are forever being asked to be mentor, do complaint

investigations, disciplinary investigations, involve black managers, go on interview panels; things well beyond the job description; I do them because I'm interested, but it's abusing me as a black person. (Jaswinder: Asian female)

5.3 Black Practice Teachers - In reflecting on their roles and experiences as BPTs, participants highlighted specifically the way they were being exploited by universities to shore up their own lack of action on tackling racism, as the following illustrates:

They had no black lecturers and were using sessional black workers to do some input, thereby maintaining the status quo..." (Mike: AC Male).

A number of black participants expressed a concern at the exploitation of BPTs, by both senior management within their agencies and increasingly, by DipSW and Practice Teaching Programmes. Given the relative paucity of BPTs, particularly those that are qualified or have considerable experience, there was a feeling that BPTs were over exploited as 'fixers' and 'creators' i.e. they were presented as being superhuman, thus creating a kind of mythological status. As one focus group member pointed out:

Whites do practice teaching for professional interest; blacks do it to represent the historical struggle against racism and social exclusion. This creates a considerable burden of expectation and often un-rewarded responsibility, resulting in BPTs being set up to fail. (Clinton: AC male).

Such sentiments would correlate with the literature that revealed how, on top of the general experiences of discrimination faced by black workers in white organisations (Chapter Three), there is the added complexity of what could be termed a 'pseudo-managerial' function. This is where black workers, whilst remaining in a non-managerial

post, nonetheless are invested with some limited authority as black experts. A recent study by Penketh (2000), highlights how, in addition to their normal duties, BPT's they are often expected to offer consultancy to white colleagues in working with black clients, act a 'race' experts within the organisation and support and represent other black workers in a quasi-trade union role.

6. Working with Students

6.1 Black students - Paulo Freire, in his classic text, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, outlines the way oppression is intimately linked to a process of dehumanisation, both for the oppressed and oppressor. He talks at length about the centrality of *critical consciousness* to the process of liberation, as well as the responsibility of those who achieve, through experience and self-reflection, this state of awareness to enable others in their struggles against oppression.

Those who recognize, or begin to recognize, themselves as oppressed must be among the developers of this pedagogy. No pedagogy which is truly liberating can remain distant from the oppressed by treating them as unfortunates and by presenting for their emulation models from among the oppressors. The oppressed must be their own example in the struggle for their redemption. (Freire, 1970 pp 54-55)

The vast majority of participants testified to the value and importance of taking black students and that they had a special responsibility. For example, Jag talked about how a crucial aspect of his work with black students involved enabling them to share their experiences of racism in a safe and supportive environment. He quoted three specific examples where such a strategy had been effective; in each case, the particular student had experienced varying levels of racism in their previous placement experiences. Paralleling the insights gained from developing practice models in working with black

children in care around the issue of self-esteem and identity, a number of participants talked about how the uniqueness of their role with black students. Some felt the additional responsibility of taking on the role of mentor and role model in enabling and inspiring black students to build resources to confront racism was very important:

I think with black students it's about building more on their issues of racism, so in a sense we might be seen as kindred spirits and have similar experiences and have come from a similar value base or whatever, and it is about trying to empower black students more so than white students. (Claudia: AC Female)

I think they expect me to have greater empathy, which I do. I think they expect me to be more of a role model, which I think I am. The best thing a student ever said to me was, "Seema you really inspired me to do that", and that's the best thing I can expect from a student, and I think inspiration is what practice teaching should be about actually. (Seema: Asian Female)

However, some of participants felt that there are occasions where, for a complex set of reasons, black students can act to undermine BPTs, particularly those that are weak. The issue of internalised racism amongst some black students posed particular challenges, particularly where the student, as a consequence, had low expectations and regard towards the abilities of their BPT. Jaswinder talked about how loyalties can become divided and strained with failing black students who, in her experience, will readily play the 'race card', even where it is clear that they are unsuitable for social work. In the following example, Sharon, a specialist BPT with a particular responsibility for supporting black students, reflects on an experience with a black African female student; she talks about her realisation that, in spite of considerable commonalities – they were both black and female – there were still considerable cultural and differences.

I had this black African woman, young woman, very articulate, and when she was told by the university that she'd been offered a placement with myself and would she come and discuss it with me, she came really fired up and really cross. I thought, what's the matter with this woman? she's wanting to bite my head off already. So I unpicked it with her and I discovered she thought it was some kind of a dumping ground and that black students were being ghettoised... as a black Afro-Caribbean woman, I realised assuming that I could relate to all black people was wrong... because in terms of culture we're miles apart with black cultures.
(Sharon: AC Female)

There was also a widespread feeling that the apparent disproportionate number of weak black students being placed with BPTs which was creating extra pressure and stress for them. It was also felt that disproportionate numbers of weak or failing black students could also be indicative of half-hearted attempts by some social work courses to be seen to be tackling institutional racism by perhaps lowering entry criteria.

I did feel the universities perhaps wanted to increase the number of black students on their courses, and were maybe not looking at the ability of the person. (Jaswinder: Asian Female)

Its very frustrating because there are a number that really struggle, and one did fail the course, which I am convinced was due to lack of preparation prior to the course - For me there is a real issue that some courses have taken on students because they are black! My experience is that the courses tend to have over-expectations or under-expectations of black students.
(Sanjay: Asian Male)

6.2 Gender - Whilst the in the majority of instances BPTs expressed that positive experiences of working with black students tended to outweigh any negative aspects, the issue of gender, specifically in relation to the negotiation of authority, surfaced in a variety of ways. Whereas most comments identified instances of black male students,

often the context of their practice being questioned, challenging female BPTs authority, there were instances of black female students also undermining BPTs.

black male students challenged my authority, from the same cultural context as myself, and different cultural context from myself. (Sharon: A/C Female)

There's also an element of flirtation I picked up over the years, because you're a Asian female and they can relate to you. There is an element of them trying to charm you and a little bit of a flirtation; they try it on which I have to put a stop to that. So in that sense it's a different level of intimidation if you want to call it that. (Nisha: Asian Female)

To understand the situation here, one needs to look at the way power dynamics can be impacted by stereotypes of black women. For example, a one stereotype of Asian women and passivity (Brah, 1996) might explain how students might feel more able to challenge the authority of an Asian female. Denton (1990) in a study of black professional women's experiences in white organisations emphasises how their buffer location, at the inter-phase of a 'race' and gender nexus, posits particular role stressors. In order to ameliorate the potential conflict and stress that may arise with black subordinates, Wimberly (1997) argues that black supervisors need to work on developing a critical balance between their own 'black identity' and the identity imposed by their positioning within the hierarchical culture of white organisations. In other words, they must seek to reconcile one of the sources of ambivalence for black anti-racists, between loyalties to the organisation versus loyalty to 'the cause', which may not always be compatible.

Bryan (2000) reflecting her experience as a black female social work educator, teaching and supervising black students talks about the difficulties in managing boundaries, the burden of responsibility for addressing 'race' and gender and an accompanying sense of ambivalence. Thus, as I have found in my own experience, black

social work educators are expected to be perfect black role models, who are all knowing experts that emanate authority, yet if they don't live up to such unrealistic expectations, they are to be disrespect and distrusted for having sold out.

6.3 White students - Some of the themes relating to black students, of questioning and undermining BPTs authority, play themselves out with white students. Given the prevailing stereotypes about black people, of being inferior, being given favourable treatment in employment matters thereby sowing a seed of doubt about their true capability, one should not be surprised if students, black and white, develop distorted views about black authority. It is often at times of conflict often associated with the exercising their authority (e.g. in student assessment) that such stereotypes become mobilised to form a basis for undermining BPTs. The following three examples illustrate the different dimensions of how BPTs become undermined, ranging from accusing one of being oppressive, in the case of Mike, through to out right rejection of someone's capability in Ali's case, and questioning of motives in relation to Sanjay.

I had a white female student who had limited experience and became 'adequately knowledgeable' during her placement. However, her work was dangerous and shabby and was frequently late. I pointed out my concerns about her suitability and she lodged an unsuccessful harassment case against me. (Mike: AC Male)

They appear as somewhat shocked that power has been taken over by a black person...mostly on a subconscious level, to belong to a 'superior race' and having a black person of an 'inferior race' occupying a powerful role can be disorientating. I have had a direct experience of a white female middle class, who came to visit me for a pre-placement visit - she clearly did not realise that I might be an Asian or black person. When she came to see me she said she was actually expecting somebody else..."a white person to supervise me... I didn't think it would be

somebody Asian!" I asked, "should that make any difference to you?" she said, yes, "I prefer to work with a white supervisor, as I get on better with white people than Asian and black people! (Ali: Asian Male)

White students tend to be very defensive as they expect me to be really hot on ethnicity and racism and they think they will be quizzed on it. Some have struggled with this as I have felt they have though I might have this as a particular agenda. For example I recall my first female white student making a comment in her portfolio that I was "too critical" and I was expecting too much from students. (Sanjay: Asian Male)

6.4 Resistance - As pointed out in the introduction to this chapter, the data examined here can only provide a snapshot of the totality of BPTs experiences of social work. As the focus of this thesis is on experiences of racism, there is the ever-present danger of developing a lopsided view, a sense that life for black workers in white organisations is totally negative and helpless. Clearly, this is not the case and whilst the experience of racism appears to be commonplace, some contexts are likely to be more problematic than others are. Furthermore, not all black workers will respond in the same way to the racism they are facing. Some will respond by not challenging, by identifying with white norms, and by internalising the oppression; other will resist, build alliances and develop anti-racist strategies. Whatever option is taken, there are positive and negative consequences. Passivity is likely to gain favour from the organisation; it may be taken as a sign of loyalty for which career prospects may well be enhanced. However, the downside is that this may lead to isolation from black colleagues and low self-esteem. Taking on an activist position, conversely, is likely to build self-esteem, confidence, and respect, although, a downside can be greater levels of stress and scrutiny as following quote illustrates.

I have been very active in the black workers group and generally in representing black issues in the department. I have been chair of the group. I was told to calm down and lower my aspirations. My involvement in the black workers group has been constantly under scrutiny and my loyalty to the organisation is constantly challenged. (Jag: Asian male)

Having black workers around to provide support and encouragement was seen to be critical. Specifically, access to black mentors and departmental black workers groups were identified as a key to coping with the racism, building self-esteem and professional development. Typical comments were:

I was fortunate looking back that I had a black senior social worker then...there was a lot of activity in terms of black consciousness... encouraged me to grow really very quickly. (Nisha: Asian female)

It wasn't until the 2nd year that a black social workers group was initiated...By talking to other black workers who shared similar experiences and feelings, I realised I wasn't alone in how I was experiencing social work, which was very reassuring. (Sanjay: Asian male)

General observations – experiences of racism

Before summing up this section, there is a need to add a word of caution about drawing conclusions on the present state of social services and the question of 'race' and racism. Whilst there is no reason to believe that the current picture is different to that highlighted above, two key factors need to be taken into consideration. First, in seeking to explore participants' experiences of racism, given that no period was imposed it would be unsafe to assume that these reflect the present state of social services organisations. A more accurate way of measuring the current situation would have been to restrict their recollection to, for example, the previous 12 months. Second, as the bulk of the data was

collected soon after the MacPherson report and subsequent Race Relations Amendment Act (2000), it could be argued that this would have left insufficient time for subsequent any policy changes to take effect.

Notwithstanding these problems, the Data uncovered in this section has highlighted widespread instances of racism, most of which point to a culture of racism existing within social service organisations. As is set out in Table 12, one can begin to identify some clear patterns, both in the way racism is manifested and in the underlying ideologies at play. Whilst there is some evidence of overt racism, as Brockman et al. (2001) point out, the bulk of the hostility towards black professionals from both clients and white colleagues comes in subtle forms. Such things as a lack of commitment to combating racism, expecting black workers to take on the mantle of 'ethnic specialist' and Eurocentricity, are commonplace.

This section highlights specific experiences and tensions faced by BPTs in their role as assessors of students on placement. Interestingly, the relative position of power over students can produce different reactions according to gender and 'race' identities. Whilst one may have expected problems concerning white students accepting and relating to a black person exercising authority, most surprisingly, whilst not always the case, BPTs reported being undermined by black students as well. Whilst black students may react negatively for a whole range of factors, there is good reason to believe that internalised racism may distort their own perceptions of BPTs as being, perhaps, of lower quality, or untrustworthy, as having 'sold out' to the white institutionally racist power structures.

One of the particular difficulties with the mechanisms identified as contributing to institutional racism is that it is difficult to pinpoint any one reason for it. Indeed, given that most white professionals are now able to articulate much of the rhetoric of anti-racism and anti-oppressive practice, it becomes even more difficult to convince anybody that ones grievances are not simply fictions or manifestations of a black neurosis. Perhaps the clearest message coming from the narratives outlined above is that the belief that, on

its own, recruiting black workers can significantly undermine racism in social work is not realistic! The findings in this section would tend to confirm the conclusions of Brockman et al that:

a policy approach which focuses primarily on individual racist behaviour risks ignoring its foundations in the power relations in our culture, institutions, discourses and day-to-day practices (2001 p8).

There are of course inherent dangers in what might be termed a 'structuralist approach' that leaves little room, or places no value on individual actions and a belittling of any attempts to tackle racism (see, for example, Stubbs, 1985 and Gilroy, 1992). Knowles (1990) argues that if state social work is simply a site for the perpetuation and reproduction of racism, then there can be little purpose in ARSW as 'all anti anti-racist strategies are, therefore, partial and doomed to fail' (1990 p124).

The above accounts provide a compelling account of the racism in social work from the perspective of BPTs. As experienced social workers and practice teachers, BPTs are well equipped with the critical faculties to observe, reflect and analyse their own situations. Whilst the employment of black social workers may not have managed to unravel institutional racism, there can be little doubt that their presence raises the potential to identify and make inroads into the practices, ideologies and mechanisms that help to produce and reproduce racism within state social work.

Conclusions

By utilising ethnographic accounts of black social work professionals, it has been possible to extract a number of important theoretical insights regarding the hopes and aspirations that black social work professionals have of social work, on the one hand, and the dynamics of the racism within state social work, on the other. Specifically, the data

has enabled the development a framework (see Table 2 above) within which the complex dynamics of racism within state social work can be further understood.

Section One of this thesis raised important questions about the relationship between anti-racist praxis, identity and identification. Specifically, the review highlighted the importance of the emergence of a politicised black identity to the development of the anti-racist movement in the 1970's onwards (Anthias and Yuval-Davies, 1992; Hall, 1982; Sivanandan 1982; Brah, 1996). It is in the emergence of this new praxis that we began to see the development of anti-racism; it follows that any examination of contemporary anti-racism needs to begin with an analysis of the contexts and conflicts associated with the emergence of this identity politics.

So how does one begin to analyse this experience? If one looks at the manifestations of the experiences as discussed above, one can see various processes at play. Whilst, most of the experiences refer to direct experience, generally within inter-personal contexts, it would be short sighted to limit ones analysis to this sphere alone. The fact that racism may be perceived as personal experiences does not mean that it is solely a product of individual acts; it therefore becomes understood as an expression of power and powerlessness. Since power is multifarious, one might expect anti-racist responses also to be varied. The question is, what if any difference can/do individual black workers (or for that matter white workers) make to racism that is understood to be embedded in the fabric of an organisation to a point where to do nothing, to allow the status-quo to persist, would be tantamount to colluding with racism? Husband (1995) suggests that it was precisely through utilising individual experiences, insights and critiques of racism and then developing these by collectivising, that black social workers have been able to mount a potent challenge to institutional racism:

The presence of African-Caribbean, Asian and other ethnic minority persons within institutions of social work generated a critique of racism within the profession, which could not be dismissed lightly (Husband 1995 p94)

The data in this chapter confirms previous studies highlighting the impact that white organisations can have upon black workers career prospects in requiring them to either to conform precisely to dominant group norms or face the consequences of being different (Fernandez 1975; Barn 1993; Davidson 1997; Ahmad 1992; Brockman et al 2001; Penketh 2000). In Chapter Two, I identified the kinds of representations of black people that have served to establish the context in which negative stereotypical images have come to inform a range of social ascriptions. Against the backdrop of a complex array of local, national and international factors (e.g. Islamophobia, anti-Semitism, experiences of refugees and the Balkan war), social theorists have begun to question the pre-eminence given to skin colour as a marker of 'racialised difference' (see Chapter Four and conclusion). However, the data in this chapter would suggest that 'visibility' of physical differences has and remains an important factor to which racialised discourse is given significance. Given the historical and cultural representation of black workers has tended to render them in the service of white people, it is likely that, despite their formal status, qualifications or abilities, black workers remain equated to 'subordinate' status.

To place a black person in a superior position, as a manager of white employees (subordinates) would run counter to this received view of 'the order of things'. Even where senior management take a decision to appoint a black manager, that person still faces the task of attaining social affirmation as a manager by her or his subordinates. The 'right' of that person to hold a position of 'mastery' is likely to be subject to significant testing and challenge in various ways, overt and covert. (Holmes and Robinson, 1999 para 39).

These constructions tend to operate at the tacit level, making the problem even more difficult to address. More so, as such constructions run the risk of becoming internalised by black workers to the extent that they may begin to doubt their own abilities, to exercise control and/or authority on a par or over white workers. This alone may be sufficient to temper their ambitions of career development, although it might well be explained away in other terms, such as, 'what's the point in the extra hassle' or 'I enjoy the job I am doing so why change'.

Bourdieu's (1984) notion of 'habitus' and 'field' explains such forms of rationalisation. A 'field' is any social space in which social positions are structured, like a social services department or society as a whole. It constitutes a landscape of power relations in which competition between different social actors who possess different degrees of power takes place. If the field represents the total 'social system', then the 'habitus' represents the positioning of 'social actors' in that 'field'; it includes their viewpoints and foreshadows their aspirations; it produces an implicit sense of what can or cannot be reasonably achieved, as free choices (Lane, 2000). One consequence is that social actors may feel no contradiction between their analysis and beliefs (for example, of the nature of racism) and the defence of a specific condition. In other words, whilst one may understand the conditions of racist oppression, one may nonetheless not feel compelled to do anything about this. The important thing is that, to a large degree, whilst one may feel a sense of having made a rational choice, in reality, the system works precisely because such behaviours are predictable. This is why in most organisations a realisation of institutional racism is in itself sufficient to guarantee anti-racist change.

For some black workers who may have developed a critical consciousness, their lack of career development is more likely to be understood as being a direct consequence of institutional and endemic racism, rather than personal failings. Armed with their critique of the organisation as being representative of a wider white male power structure, the

prospect of working within organisations such as SSDs, especially when taking on positions of influence and power, is likely to trigger an altogether different identity crisis. On the one hand, they have a need to prove to their white colleagues (subordinates and superiors) their worthiness to aspire to a leadership role – which in the white imaginary is perceived as being something that is ‘naturally’ the prerogative of the white male (see Davidson and Cooper, 1992 for a discussion of these mechanism within the context of gender). On the other, they need to convince their black colleagues, and perhaps the community at large, that their continued commitment to the anti-racist cause has in no way been diminished by their raised status; put simply that they have not ‘sold out!’

The employment of black social workers has clearly not been without its problems, be it for the workers themselves, their white colleagues or the organisations in which they have been employed. In response to their experiences, through the establishment of support groups, these workers have sought to create spaces for mutual empowerment. For Alexander (1987) it is significant that the recruitment of black social workers, many of whom had been active in community work and politics, followed 1981 riots. The employment of black social workers in Alexander’s view, constituted a hegemonic strategy designed to defuse political activism by creating a black middle class (see Chapter Three). Alexander (1987) suggests that far from confronting the institutionally racist organisations they began to form black workers collectivities that became increasingly preoccupied with promoting the career development of black professionals. However, whilst generally suspicious of the state’s motivation for employing black social workers, Sivanandan is open to the possibilities for black workers to engage institutional racism from within these state run institutions by functioning as ‘...a kind of ‘fifth column’...’ (Sivanandan, 1991 p 46).

Given the current recruitment crisis within social work, whilst the primary motive for employing black social workers might be as mundane as filling a post, there can be little doubt that in the late 1970’s and early 1980’s, their employment was closely tied to the

development of anti-racist strategy within social work. In Chapter Three I looked at how the possibility or otherwise of effecting anti-racist change divided anti-racists, between those that only saw the problems of working in the state (Gilroy, 1992; Stubbs, 1985; Rooney, 1987) and those that entertained the possibility of change (Husband, 1995; Ahmed, 1990; Knowles, 1990; Thompson 1998). However, as the data in this chapter indicates, the relationship between black social workers/practice teachers, the organisations in which they work, and the wider community is one that is riddled with tensions and contradictions. Whilst some light has been shed on these experiences, many questions remain on the table. What are the consequences for black workers to aspire or not to aspire to managerial positions? How do black workers seek to resolve these contradictions? How do organisations respond to these contradictions? What is the role of white workers in anti-racist change? What are the thoughts feelings and experiences of successful black managers? What are the stories of black social workers who have scaled the heights of organisations only to have come tumbling back down? Whilst it is beyond the scope of this thesis to provide answers to all of these questions, it is intended that Chapter Eight, which focuses on the ways BPTs have sought to theorise racism and develop an anti-racist praxis, will offer some clues.

CHAPTER EIGHT

PRAXIS, PEDAGOGY AND POLICIES

Knowledge emerges only through invention and re-invention, through the restless, impatient, continuing, hopeful inquiry human beings pursue in the world, with the world, and with each other. (Paulo Freire, 1970 p72)

Research questions

7. In what ways do BPTs understand and promote ARSW?
8. How do BPTs understand the notions of 'black perspectives' and 'anti-oppressive practice' and their relevance to ARSW?
9. How do BPTs perceive the current impact of managerialism and wider policy frameworks associated with New Labour and 'the third way' on the development of ARSW?

Introduction

The overall aim of this chapter is to analyse how BPTs have sought to respond to the experiences of racism as outlined in the previous chapter. In particular, I am interested in their conceptualisation and assessment of ARSW within the current social and political milieu. The previous chapter concentrated on mapping some of the contours of BPTs journeys into and through state social work. Specifically, it highlighted the issue of individual and institutional racism and how this was manifest in BPTs day-to-day experiences of social work. An abundance of data provides clear evidence that racism at all levels and from all directions, has accompanied BPTs throughout their professional journeys. But this is only half the story of ARSW as refracted through the eyes and experience of BPTs; the other half, which this chapter seeks to narrate, is the story of how

BPTs have responded to the challenge of racism, and the kinds of anti-racist praxis that they have sought to develop.

The sequencing and range of questions, from general exploration of opinions about key concepts to uncovering how those concepts become articulated into practice, is quite deliberate. The intent is partly to address a potential weakness of the present qualitative research design, which relies entirely on the veracity of respondents' accounts. Therefore, whilst I had no reason to disbelieve what BPTs told me, in order to provide some basis for testing out the validity of their accounts, I felt it necessary to identify some basis for checking for discrepancies between thoughts, ideas and actions. Clearly, one way to achieve this would have been to analyse case material, and perhaps even live observation of practice supervision. Given the resource limitations, not to mention the potential ethical barriers, I chose instead to sequence my questions in a way that enabled some degree of cross-referencing. Thus, following a general exploration of key concepts, I asked BPTs to share their thoughts and feelings about the achievements of ARSW and black perspectives. This was followed up by a question designed to elicit what pedagogical strategies they had developed in relation to the teaching of anti-racism, thereby enabling me to comparison between theory and practice.

More generally, the chapter is concerned with analysing the impact of contemporary policy, practice and theoretical frameworks on the orientation of ARSW. Specifically, here the purpose is to elicit BPTs thoughts about the *Stephen Lawrence Report*, 'new managerialism', the competency driven approach to social work education and the significance of the displacement of a discourse of anti-racism with that of AOP (see Chapters One, Three and Four).

The chapter is structured in three sections. The first, forming the major component, explores a number of key concepts, namely, racism, anti-racism, and black perspectives as understood by BPTs. In the second section, I explore how BPTs have sought to construct a pedagogy for enabling social work students to develop an understanding of

anti-racism. The last section deals with the wider policy context, specifically the impact of AOP and 'new managerialism' on BPTs approach to ARSW.

Section One: Exploration of Key Concepts

1. What is Racism?

In order to begin to (re)construct an anti-racist project it is necessary to understand the nature of the problem. In the following section, we see a complex and impressive, range of analyses offered by BPTs. In total, responses to this question can be placed into five broad themes as outlined below.

1.1 Interpersonal and group behaviour:

The idea is very much about a group of people who don't fit into the norms of the host society.

(Gurbax: Asian Female)

It means prejudice, it means inferiority, it means demotion, it means my culture, the way I dress, speak, walk, talk...daily life. (Ali: Asian Male)

Whilst there is no shortage of literature on the mechanisms of prejudice, cognitive processing and in group/out group behaviour to explain interpersonal racism (Allport, 1954; Tajfel, 1978 and 1981), this literature, has tended to suggest that such processes constitute a 'natural' or inevitable facet of human nature. The dominant position on categorization in social psychology contends that stereotyping is a 'natural' phenomenon used by people to 'automatically transform the polluting detritus of their over-complex physical and social reality into a simplified and readily assimilable form' (Potter and Wetherell, 1987 p.116). Whereas personal and group racism are perhaps easily identifiable, understanding the mechanisms responsible for the production of such behaviours is deceptively complex. Perhaps the answer lies not only in the way that ideas

can become entrenched within the psyche of individuals and groups over time, but also, as postmodernist theories suggest, in the ways that representations of 'the other' become embedded, masked and reinscribed in language/discourse and culture over time. Language and the operation of binary opposites play a critical function in this process (see Chapter Four)

1.2 Cultural Pathology - The complex reworking of 'otherness' with characteristics that, in and of themselves, may appear quite benign, provides a dimension of racism, namely cultural pathology (see Chapters Two and Three), a theme that transcended most responses:

Black people are frequently pathologised as angry and threatening. For example, I have a case of an Asian man abusing alcohol who was self harming. A white social worker wanted him to be sectioned although the family were clear that his self harm was induced by the alcohol. However, the social workers felt that the man was psychotic evidenced by delusions he had about owning property and the status he had in his family. (Gurdeep: Asian Male)

If a report recommends a supervision order for a white offender, the magistrate will most likely accept this, but if the same order is requested for a Black offender, he will most likely not get it but will end up with a three month custodial sentence. Clearly the black person is seen as violent, aggressive and a trouble maker. These are daily life examples. (Ali: Asian Male)

1.3 Institutional and structural processes - Whilst few used the kind of language employed by theoreticians, most participants were able to describe the operation of racism at the structural and institutional level, as illustrated by the following quotes:

we are using the same models for all clients, black and white...From the institution's point of view, they would say we are not discriminating because we take everybody's needs in assessment. (Gurpreet: Asian Female)

You could go in and think, this organisation is quite anti racist. But when you begin examining the minutia, when you begin examining the outcomes, then you begin to realise, hold on there is still something fundamentally wrong here... and with practice, individuals, I think are beginning to mask it better. Even though an institution may not want to be racist, they may genuinely be committed to an anti racist approach, the fact is that their processes are. (Gurmit: Asian Male)

People at a personal level, especially social workers, never profess to have any oppressive feelings. But if you put them in an institution, what happens is the structure and the institution is used to oppress...and they're oppressive as a group, and they will use that, they will use the institution. (Seema: Asian Female)

The above extracts highlight the ways that cultural pathology becomes translated into institutional and structural racism. It is produced and reproduced through a complex meshing of ideologies, language and discourses, situated in a nexus of power, which is derived from organisational and societal hierarchies. This process is capable of masking the deep-rooted structures of racism, which are banal, part of the common-sense (Lawrence, 1982).

The notion of 'institutional racism' as outlined in Chapters Two and Three has been subject to considerable discussion and debate, particularly so following the MacPherson report into the death of Stephen Lawrence. However, most formations fail to explain adequately how individual attitudes become transformed into institutional behaviour, and why, despite the development of policies and strategies designed to promote equality, racist outcomes prevail. Rattansi (1994) suggests that modern institutions

function to embody particular measures of behaviour that are infused with 'racialised, gendered and class-specific discursive practices' (p632). Across a range of constructed aesthetic, social and cultural practices and behaviours, these serve to construct racialised power relations that define and redefine the bounds of normality. Therefore, institutional racism becomes understood as a moving target. Susan illustrates in the following quote the challenges and dilemmas that a dynamic interpretation of institutional racism can present BPTs:

I don't think I'm as clear as I was before; it's constantly evolving and political, and a whole range of things come into play. It's not something you can say there is evidence of this; I just know this person doesn't like me...there's a danger of it being overlooked as a bunch of feelings and perceptions that don't really exist anywhere except in your head. (Susan: AC/Asian Female)

1.4 Racialised ideology - The most interesting feature of the responses that identified racism as embodying a set of ideological constructs and practices was that, whilst for the majority of participants such constructs were primarily related to the visible marker of skin colour, some felt they also permeated relationships amongst black groups and factors such as ethnicity' and 'religion' were as important as 'race'. The following accounts reflect the view that racism was primarily centred on skin colour with white people being the perpetrators and black people the victims:

I think its oppression based on visible factors like colour and appearance, and appearance could be not necessarily colour, it could be to do with the density of your hair, that sort of thing. So it's visibility really, being visibly different. (Seema: Asian Female)

Yes it does and that you could argue is predefined in some sense by overt physical appearance, the person looking different, by the way they dress, colour of their skin, what they say, The main difference would be the colour of a persons skin. (Nisha: Asian Female)

I think that racism is a white on black phenomenon, again I think there are many people out there that get racism really confused and they start talking about black on black. To me that's not racism in the same sense; it's about power and the abuse of that power. (Sharon: AC female).

1.5 Beyond black and white - Whilst the overall tenor of the interviews reflected a world-view that racism was a white problem that black people had to contend with, more direct questioning revealed some interesting tensions and ambivalences amongst the majority of BPTs:

There was a time when I thought racism was only a white on black issue but my views have changed, as I can see traces of it in black people...when working in the emergency duty team, I recall an Asian GP call an old African-Caribbean lady, "a bloody nig-nog!" I confronted him...he then apologised to me! (Mike: AC Male)

This is something I struggle with...it's the experiences that people receive because they are visibly different related to their colour. It's about being seen to be different from 100 yards away before somebody hears your voice...I want to move away from 'race' as I feel it's confusing, it's not a clear enough description and I suppose I am using the word ethnicity more and more to talk about cultural racism in social work. (Sanjay: Asian Male)

A number of participants sought to highlight the distinction between personal racism, which may be multi-directional and institutional racism, which, they felt, remains very much the prerogative of white people:

I think some racism is borne out of ignorance...and I include in that black staff. ...they still make the same mistakes, and it's about offering them some tool to assist them in getting more equipped, more sensitised. (Susan: AC/Asian Female)

racism is about prejudice and power, everyone is prejudiced and this is the argument. Some people say black people can be racist. Black people can't be racist in this society because they haven't got the power of the institution such as the police, education, the sort of criminal justice system behind them. (Claudia: AC Female)

Whilst there was no indication of the existence of black on white racism, there was some indication of tensions existing amongst black workers around the issue of 'race', ethnicity and religion:

I find on the surface, when Afro Caribbean and Asian people get together in a gathering people will say, black! black! black! But when the real crunch comes, they will say I am Asian or African Caribbean... and they look down on you as well; they think we don't speak good English. (Devi: Asian Female)

These and other similar sentiments reflected in the focus groups add weight to demands for anti-racism to move beyond a narrow and fixed construct of the black-white dualism (see Chapters Two and Four). Based on a study of the experiences and attitudes of young people from different ethnic and 'racial' groups, Mac an Ghail (1999) argues for a shift away from the black-white dualism. The story of social exclusion being articulated through the language of anti-racism, rooted in a colonial paradigm, he suggests, is simply incapable of responding, either to the new and emergent 'racisms' affecting, for example, 'white' minorities, or key elements of the contemporary and differential experiences of

different black and Asian minority groups. Bonnett (2000) similarly is critical of the ambivalence of anti-racism to anything that lies outside the black/white paradigm. By reference to the way in which the horrific events in the former Yugoslavia during the late 1990's, euphemistically popularised as 'ethnic cleansing', despite having all the hall marks of racist ideology, of prejudices based on blood and essentialist constructions of 'the Other', were portrayed not a racism but 'ethnic hatred':

Much of contemporary English-language anti-racism appears to be structured around the conviction that 'real racism' is about what whites do to non-whites. What the Serbs and Albanians. English and Scots, Christians and Muslims do to each other is something different, something of less consequence. (Bonnett, 2000 p119)

2. What is anti-racism?

Bonnett (2000) suggests that the likely response of anyone asking the question, '*what is anti-racism?*' will be a pragmatic one, '*to oppose/tackle racism*'. However, for him the more important question to ask is 'how do anti-racists oppose racism and how do they turn their opposition into action' (p84). He goes onto identify two distinct types of anti-racism, namely 'specialist' and 'popular', where the former relates to the activities of professionals within formal settings, and the latter to all other activities that are more akin to a 'way of life' or a 'culture of behaviour'.

One of the problems with this bifurcation is that, although organisations clearly have an impact on behaviour, as the testimonies of BPTs indicates, it is much harder for the oppressed to distinguish between the formal and informal. Indeed, one of the most interesting insights gleaned from this study has been the tension that BPTs have around maintaining professional boundaries or allegiances where the choice is between colluding with institutional racism or acting in the interests of black clients and colleagues. Of course, such dilemmas are not confined to questions of 'race', but, as Bauman (1989) has

pointed out, they pose moral challenges for all those working in potentially oppressive contexts.

Responses to the question usually commenced with a common sense reply, although further probing extracted many variations and perspectives. These responses reflected a continuum in which some were couched within an organisational and professional discourse, whereas others reflected wider moral and political imperatives. Broadly speaking, five distinct perspectives emerged as outlined below.

2.1 A social movement - Very few participants began their accounts of anti-racism with reference to it being a social or political movement. This may, in part, reflect the way their own perspectives had been impacted on by managerialism (see later and Chapters Three and Four), or pragmatism i.e. the need to develop models can be easily translated into some behavioural aspect. Nonetheless, on further prompting, particularly the more experienced participants (i.e. those that entered social work during the early 1980's), a significant number were readily able to draw out the political and historical dimension:

I see antiracism as both a way of acting but also a historical social movement...When black workers get together, then our struggles feel very much like a historical movement, trying to fight the institution. But with colleagues and clients, in my own practice on a day to day basis it feels like a set of strategies. (Gurpreet: Asian Female)

The active engagement of anti-racism is still predominantly with black people...and I think you have to have politics before you can actually do a task as well. (Ranjit: Asian Male)

Anti-racism is about a sense of empowerment, getting the balance right. I think it has to be political because there needs to be the framework, but it also has to be implemented by individuals. (Claudia: AC Female)

There are three important features about the above responses: the sense of collective black identity; action that is strategically, politically and historically orientated; and the identification with a common enemy, which in this case is the institution of social work. One of the most intriguing questions to emerge from this data is the extent to which ARSW can be understood as a distinct social movement. Certainly, a cursory comparison with contemporary social movement theory identifies many distinct characteristics such as the importance of collective identity, an 'expressive' politics, a set of shared values, operating informal networks and challenging the existing order (Castles, 1983 and 1991; Melucci, 1996; Byrne, 1997). Whilst apportioning full social movement status may be overstating its importance, nonetheless, this approach enables one to capture important features of ARSW, which after all, along with anti-racist education (see Troyna, 1990), represented the first major and sustained challenge to endemic racism within the institutions of the state (see Chapter Three).

2.2 Rebalancing power relations - Whilst not expressing things in overtly political terms, a number of participants highlighted the critical importance of confronting power relations, although on the whole, the analysis of power was restricted to a simplistic view of power as, what Lukes (2005) terms, a 'dispositional' or one-dimensional personal view:

It [anti-racism] seeks to address a power imbalance, but the problem with the liberal model is that I can never have enough power to tackle structural issues, which warrants a different more expansive analysis. (Jag: Asian Male)

Until you start to explore your difference you don't realise you commonalities, and in anti-racism, we have explored our commonalities but avoided our differences because they are uncomfortable. We haven't looked at sexuality, we haven't looked within our own communities in issues about power and gender etc and consequently we have not been able to bring people along with us. (Sanjay: Asian Male)

2.3 A set of values - A number of participants offered an affirmative conception of ARSW, in other words, a model that was working for equality and justice, rather than being seen only as a vehicle of opposition. Interestingly, many of the themes to emerge resonate with long established European enlightenment values of respect, rights and citizenship:

Treat all people with the same respect but...it is not a political movement. (Mike: AC/Male).

I think it's about empowering, enabling, promoting, it's about identity, about allowing people, individuals to be who they are without affecting their rights. (Gurbax: Asian Female)

It's to create services and practices that allow equality of access to appropriate social work services for the black communities. (Gurmit: Asian Male)

2.4 Promoting diversity and sensitivity - Closely related to the rights perspective was the view that the goals of ARSW should be to develop and implement policies and practices that are sensitive to diversity:

They have to take into consideration black people's culture, religious needs and to work properly with diversity. Not taking to account their prejudices or assumptions like black people don't need services. Use other sorts of judgement like they don't know enough, they're a nuisance. (Kiran: Asian Female)

it's about recognising people as individuals, people belonging to certain communities, people having a certain way of living and respecting that, promoting that and allowing the department to acknowledge that in terms of resources. (Gurbax: Asian Female)

Notwithstanding the problems of some approaches to multiculturalism that fail to distinguish between essentialist and dynamic representations of culture (see Chapters Two, Three and Four), one should not underestimate the importance of the sensitivity to cultural differences model. Arguably, one of the more justified criticisms of anti-racism, particularly those variants that adhere strictly to a Marxian model of society (see Chapter Three) has been the tendency to reduce expressions of culture, ethnicity or religion to the realms of false consciousness.

3. What are the achievements of anti-racism?

3.1 Black Activism - Any study looking at experiences of racism runs the danger of developing a lopsided view, a sense that life for black workers in white organisations is wholly negative. Clearly, this is not the case; whilst the experience of racism appears to be commonplace, some contexts are likely to be more problematic than others. Furthermore, not all black workers will respond in the same way to the racism. Some may respond by not challenging, by identifying with white norms, and by internalising the oppression; others may resist, build alliances and develop anti-racist strategies. Whatever option is taken, there are positive and negative consequences associated with each. Passivity is likely to gain favour from the organisation, it may be taken as a sign of loyalty for which career prospects may be enhanced. However, the downside is that this could lead isolation from black colleagues and low self-esteem. Taking on an activist position is likely to build self-esteem, confidence and respect amongst black colleagues, although the downside can be greater levels of stress and surveillance, as the following quote illustrates:

I have been very active in the black workers group and generally in representing black issues in the department. I have been chair of the group. I was told to calm down and lower my

aspirations. My involvement in the Black Workers Group has been constantly under scrutiny and my loyalty to the organisation is constantly challenged. (Jag: Asian male)

Having black workers around to support and encourage, in the form of black mentors and departmental black workers groups were identified as two crucial factors in helping the participants to cope with the racism they were facing, and for facilitating self-esteem and personal development. Typical comments were:

I was fortunate looking back that I had a black senior social worker then...there was a lot of activity in terms of black consciousness...I was quite supported and encouraged to grow really very quickly. (Nisha: Asian Female)

we have regular black practice teaching groups that meet, and also our general departmental black workers group that I access, they are useful because it's an opportunity for information sharing and to look at areas where practice teachers are having difficulty, and it's sharing experiences... it's worked well. (Gurbax: Asian Female)

It wasn't until the second year that a black social workers group was initiated...which I enjoyed, and that is what made all the difference...By talking to other black workers who shared similar experiences and feelings, I realised I wasn't alone in how I was experiencing social work, which was very reassuring. It enabled me to move beyond what I thought was me! (Sanjay: Asian Male)

3.2 Policy development - Notwithstanding the limitations of a top-down policy perspective, particularly where anti-racist policies and training are made compulsory, there was a view that social work, perhaps more than other profession, had managed to embed 'race' firmly onto the agenda, even if anti-racist change was somewhat patchy and fragmented:

I think the process and procedures being literally in every single organisation are a major achievement. The fact that most people go on race equality training, and it's on the agenda without me having to raise it at every venue, is great now; even if people don't quite understand it at least they're having those sorts of debate. (Susan: AC/Asian Female)

Opening up debate, spaces unlike other professions like legal profession or accountancy where it's not even there as an agenda item. (Nisha: Asian Female)

It's pushed a debate; it's pushed a theoretical discourse further as well; to a point it's made racism unacceptable at a superficial level, although underneath it's still there. (Gurmit: Asian Male.

3.3 Raising consciousness - Notwithstanding the limitations of the psychological model, some respondents felt that one of the greatest achievements of ARSW lay in the area of identify work and consciousness raising, particularly in relation to work with black children in care. As one interviewee remarked:

we'd worked in residential for such a long time and the young men in particular that were coming through, black young men, were having a chip on their shoulders, being aggressive, and it wasn't until we got them and started working with them that we found it was because they had very low self-esteem. They didn't like themselves as a black person; they'd internalised that, and that's why they were maybe lashing out and whatever. So as a response to that we actually set up the identity project which looked at reinforcing positive identity, showing them positive black role models, in a sense getting them to like and love themselves and seeing black as being normal. (Claudia: AC Female)

3.4 Employment of black workers - By far the most forthcoming response to the achievements of ARSW was the employment of black social workers. There was a general feeling that whilst racism was rife in social work organisations, the employment of black workers had managed to open up the possibility serving black communities more effectively and developing principles of good practice.

There clearly are more black workers; they've brought in more black workers within social work environment...its helped social services engage with local communities. (Gurbax: Asian Female)

Many more black/Asian people into social work is a real achievement. Asian foster carers... we have started thinking about this and looking at different of ways of delivering services. (Gurpreet: Asian Female)

For some, whilst the employment of black workers and the establishment of anti-racist policies was not insignificant, this view was often accompanied by a degree of caution; not surprising, as experience suggested that many black social workers were still occupying marginal locations within organisations:

Yes, there have been improvements. I mean there are obviously policies that talk about anti racist practice and equal opportunities. There are appointments of various people, whose role it is to oversee the development of good practice, which could be training officers to development workers. So there are strategic positions that have been created for black people. Again, there's another argument whether these are just tokens. (Nisha: Asian Female)

you could say there are now more black social workers. But in my experience we've had to work harder, we've had to do it for ourselves; nothing has been given to us. There's section 11 or whatever, but that was sort of railroaded anyway. So the fact that there are more black

social workers than ever is about those black individuals taking up the challenge, pushing and doing it for themselves. I don't think that organisation as such has done anything. (Claudia: AC Female)

These concerns concur with Penketh's study of institutional racism in social work in which she reported a high degree of discontent amongst black and white staff with the way policies were being implemented, and way policies were being used to mask 'inaction or indifference' (2000 p71).

3.5 Funding - There was recognition that anti-racism had enabled the securing of material resources in order to support and develop specialist provision for minority communities. However, there was a feeling was that projects, particularly those most explicitly committed to anti-racism tended to exist in conditions of uncertainty and marginalisation:

A lot of the funding for projects has been on a temporary basis, and expectation that re-application for funding is made, and it's this constant pressure on people who are running projects to make it a viable project. (Gurbax: Asian Female).

At the Family Service Unit we were actively pursuing an anti-racist agenda and we made sure students addressed these issues head on...and then CCETSW decided to pull the plug on the Practice Learning Centres. (Ranjit: Asian Male)

3.6 Rhetoric - A large majority of participants expressed ambivalence about the achievements of ARSW which in their view had been reduced to something of a cliché. The feeling was that anti-racism had been subjected to a process of de-politicisation and that consequently it had largely deviated from its original purpose to confront societal

and institutional racism, specifically in relation to the concerns of black service users. Gurnah (1984), in a critique of anti-racist policies overly orientated towards changing individual attitudes through, for example, sending white professionals on racism awareness training (RAT) courses (see Chapter Three) warned of the dangers of decoupling anti-racism from the wider political and practice concerns of the black community. Somewhat prophetically, this he felt would ultimately lead to the appropriation and commercialisation of anti-racism by the 'racist state' (p18):

If one goes beyond the behavioural model, it gets lost in the debate and there is a danger in over intellectualising the issue. The problem for me is the motive. If one does not engage with it in the 'heat', one can not turn it into practice. A lot of people can talk the language - we know about policies, but not practice. (Sanjay: Asian Male)

I think we've come to commodify 'race' politics, education and the rest of it, and at a personal level I have a real problem with postmodernism, I think it's contributed to some of the demise in terms of ideas around common political struggles. (Ranjit: Asian Male)

on an outward level and superficial level certainly I think white people know how to use the right language. Certainly, there's that, so whether there's the inner-awareness I'm not sure. (Jaswinder: Asian Female)

4. Black perspectives.

As outlined in Section One, amongst other things, anti-racism manifested a unique British black identity politics inspired by three key factors: the forging of common cause against racism by immigrants from the Indian subcontinent and the Caribbean; post-colonial and anti-imperial struggles; and the black power and civil rights movement in the US. Whilst social justice was the primary demand for black anti-racists, for some there

was a growing realisation of the problems associated with dismantling the 'masters house with the masters tools' (Lorde, 1984 p110-113). One consequence of this new politics for social work was the projection of ethnic pride and the search for an authentic black perspective that was able to provide a positive aspiration for anti-racism. This would reflect not only a desire to dismantle the structures of racist oppression, but also develop a reconstructed non-Eurocentric social work project capable of accommodating different perspectives (see Chapter Two).

Whilst for BPTs the commitment to black perspectives remained strong, it was commented that due to external pressures, such as community loyalty, the rise of Islamophobia and government policy promoting ethnic and religious identities, it was not always easy to maintain this position. Some participants felt that the definition of black perspectives was contested and the power lay with those who define it, which in itself could be exclusionary. Nonetheless, responses to the question of how they understood the notion of black perspectives revealed five discernible positions, namely, 'affirmative', 'claiming subjectivity', 'deconstructive', 'developmental' and those relating 'race and gender'.

4.1 Affirmative - For most participants the idea is presented as a signifier of ethnic, religious and cultural difference, of being 'black' (or 'not white'), of articulating and identifying with demands for greater sensitivity of the different needs of ethnic minorities, as service providers and users:

a number of different models and ways of thinking. It talked about different cultures. I haven't really developed my own understanding, but it is closely related to cultural competence. (Sanjay: Asian Male).

If you looked at an African Caribbean family it might be very different to an Asian family and some of the cultural and value base would be very different. So for me it's about being aware

that people have differences and if you want to treat them fairly you've got to recognise those differences. (Jaswinder: Asian Female)

to be very sensitive about questions of religion as I feel and understand the importance of this to most black/Asian clients. I am more aware of peoples needs in this respect, in terms of the emotional and spiritual dimension. (Gurmit: Asian Male)

4.2 Claiming subjectivity - About half the participants identified black perspectives as a means of exploring their own subjectivity as a basis for engaging internalised oppression, or as one person put it, 'healing'. The following quotes encapsulate this aspect:

Our perceptions of who we are, and the kind of presence we want to bring. Regaining control of one's life and the mechanisms to do this ...It's about your existence...facing up to how black people have been dehumanised. (Mike: AC Male)

understanding those experiences of oppression, colonialism and so on, to ways of living, different world views...all of them are relevant for developing some kind of consciousness about presenting a black perspective. (Nisha: Asian Female)

Black Perspectives is about a framework for me to conceptualise, theorise and locate my self. It represents a challenge against the mainstream norm...it offers me an academic perspective/framework, similar to feminism for women, from which I can develop a critique of European thought. (Jag Asian: Male)

4.3 Deconstructive - Additionally, in line with Ahmad (1990), for some, black perspectives presented a basis for de-colonising social work ideas and practices without necessarily prescribing what this may actually look like. This subjectivity was linked to

recognising their unique ontological positioning, whereas others emphasised a common subaltern standpoint born out of colonialism, slavery and cultural imperialism. The following quotes indicate some impressive evidence of BPTs making strong connections between personal experience and the gross injustice of racist oppression highlighted in various sections of this thesis:

to my mind it goes beyond the personal experience. When I gather with other black colleagues there are times when I have to say a sentence and there's lots of nodding around the room and we know it's a shared experience we have a theory and analysis that's shared. (Susan: AC/Asian Female)

Black perspectives to me is not just about vision, it is the recognition of the reality of racism, and the impact this has on our personal and collective well being. The vision is about recognising where the society, structure or organisation does not support us emotionally. (Susan: AC/Asian Female)

I think it's moving out of Eurocentricity isn't it? Everything that is white is 'normal', but having a look at issues about addressing the dysfunctional black family, showing the strengths of black families instead of the weaknesses. (Claudia: AC Female)

4.4 Developmental - A theme that emerged from the focus groups (see Appendix 2B) was for the needs of BPTs to be given opportunities and space to explore, for themselves, the notion of black perspectives in particular and issues relating to their particular experience as black professionals more generally. It is often assumed that black professionals have no need for any kind of training for working with black clients or black students, that somehow their 'blackness' was a given and anti-racism must come naturally:

BPTs need time and space to meet together, to look at issues around such things as their own values, beliefs, politics and practices. (Focus Group)

In many ways, I find working with Asian families more challenging than white families. The families expect so much. Also, my white colleagues think that just because I am Asian I can understand the language, which I wrong. I often feel pressurised and unable to share my anxieties with my supervisors. (Fouzia: Asian Female)

From my own experience, I can recall, from the early stages of my social work career, being allocated, without hesitation, complex cases concerning black service users. Whilst one may dismiss this as being due to poor supervision, ironically, when it came to the allocation of equally complex cases involving white service users, I recall being regularly discouraged due to my lack of experience and/or knowledge.

4.4 Race and gender - Significantly, the responses of a number of female respondents underlined the gendered dimension of experience. For them, it was important to situate their construction of black perspectives within and through their experiences for gender oppression. This in itself led to some reservations amongst some participants about an uncritical assertion of black perspectives, as the following quotes illustrate:

I would work with black women and I had done in past on child protection side, and white workers might not understand about that woman's life and the internalised oppression, sexism and racism, and how that can affect black women. (Kiran: Asian Female)

like the feminist perspective in some sense has changed, I think it would need revisiting in terms of people asserting their religious identity and it would need to look at those

identities in terms of gender as well...When we look at black perspective, where has been the gender in that. I think it needs to be revisited. (Nisha: Asian female)

Whilst wider debates amongst black feminists concerning the development of paradigms that can speak to the specificities of black women's experiences of oppression situated within the nexus of 'race', gender and class are well documented (see Chapter Two), the experiences and perceptions of black female social workers remain under researched. Nonetheless, while small scale, the findings of this study would tend to confirm the assertion that black women social workers are often marginalised and misunderstood. Lewis (2000) in a study of black women social workers highlighted the complexity of their experience and contradictory ways in which their roles become proscribed by others. Recent evidence suggests that black women within the public sector as a whole continue to be subject to a 'double jeopardy' of oppression. For example, Healy et al. (2004) in a study exploring the experiences of black women activists in the trade union movement reveal widespread experiences of isolation, exclusion from positions of power and daily racism. Moreover, the study suggests that organisational structures designed to support the implementation of equality policies, such as work based employee groups, often resulted in black women being marginalised with black men tending to dominate 'race' structures and white women dominating gender structures.

Section Two - Constructing Pedagogy

One of the ways of gaining deeper insights into how BPTs conceptualise ARSW was to explore how they went about teaching this to social work students i.e. how they were seeking to relate theory to practice. In other words, what approaches to teaching and learning they had developed for promoting ARSW. This section also enabled me to

analyse BPTs experiences of supervising black and white students. A number of clear themes emerged from the data:

1. Political correctness (PC) – Some participants outlined concerns about the way anti-racism was being caricatured in terms of PC culture. Given the New Right backlash discussed in Chapter Three, perhaps this should not be surprising. However, one of the most negative reactions identified by respondents was trivialisation, by students, to the point where anti-racism becomes reduced to avoiding saying the wrong thing and/or learning the ‘correct jargon’:

The students are almost scared about anti-racism. It tends to be more rhetoric than reality...knowing how to say the right thing. Its not taken seriously, because, underneath the students are not that actively involved, and passing the course seems to be the main motive.
(Gurpreet: Asia Female)

They're afraid to say anything, even to colleagues; they would rather not say anything than run the danger of being labelled racist. (Shushila: Asian Female)

Given the confrontational approaches adopted by some anti-racism trainers where an overly individualised racism was prescribed as a white problem alone, two participants suggested that, the charge of PC may not entirely undeserved:

I think people got guilt tripped...I didn't like the scare tactics. (Susan: AC/Asian Female).

some of the racism awareness training that happened earlier on, created such stigma, such a fear that instead of progressing things on it pushed them underground. (Gurmit: Asian Male).

2. Culture and diversity: - The evidence regarding how BPTs sought to address issues relating to diversity tended to paint a mixed picture. Whilst some sought to represent culture as dynamic and changing, as the following quote illustrates, others indicated a less critical approach,:

because culture is something that evolves, it doesn't stand still, it's changing, moving and has been shaped by so many things. What I might have said was black culture when I was a little girl growing up with my family might have changed and moved on now that I'm a 45 year old woman. (Sharon: AC Female)

The issue of destabilised cultural identity is something that particularly resonates with the work of Hall (1990) who argues identity is always a matter of 'being' and 'becoming', or put another, 'roots' and 'routes'.

3. Identity Work - A number of participants talked about the importance of getting students to reflect critically on their own self-identity as a means of understanding better the perspectives that others, clients and professionals, will bring to understanding problems. One of the favoured techniques for introducing the issue was for BPTs to talk about their own subjectivity and experience in order to encourage the student to follow suite:

I talk about identities I ask, describe yourself....I've used things like maps, people locating themselves geographically and saying what that might mean to them. I've done that very well with black colleagues more so than white colleagues. (Susan: Asian/AC female)

So I say to them look here I am, I'm a black woman, let's talk about racism. In British society and then I move onto oppression in general. Actually, the position I take is, let's talk about

your oppression, let's talk about my oppression, issues about race and gender. (Seema: Asian Female)

myself as the main body, apart from everything else, that's how I see my whole self and the body is there as an anti-racist representation before I open my mouth, because I'm challenging them in many senses by being. I think your own experience is one, the experience of being a female. The other one is obviously presenting different perspectives; let's see what the feminists have said, let's see what some of the black researchers and writers may have said...and so on. (Nisha: Asian Female)

As discussed in Chapter Three, black perspectives can be mobilised for doing identity work with black and white students (Singh, 1992). For black students, it offers an opportunity to enable them to engage in a process of 'invention'. Fanon (1967) identifies this as one of the central tasks faced by black people in the post-colonial era. This involves for the colonised person a process of re-humanisation, a transformation from being posited as an object in history to a subject and narrator of history. For white students this idea can enable them to recognise and interrogate what is often an unconscious sense of superiority, thereby opening up the possibility of new ways of thinking about self and 'the Other' (Singh, 1992). However, pedagogical approaches that merely unmask subjectivities without enabling students to situate these new found insights into a wider socio-political analysis are, as Razack (1999) argues, likely to result in students being taught to 'manage diversity' rather than understand (and one would hope challenge) the complex structures of power that produce and reproduce oppression.

4. Direct work with black service users - Whilst direct work with black service users was generally seen as having potential for white students to confront issues of 'race' in a real sense, there were some reservations relating to the ethics of allowing students, who may lack sensitivity, to work with black service users. The other worry was that if this

was done in a tokenistic way, there is the danger that students may end up simply reinforcing previously held stereotypes, or displacing them with new ones:

through direct case work I get students to work with black clients, as a means of confronting their own potential fears and stereotypes. There are problems; what if the client/family ends up confirming a stereotype? (Gurbax: Asian Female)

When I do group supervision on assessment and we use that as case studies and look at what some of the issues might be there...I try and give people the opportunity to work with black families but its not always possible ...so I use a lot of hypothetical scenarios (Jaswinder: Asian Female).

Section Three: The Policy Context

A common concern emerging from the focus groups in particular was that of the pervasiveness and of managerialism. Along with the attendant mechanisms of audit and surveillance, there was a view that autonomous spaces for black workers to meet were much diminished. There was a strong demand that black workers be allowed opportunities to go outside formal hierarchical managerial structures, or as one participant put it, 'go off line', without fear of any repercussions. One can only speculate, but these sentiments may in part reflect a wider sense of disillusionment with traditional trade union structures to provide a vehicle for autonomous space and action, which lies at the core of these sentiments.

1. Anti-oppressive practice (AOP) - Whether one agrees with it or not, there can be little doubt that the foregrounding of AOP represents something of a watershed in terms of anti-racism. As discussed in Chapter Four, for some, AOP (and the linked notion of anti-discriminatory practice (ADP) represents a natural progression, a response to the limitations of anti-racism (Macey and Moxon, 1996; Thompson, 1998); for others it

represents a regressive step that further dilutes political commitments to anti-racism (Williams, 1999; Heron, 2004). Notably, there was almost universal support for the latter position amongst BPTs:

ADP - I think this is a softening of antiracism and in some cases, the language needs to be blunt, whereas the new jargon is not simple and therefore it allows avoidance. (Sanjay: Asian Male)

AOP allows white people try to ignore racism because it's not in their interest to get rid of racism, as they are the beneficiaries. They do not really want to share power through a deep rooted fear of black people. (Mike: AC Male)

it represents a removal of the difference between 'isms' which means like as long as you can say the right things then you don't need to do anything else. (Gurpreet: Asian Female)

A related view by a number of participants was that that the concept of AOP acted to mask racism thereby confusing the issue. At best, it (racism) is reduced to an abstract exercise undermining the realities facing black workers on a daily basis.

what on earth does that mean apart from jumbling up all the different histories and definitions and experiences into one big melting pot and saying it's all the same, it isn't, the struggle we've had around sexual equality is different to race equality, we've had racism within sexism, we've had sexism within racism, people can't see the difference. Susan: AC/Asian Female)

It's trying to shift the attention from anti racist approaches to a broader approach which then waters down the impact. (Gurmit: Asian Male)

I think they look good on paper but in practice I don't know how they are working with people...because...as social workers we do oppress people regardless because we have got power over service users" (Shushila: Asian Female).

Whilst the overwhelming view was that AOP represented a negative step, there was some recognition of the potential possibilities of this model. Two participants suggested AOP was particularly relevant to developing a more nuanced approach to working with people whose particular differences may render them subject to multiple oppressions. The sentiments also suggested an implicit criticism of anti-racism in terms of its inability address the wider dynamics of human oppression:

Development of AOP practice has some possibilities in community work where one may be working with difference in a much more dynamic way. (Jag: Asian Male)

AOP has to be developed, for us to be more sophisticated now than we used to be then, because I think a lot of strategies just didn't work. (Seema: Asian Female)

2. Competency culture - One of the characteristics of managerialist approaches to social work education and training has been the idea of 'competencies'. Forming the backbone of most vocational and professional education, competencies are best understood as a combination or synthesis of 'knowledge', 'skills' and 'values'. Whilst knowledge and skills are perhaps easier to teach and assess, because of their inherent subjective and contested nature, values are a very different proposition. The overwhelming view amongst participants was that competency approaches were antithetical to the very essence of ARSW. Along with a degree of anti-intellectualism, such approaches tend to be atomistic, reductive, mechanistic and routine (Hager, 1986) or

they posit knowledge, which is prescribed and standardised, as un-problematic or uncontested:

I disagree with it...because competency does not allow one to develop reflection...its a checklist approach...it doesn't acknowledge the broader issues around values, and it creates the conditions whereby the complex relationship between personal values, professional values and social values becomes reduced to scientific rationality. (Sanjay: Asian Male)

I think social work is moving more into the training mode. It's moving more towards the competence mode, check list approaches, and I think that the politics has over the years been taken out of social. NVQ's takes away some of the ideas of sociological argument so workers are qualified as processors of tasks. (Ranjit: Asian Male)

3. The Stephen Lawrence Inquiry - Participants generally felt that not a lot had changed since the report into the death of Stephen Lawrence and the role of the Metropolitan Police was published. Indeed, there was a general degree of disappointment with the impact of the subsequent Race Relations Amendment Act (2000)²⁸. As well as raising the profile of race equality, one of the changes has been the establishment of new performance management systems and targets concerning 'race' equality.

Many of the participants had little knowledge of any strategies for implementation within their organisations. This is most likely due to the fact that during the period of the field-work, the new act had only been in place for a short period and the statutory requirements were due to be phased in over time. However, there was consensus that the

²⁸ This act, which came into effect in 2002, builds on the previous Race Relations Act (1976) in one key aspect; the amended duties are more enforceable, including a positive duty to promote racial equality by public bodies. In other words, authorities are required not only to address unlawful discrimination where it occurs, but also to be pro-active in preventing it from occurring.

death of Stephen Lawrence had managed to put 'race' back onto the public policy agenda in relation to policing practices. For some, the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry confirmed what black people already know and have been saying for some time about policing. Some of the more experienced participants, reflecting on the Scarman Inquiry into the riots in 1981, felt that the MacPherson report will have the same journey as its predecessor, and will fade away. As one participant put it:

Police do not protect us or support measures to address Black needs. The police will become a more subtle and 'caring' organisation will panic and look to us for all the answers as they will need to be seen to be doing something. (Focus Group)

Given the relative 'newness' of the new 'race' equality frameworks, it would be wrong to draw any significant conclusions from this study. However, it is clear that MacPherson has focused attention, particularly in relation to the question of policing and black communities. MacPherson's suggestion that the failings of the police and criminal justice system reflected a larger problem about institutional racism is to be welcomed, even if this is something that has been stated on numerous previous occasions. In these days where 'evidence based practice' is extolled as a virtue, it is also worth remembering the importance of politics in policy development. One concern is that the emphasis on monitoring and targets one may end-up reducing anti-racist to the production of performance specifications and ways to satisfy inspection and regulatory regimes. As Ratcliffe (2004) suggests, 'Active monitoring requires much more than simply recording details: it means that the implications of the data must serve as a basis for action' (p121).

Conclusion

This chapter sought to examine questions relating to BPTs conceptualisation of ARSW and related ideas and their reflections on the current policy context. Broadly

speaking, the data highlights a high degree of critical insight into the complexity of racism and social work. Whilst some of the language used to describe ideas inevitably reflects the extent to which BPTs were willing and/or able to keep track with the wider literature, nonetheless, they displayed a good appreciation of the dynamics of ideas and policies. In relation to conceptualisations of anti-racism, a revealing omission was the failure to link anti-racism to moral concerns. Whilst purists will seek to claim and assert one model of anti-racism, a model based on their lived experience of racism, in reality, just as racism is understood as being multi-faceted, anti-racism will too be manifest through a plurality of responses.

The empirical data considered in this chapter reveals a number of discernable perspectives on ARSW. Most interestingly, in triangulating BPTs conceptualisations of ARSW against the pedagogical approaches designed to enable students to develop anti-racist practice, some revealing divergence emerged. For example, whilst most identified the importance of a structural analysis of racism and an anti-racist project described in terms of it being 'political', a 'historical struggle', about 'power' and 'empowerment', the teaching of anti-racism reflected much more the language of individual behavioural responses, focussing primarily on issues relating to identity and difference. This would suggest three things:

First, it highlights the complex and unique challenge that practice teachers face in seeking to relate theory to practice. Not only are they charged with making sense of increasingly complex formations of 'racism', particularly those derived from postmodernism, they are simultaneously expected to articulate these different and contested models into the straight jacket of competency based approaches permeating social work education and practice. Practice teachers are presented with the almost impossible task of promoting and nurturing critical anti-racist practice whilst at the same time meeting employers demands that social workers be 'trained' to exhibit predictable

and consistent behaviours and actions within set procedures; which may or may not be the right decision, but one that is defensible (Mullalay 2001).

Second, it may indicate an inherent problem with a pluralist approach to anti-racism in that often one is partly justified in opposition to another. For example, advocates of ARSW rooted in a 'neo-Marxist' analysis of 'race' and class will tend to criticise those positions that seek to assert multicultural or psychological models. Indeed, one of the major disjunctions in pedagogical approaches to promoting anti-racism has been around the relative merits of 'cultural awareness training (CAT), 'racism awareness training (RAT)' and 'anti-racism training' (see Gurnah 1984; Sivanandan 1985, Tamkin et al., 2002).

Third, it may indicate a degree of disengagement and/or self-preservation and/or accommodation resulting in the displacing of previous activism on the part of some BPTs; after all, talking about anti-racism is easier than implementing it. One should not underestimate how, over time, changes in personal (e.g. financial security) and professional (promotion to a managerial position) circumstances might change priorities (Stubbs, 1985).

However, denying a plurality of perspectives may end up undermining important, albeit at times slow change. Speaking from personal experience of having taught on different social work programmes over the past 15 years, there can be little denying that the experience of black students is qualitatively better that was the case in the 1980's and early 1990's. Yet, such a view need not deny the ongoing existence of racism, but will require a realisation that racism itself does not retain the same form over time. There are three reasons why anti-racism is difficult to grasp within this model.

First, as pointed out earlier, there are conceptual problems. Not only is there a lack of clarity about the meaning of 'values' and the related notions of 'ethics' and 'morals', the value requirements associated with AOP and ADP are highly contested. They do not

have fixed meanings and according to what theoretical and political approach one has, may mean different things to different people.

Second, the competency and performance outcome based approach with its heavy reliance on managerialist language does not allow for recognition of the problems of meaning and interpretation. After all learning is about struggling with language and concepts not the simple assimilation of politically correct words.

Third, there is the tension between the desire for certain external prescriptive 'professional ethics' of social work and the realisation that such codes themselves are potentially normative and potentially constraining. Take for example the social work notion of 'normalisation'. In a previous period, this constituted a core social work value. However, because of the emergence of anti-oppressive principles, and particularly disability activism, the very idea of 'normality' has been subject to severe criticism.

Overall, the sentiments of BPTs would lend support to the view that the emergence of AOP and ADP represent a retrograde step for anti-racism. These findings tend to confirm Heron's conclusion that the discursive shift towards AOP and ADP represents a hegemonic ploy designed to redefine anti-racism as something less threatening.

Replacing anti-racism with the terms anti-discrimination or anti-oppressive not only removes anti-racism from the agenda...it distorts the very meaning of racism. This distortion limits students' ability to construct a logical way to understand 'race'.
(Heron 2004 p290)

One of the inherent problems with notions such as AOP and ADP is that they become abstracted and ultimately detached from the historical contexts in which liberation struggles emerge. In doing so, their meanings are transformed. From invocation to act and engage in a politics of change, these and other related notions (e.g. 'social justice', 'equality' and 'empowerment') become internalised as value statements alone. Whilst

there is nothing wrong with espousing such values, they can take on altogether different and contradictory meanings. Take, for example, the notion of empowerment. For some, 'empowerment' has become a blunt instrument, a rhetorical device; for others it provides recognition of the oppression and inequality in society (Baistow, 1994). Clarke et al. (1994) identify managerial, professional and political variants of 'empowerment', each of which resonates with very different interests and discourses. Forrest (2000) suggests 'empowerment' has the capacity to be both 'liberatory' and 'regulative', thus appealing to both powerful and powerless. The question remains, empowerment for what and through what means. Ward and Mullender (1991) talk of the importance of connecting empowerment to 'a commitment to challenging and combating injustice and oppression' (p22). This can only be done by establishing a clear understanding of the nature of injustice and the source of disempowerment; which inevitably raised questions about how one conceptualises power.

Penketh (2000) in her examination of institutional racism in social work, comments on the problems associated with a 'top-down' managerially driven policy agenda, which she suggests, seeks to impose equality targets in ways that miss the crucial process issues. Other writers have also commented on the inherent weakness of the wisdom that anti-racist change can be brought about through generating detailed policy specifications alone. Kwhali (1991), commenting on the introduction of checklists by CCETSW for external assessors of DipSW courses to report on how effectively they were addressing anti-racism, suggests that it is 'unrealistic to expect social work institutions to be transformed into models of anti-discriminatory excellence simply because new written requirements are placed upon them' (Kwhali, 1991 p44).

The data in this chapter highlights a broader frustration with the 'competency culture' which arguably represents a hegemonic strategy designed to arrest social work from those that seek to posit a critical and political dimension (Humphries, 1998). One of the key aspects of this strategy has been the way competencies become developed. Take,

for example, the national occupational standards for professional social work. They comprise of six key roles sub-divided into 21 units, made up of 77 elements. Each one of these elements has a series of performance criteria covering law, practice, values, theories, models and methods (TOPSS, 2002). The whole thrust is to present social work as a formulaic, predictable activity, where knowledge is to be assimilated rather than struggled with. In sum, social work education becomes reduced to a production line designed to turn out practitioners capable of responding to organisational imperatives, the problem being that often these run at odds with commitments to, for example, AOP.

On an optimistic note, Humphreys suggests that the 'competency movement' is ultimately doomed to fail since any attempt to exercise control and power will 'the very same time invoke a desire to resist, because alongside power there is always resistance' (1998 p11). Not only is the notion of competency problematic, what is deemed competent and effective practice is contested. The imperatives of regulation appear to have led to a bifurcation whereby social work professionals and educators foreground skills and knowledge that seek to develop critical understanding and skills for engaging with service users, whilst managers emphasise procedural and legal skills and knowledge (Barnes, 2002).

One aspect of the data that proves less conclusive is the issue of the impact of the possible impact of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry (MacPherson, 1999), which it was popularly argued represented something of a watershed concerning 'race' equality in the UK (see Ratcliffe, 2004). A critical reading of the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry raises a number of important questions with regard to the data highlighted in this chapter. First, despite the advent on new legislation, policies and targets, on the ground things appear to remain the same. This may be indicative of two things, a lack of will to implement the new frameworks on the side of senior management, or a lack of understanding/appreciation of the deep rooted and pervasive nature of 'racialised' power structures and 'systems of knowledge' talked about in Chapter Four. Whilst

presenting one of the most robust attempts at defining institutional racism, the report nonetheless is replete with messages that racism primarily resides in personal psychology and cultural traditions. For example, MacPherson talks of 'unwitting racism' arising out of 'lack of understanding, ignorance or mistaken beliefs... Such attitudes can thrive in a tightly knit community so that there can be a failure to detect and outlaw this breed of racism ... often arises out of uncritical self-understanding born out of an inflexible ethos of the 'traditional' way of doing things (1999, para. 6.17). Nonetheless, the advance that MacPherson offers from previous attempts is the clear demand for something tantamount to a cultural revolution; where old traditions, and by implication old ideas and imaginations about what it means to be British, are replaced with a more inclusive notions. Whilst it would be difficult to disagree with this analysis, the problem remains, can racism be dismantled whilst the social, political and economic system remains in tact (see Chapter Two - variants of Marxist analysis).

However, this chapter highlights the possibility of anti-racist change albeit at times piecemeal and prone to unravel unless the pressure for change is maintained. If in a previous generation the issue was how to convince policy makers of the prevalence of institutional racism, of the need for anti-racist strategies, then this is no longer the case. Whether, following the Stephen Lawrence Inquiry, the universal acceptance of the existence of institutional racism has finally generated a collective will to do away with racism, remains to be seen. However, the evidence examined in this and other chapters would indicate that even if it were possible to create a 'non racist' society, this remains elusive.

Whilst the data highlighted in this thesis indicates things never stand still, and it would be inaccurate and pointless to suggest no change has taken place, powerful structural, institutional and cultural forces working against anti-racist change remain in place. Given the problems with the managerialist agenda and the ongoing proceduralisation of social work, ARSW, other than those aspects that are located within

the realms of the individual, may become more elusive. Therefore, it is clear that a reliance on The State alone, through legislative and procedural mechanisms, to eradicate racism is imprudent. As history reveals, there is every reason to think that communities of people will organise their own resistance and perhaps the greatest challenge for social workers committed to anti-racism is how to position oneself in relation to these forces. Previously, communities of resistance were organised along lines of 'race' and class interests. However, due to a complex set of circumstances beyond the scope of this thesis, new communities, some based on geographical location, others on shared ethnic, religious and political identities have emerged as vehicles for anti-racist struggles. In the final and concluding chapter, I will look at some of the implications that these new conditions have for ARSW and seek to offer some pointers for developing a reconstituted anti-racist project.

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION: RE-IMAGINING ANTIRACIST SOCIAL WORK

How can we imagine a reconstituted welfare state which is simultaneously anti-racist yet avoids fixing black people in racialising social practices? This is of course the stuff of politics and the means by which it can be achieved cannot be determined prior to the engagement in struggle. (Gail Lewis, 1996 p119)

Introduction

Section One of the thesis, constituting a critical analysis of the evolution of the discourses of 'race', racism and anti-racism, served to contextualise the development of ARSW. In doing so, I was able to isolate a range of research questions that were taken forward into Section Two, the fieldwork component. The chief concern of Section Two was to analyse critically the nature of racism in social work and the formation of anti-racist responses as experienced and understood by BPTs. This final chapter seeks to conclude the thesis by drawing together some of the key issues from Sections One and Two and by providing some key pointers for re-imagining ARSW.

I commenced the thesis with an account about my own feelings about the rise and fall of ARSW in the space of 25 years. These reflect a sense of ambivalence about ARSW, of achievement on the one hand but a loss of direction and purpose on the other. The data uncovered in both sections has if anything reinforced this sense of ambivalence, and at times despair, a sense that not only ARSW but also social work in general, has in recent times lost any sense of itself (Jones, 2001). Most concerning is that, under the managerialist regimes of the new right, and more recently, New Labour, whilst the rhetoric of social work values of, for example, commitments to AOP, ADP and user empowerment is impressive, the current state of social work practice suggests that

neither social workers nor service users and carers experience any sense of empowerment (Jones, 2001).

In this concluding chapter, I seek to argue that the project is worth persisting with, but this will require important reconfiguring, such as moving away from the black/white binarisms, seeking ways of working with new communities of resistance centred on religious and ethnic identification, and building international ARSW alliances.

The chapter is in two parts. The first part discusses some of the key findings coming out of the data uncovered in this thesis; the second and concluding part offers some thoughts about the possible future orientation of ARSW.

Key findings:

One of the central conclusions that one may draw from this thesis is that ARSW has arrived at an impasse and for it to have any relevance it will need to develop ways through a range of practical, theoretical and political problems. This thesis has made it possible to make a number of general assertions about the key social, theoretical and political landscape upon which such a task might be undertaken, namely:

1. 'Culture', 'ethnicity' and religion, have significantly displaced 'race' as the primary markers of difference and in shaping a sense of community, identity and social policy (Chapter Three, Four and Seven)
2. Increasing 'intermixing' amongst and between 'raced' (non white) and 'non-raced' (white) communities, makes the repression or pathologisation of heterogeneity or 'hybridity', increasingly more difficult (Chapters Two, Four and Seven)
3. The political concept 'black' and by definition the black/white binarism, whilst still having some purchase amongst some black professionals, forms an unstable basis for constructing a meaningful anti-racist politics (Chapters Two, Four, Seven and Eight)
4. Postmodernist and black feminist demands for developing practice built on an understanding of the complex and multidimensional nature of power and the

articulation of different systems of oppression are well made (Chapters One, Two, Four, Seven and Eight)

5. However, postmodernism in general provides few positive suggestions for reconstructing a political anti-racist social work project (Chapters One and Four)
6. The emergence of anti-oppressive practice, whilst offering new opportunities for responding to the postmodern condition, paradoxically, poses considerable threats for ARSW (Chapters Four and Eight)
7. The ever-increasing regulation and commodification of social work, coupled with new managerialism makes the prospects of building a politicised ARSW project within state social work increasingly problematic (One, Three, Four and Eight)

Originality

The originality of this thesis can be summarised as being located in four key aspects:

First, through the exploration and exposition of points of tension between theory and practice, more specifically, between academic accounts of ARSW and those of BPTs

Second, by documenting the development and articulation of an ARSW praxis through the perspective of experienced black social workers/practice teachers

Third, in the light of postmodernity and the emergence of AOP, by offering critical insights into contemporary formulations of ARSW

Fourth, in appraising the impact of contemporary policy frameworks, specifically those associated with managerialism, on ARSW.

This thesis has revealed a number of important new insights into the development of ARSW over the past 25 years. In Section One, I identified the complex and contradictory context in which ARSW emerged and developed. ARSW took hold at a time when the New Right was at its most potent (see Husband, 1991), and the employment of black social workers, rather than eradicating racism, arguably led to the uncovering of previously unacknowledged and virulent forms as well as creating new antagonisms. I

have argued that these conflicts were centred on concerns being raised about the mistreatment of black service users, care workers and professionals. Moreover, the challenge to the Eurocentric nature of social work practice was not confined to practice alone; social work education became an important site of engagement for black social workers, practice teachers, academics, students and committed white people.

Through the narrative accounts of BPTs, the thesis has uncovered important first hand insights into the development of ARSW and the nature and extent of institutional racism within social work (Chapter Seven). Most significantly, the thesis has demonstrated how racism faced by BPTs parallels the experiences of black service users (Chapter Seven); they are constructed as 'the Other' and they face hostility from white users and colleagues. In short, this thesis provides considerable evidence to support the assertion that despite the employment of black workers, changes in the training and education of social workers and the establishment of legislative frameworks, racism in social work remains an unresolved issue. However, it would be wrong to conclude from this overall assertion that there has been no progress. To the contrary, as outlined in Chapter Eight, BPTs identified a number of areas where they felt anti-racism had secured important concessions in such areas as the employment of black staff, facilitating policy development, funding, raising consciousness, black activism and the development of black perspectives. However, notwithstanding these considerable successes, there was a general feeling that with the gradual decoupling of anti-racism from wider community based activism, where indeed it first emerged (see Chapters One and three), and by collapsing anti-racism into notions of AOP and ADP (Chapter Four and Eight), there was the real danger that many of the gains could unravel.

Beyond postmodernism

One of the objectives of this thesis was to evaluate critically the utility of postmodernism and post-colonial theory to re-imagine ARSW. As outlined in Chapter

Four, arguably the most forceful achievements of postmodernism have been the uncovering of the technologies and forms of domination within modern industrial society. Foucault (1972, 1977 and 1980) in particular has revealed compelling linkages between mechanisms of surveillance on the one hand and domination within modern institutional and societal contexts. Moreover, by rejecting the idea of discourse as merely an utterance or an expression, and asserting it as a manifestation of knowledge and power, Foucault has opened up new ways to understand the multifarious and concealed facet of power relations. The application of postmodern and postcolonial understanding to the real and potential oppressive nature of social work is immense. Ironically, armed with such a powerful analytical weapon one might have expected to see new and dynamic models and practices emerge, but alas, the reality is that social work is becoming further entrenched within the quagmire of the very regulatory mechanisms that Foucault warns against (see Parton (ed.) 1996; Jones 2001; Jordan, 2001, Garratt, 2002).

Why has the emergence a significant postmodernist presence in the social work literature not seemingly made a difference to social work practice? One reason could be that social work practitioners, for a variety of reasons, are simply not accessing this material. These reasons may include a general culture of anti-intellectualism, where professionals feel they are no longer expected to critically engage with ideas but assimilate ‘evidence’ that has been selected for them (see Jones, 1996). It may also be the case that the some of the convoluted language of postmodernism itself constructs new ‘expert’ elites thereby denying access to those on the ‘outside’ who don’t possess the cultural capital to appreciate the value of the material (Bourdieu, 1984). Such criticisms should not be taken lightly, as pointed out in Chapter Four, amongst other things, the ‘exclusivity’ of some postmodern and post-colonial writing can in itself be quite oppressive (hooks, 1991). Finally, it may be that a fundamental problem with postmodernist accounts is their apparent inability to reconstruct positive alternatives to policy, politics or practice (see Chapter Four). One of the paradoxes of contemporary social work theory is that whilst adherents to postmodernism argue for

progressive liberating social work, as Mullaly (2001) points out, at the same time they deconstruct ‘such meta-narratives as feminism, Marxism, socialism and other critical perspectives to the point where reconstruction becomes impossible’ (p316).

Politics of ‘race’ and identity

In relation to questions of ‘race’ and identity, the data reveals a somewhat confusing picture. Whilst BPTs appear to identify as the ‘Other’ within white organisations, significantly for many the expression of their identity was multifarious incorporating such things as religion, ethnicity, place of origin, and ‘race’ (Chapter Seven). Whilst accepting the ‘unreality’ of ‘race’ (Chapter Two), I am mindful of not throwing the ‘baby out with the bathwater’. Although at the official policy level ‘race’ has largely been displaced by ethnicity and religion as the primary marker of difference i.e. it (‘race’) is denied any ontological status, racism remains a potent force; how can this be? Why, given the continued existence of racist oppression has a politicised anti-racist project been displaced by the language of AOP, ADP and promoting/managing diversity?

To answer this apparent paradox it is necessary to reflect on the context in which anti-racism emerged in social work and the subsequent New Right backlash (Chapter Three). Put simply, politicised anti-racism sought not only to offer practice models for social workers to apply in their work with ethnic minority service users, but more profoundly represented a radical critique of the profession itself. In his account of the ‘de-radicalisation of anti-racism’, Seldon (2000) suggests that since ‘whiteness’ remains a hidden norm, the notion of managing/promoting diversity becomes a new code for the re-articulation of ‘race’.

Especially popular in white corporate circles, “diversity”... is fraught with limitations and failures to challenge the status quo. Too often, “managing diversity”

becomes simply a way of controlling whatever “diversity” is present. (Seldon, 2000 p33)

Thus, it becomes critical to remind ourselves that in the modern capitalist state, ‘race’ has always been instrumental in the development of a wide range of policies, even if the way it is articulated is not fixed (Goldberg 2003). In other words, whilst ‘race’ may no longer have much purchase on the way groups seek to mark out their differences, the ‘racial state’ remains intact. Hence, though the state increasingly prides itself as being ‘raceless’, it perpetuates and invests in the privileges that produce and reproduce racially constituted inequalities (see Chapter Seven). The clear gap between rhetoric and reality highlighted in this thesis leaves one wondering if anti-racists should disassociate themselves from state social work altogether. Nonetheless, a wider critique would suggest that there is a need for an anti-racist project that seeks to interrogate and confront professional social work, although questions about the most effective strategy remain open.

Beyond black and white

This study has uncovered various arguments about the appropriateness of the black/white racial binarism in determining the extent of structural disadvantage (see Chapters Two, Four, Seven and Eight). I have highlighted how some Marxist approaches insist that given racial differences are always constructed in the context of class formations, ‘race’ as an empirical concept simply is not sustainable (see Chapters Two and Five). Taking things one step further, postmodernists increasingly question the validity of any empirical category, racial or otherwise, as these tend to result in a reduction of complexity and essentialism (Chapter 4).

Although for completely different motivations, minority communities have also begun to reject the categories that are often imposed upon them by professionals. Some

Muslims, for example, have questioned the basis upon which racism has been debated in Britain. For them, 'Islamaphobia' is an important structuring factor that has hitherto been conspicuously absent in anti-racist discourse. Modood (1992), lamenting the ambivalence of anti-racists in the Rushdie affair points out what an anti-racist project capable of responding to the experience of Muslims might look like.

Authentic 'anti-racism' for Muslims...will inevitably have a religious dimension and take a form in which it is integrated to the rest of Muslim concerns. Antiracism begins (i.e. ought to begin) by accepting oppressed groups on their own terms (knowing that these will change and evolve) not by imposing a spurious identity and asking them to fight in the name of that. The new strength among Muslim youth in, for example, not tolerating racial harassment, owes no less to Islamic re-assertion than to metropolitan anti-racism...The racist taunt 'Rushdie!' rouses more self-defence than 'Black Bastard!' (Modood, 1992 p272)

Leaving aside the wider issue of the Rushdie affair, there are three key problems with Modood's position in respect to anti-racism: First, by foregrounding religion and culture he runs the danger of mirroring the rhetoric of the new right, who have sought to undermine any analysis of racism that is located at the structural and institutional level; Second, by rejecting 'race' as a category, it is unclear how he employs the term when talking about 'race'-ism and anti-'race'-ism. A more coherent concept to describe religious or cultural discrimination might be, 'creedism' or 'ethnicism' respectively; Third, by replacing the category 'black' with 'Muslim' he is merely substituting one general category which, using his own argument, given that there are over one billion Muslims in the world, is equally problematic in articulating specific experiences of oppression and domination.

On the surface, transcending the black/white binarism is wholly desirable. Indeed, the erasure of what DuBois termed 'the colour line' would appear to represent the death of racism; without 'race', there can be no 'race-ism'. Such an anti-racist project would be predicated on the belief that to erase 'race' would in effect cut away the conceptual roots of racism, leaving it to wither and die. However, premature attempts at creating a 'raceless' society may, as Goldberg (2002) argues, result in an altogether different outcome. Given the indivisible nature of racism and what he terms, the European 'racial state', an attempt to erase 'race' would simply result in the further entrenchment of 'whiteness' 'as setting the desirable standards and norms of civilised social life' (Goldberg 2002 p206). Such a move would suit the state as a condition of 'colour-blindness' would make it feasible to deny the charge of racism. Historically, as outlined in Chapter Two, not to 'see' 'race' runs the danger of masking a white normative position where power to define 'the Other' has historically resided (Lord, 1984; Roediger, 1992 and 1994; Frankenberg, R 1993; Dyer, 1997).

Though there can be little doubt that black people experience racism and oppression in different ways - each individuals experience must be understood in the particular articulation of 'race', class, gender, age, disability and sexuality - what does bring black people together is a condition of 'non-whiteness'. And as 'non-white' people they will still be 'raced', only now they are denied the organising category 'black' to articulate their racism. Racism itself becomes reinterpreted as no longer as the embodiment of the state, but a problem of justice, cohesion and bigotry. In short, those in power and the structures of the state become immunised from any responsibility for the historical and material existence of racism.

Whilst the 'racial state' arguably remains intact, because of globalisation and cosmopolitanism²⁹, the erection of binary identities is becoming increasingly problematic. The imaginary pause button that enabled people to deploy a language of cultural purity and fixity is becoming more elusive, not least because of the increasing ubiquity of 'inter-racial' relationships (Modood et al., 1997). As pointed out in Chapter Two, the rejection of 'mixture' of human beings has been a central preoccupation of racist discourses. Ironically, as the world is becoming more mixed, we are also seeing a retreat into ethnic and religious homogeneity. Against the choice of ethnic, cultural or racial exclusivity stands another, more difficult option, the theorisation of human mixing, or as Gilroy (1993s) puts it, creolisation, Métissage, mestizaje, and hybridity. The irresistible recognition of syncretic identities begins to undermine not only the national project built on myths of racial and cultural homogeneity (Bhabha, 1990), but most critically for social work, the models of practice that seek to address difference in ways that fails to recognise the fluid dynamics of identity formation. Indeed, the challenge becomes less about developing culturally sensitive to the needs of ethnic minorities, but more so about envisioning a conception of social work that understands all service users as 'hybrid', multicultural entities.

But the argument doesn't stop there. One of the central concerns expressed in this thesis has been the depoliticisation of anti-racism. Yet, an emphasis on 'hybridity' which most post-colonial and postmodern approaches advocate will arguably make it even more difficult to construct a political project that requires some sense of collective identity and common cause. Acheson (2004) argues the challenge is to develop a 'post-hybridity' politics based on a newly reconstituted notion of 'human nature' and a re-imagined conception of urban society that is:

²⁹ See for example Cowen, T (2002) who in his book *Creative Destruction: How Globalisation is Changing the World* argues that globalisation has dramatically accelerated what is as old as human society, namely that culture is dynamic and heterogeneity not homogeneity is the norm.

neither a bouquet of contrasting cultures nor the adoption of the patterns of the old indigenous majority, but a fresh synthesis. It is produced by the spread of human-rights culture...by inter-marriage, and by individual life-choices over group conformity. (Acheson, 2004 para 20)

It is in the 'post-hybrid' world, where culture and difference is recognised as a norm and not simply something that signifies 'the Other', the emphasis on ethnicity will appear pointless. This will undermine both the postmodernist allure of cultural difference and the post-colonial referents to the colonial and imperial past. In its wake will emerge new challenges and opportunities for addressing the social and political structures of oppression hitherto obscured by multiculturalism.

New Labour policies and anti-racism

This thesis has drawn attention to the way in which 'managerialism' has produced new dilemmas and limitations for promoting anti-racist change (see Chapters Four, Seven and Eight). Under New Labour, there is an implicit suggestion that politics and ideology no longer matter and social problems, such as racism, are reducible to an issue of management and logistics. In the wake of new social movements, because we all now live in 'enlightened times', there is a belief that the issue is no longer one of political struggle but the logistics of working in partnership. The thrust of New Labour is to promote a consensual view of the world, thereby concealing a conflict of social interests. In the process, the historic struggles for human emancipation become reduced to the struggle over performance management and targets.

Whilst anti-racism has been gradually pushed to the margins for the reasons outlined above (see also Chapter Three and Eight), a new 'multiculturalist' agenda in the guise of 'promoting/managing diversity' and 'religious tolerance' has come to

characterise contemporary policy agendas³⁰. The problem with diversity agendas is that whilst they have the potential to uncover the false universalism of the dominant group (see Chapters Three and Eight for discussion of black perspectives), they run very real dangers of cultural essentialism. Parekh (2000), by incorporating equal doses of enlightenment liberalism and postmodernism, offers a possible solution in his notion of a 'dialogically constituted multiculturalist society':

consisting in respect for a consensually grounded civil authority and basic rights, maintenance of justice, institutional and moral preconditions of deliberate democracy, a vibrant and plural composite culture and an expansive sense of community. (2000, p341)

However, Lentin (2004) is sceptical of models that to seek give equal importance to the struggle for justice and rights on the one hand and cultural differences on the other. For him, policies that promote culture run the danger of reifying group identity, which may end-up undermining the possibilities for political solidarity, a critical ingredient of anti-racist collectivities.

Clearly, a genuine plural society in which difference is not only tolerated but celebrated, where service provision is built on difference being seen as a norm not a problem, is a prize to be treasured. However, as Malik (1998) points out, given that identities and constructions of difference are themselves often formed in and out of an experience of racism, an uncritical acceptance of difference may simply end up 'celebrating the differences imposed by a racist society, not identities freely chosen by

³⁰ This can be seen in for example, the inclusion of an ethnicity and religion question in the 2001 Census, the overt support for non Christian religious schools, the establishment of formal government discussion forums with representative umbrella bodies configured along religious affiliations, and legislative changes outlawing religious discrimination.

those communities' (1998 p3). At best, it (celebrating difference) merely enables us to accept a status quo, society as it is.

Reconstructing anti-racism in social work

A newly reconstructed anti-racism will need to develop an altogether new and critical relationship to culture and difference, one that avoids an outdated Marxist rejection of culture as displaced or false consciousness and a postmodernist valorisation or blind pursuit of difference (Malik, 1998). Most analyses of ARSW have been conducted largely across ideological lines, often leading to passionate debates about the relative merits of different theoretical and political perspectives. Whilst this has served an important purpose, at times there has been a tendency to lose sight of the fact that ARSW came about out of a lived experience, a praxis whereby individuals sought to identify with each others experience in order to build common cause. ARSW began as a social movement born out of black demands for justice and equality (Sivanandan, 1991; Williams, 1996), the clearest manifestation of this being the 1981 riots. Much of the subsequent work of ARSW and social work education was undertaken at a time of great uncertainty and an increasingly oppressive political context. Along the way, the New Right was waiting to pounce; which it did in the guise of the backlash against political correctness. Specifically, in relation to social work, we saw this attack most dramatically displayed in the highly symbolic expunging of Paper 30 (CCETSW 1991a) of its anti-racist content, and the unceremonious dismantling of the CCETSW Black Perspectives Committee (Williams, 1999).

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to characterise ARSW as a defeat; many positive things have happened, not least the emergence of a powerful black presence in social work practice and education. Much of the mainstream literature in social work is structured around many of the demands that anti-racists made, of not assuming cultural homogeneity, of attending to the issues of power, of involving users in the development

and delivery of services, in working towards a diverse workforce where there is some degree of congruence with the providers and recipients of services. Indeed, a cursory scan of the literature in allied professions of health and education will highlight the wider influence that ARSW has had on shaping professional values. However, there can be no doubt that the politicised discourse at present ARSW as it was constituted in the early 1980's, has been displaced by the discourses associated with postmodernism and anti-oppressive practice.

Whilst, I have identified some positive aspects of this shift, particularly in the way that this approach opens up the possibility 'to legitimate and validate other world views, such as Afrocentricity' (Graham 2000 p434) and problematises essentialism, I have also sought to caution against a model that becomes disconnected from political questions and universal ideals. That would be to fall prey to a particularly romanticised and uncritical view of culture, of tradition or the past. All cultures, communities and identities are products of material and historical circumstances, and both dimensions need to be understood simultaneously. For example, to understand British Asian culture requires not only an appreciation of the traditions of the Indian subcontinent, but also of the impact of the caste system, of colonialism and capitalism, of the migrant experience and the forms of political and cultural resistance that emerge from this.

Personally, as a social work educator, I have felt the need to reject the determinism and essentialism of most of what passed for 'racism awareness training', whilst remaining committed to pedagogical approaches that empower students and practitioners to promote anti-racist practice. Whilst I have found aspects of postmodern theory appealing, I have become increasingly weary of its limitations. Any strategy that seeks to identify differences runs a danger of overemphasising difference which after all is not all pervasive; as human beings, we have many things that we share. It is the desire to connect theory, politics and practice that has informed my anti-racist activism. This activism has been manifest in many ways: as direct community action politics, defending

human rights within social work agencies; by working alongside committed black and white anti-racists to create, expand and defend autonomous space and using this to engaging in dialogue, critical reflection and development of anti-racist strategies; through a realisation of the importance of aesthetics in liberation movements, by actively pursuing an arts and media dimension to social work education. At the level of self, whilst retaining a particular ontological connection with black students, and BPTs, I have seen 'my-self' connecting with committed white colleagues in ways that in an earlier time would have seemed difficult to imagine.

Taken together, I feel I have managed to understand what politicisation is and can be. I understand it as a process that transcends the realms of theory, politics and action. It gives purpose and meaning to ways of 'being' and 'doing'. It is an invocation to act and think about what one is acting for and against, to transform and be transformed, and ultimately, to realise that emancipatory change does and will always involve taking sides, even if the utopian dream is to construct a society in which all members work together. Such a project must transcend ontologies of self and other, or put another way, of 'me' and 'we'. As hooks (1989) states:

To begin revisioning, we must acknowledge the need to examine the self from a new, critical standpoint. Such a perspective, while it would assist on the self as a site for politicisation, would equally insist that simply describing one's experience of exploitation or oppression is not to become politicised. (hooks, 1989 p107)

She goes onto argue that only by connecting this critical self-awareness to an understanding of the structures of domination can we begin develop the necessary collective imaginary and strategies for change.

At the outset of this chapter, I posed the question whether ARSW is possible given the current policy context. Williams (1999) offers another angle to this dilemma. She suggests that one of the lessons that those concerned with tackling racism can learn from experience is of the risks involved in 'putting ARSW in the hands of state agencies' (Williams, 1999 p218). Indeed, the demise of CCETSW and the general retreat by state social work from a discrete anti-racist agenda may be a blessing in disguise; it could remove a dependency on the state and provide a reminder that the life force of anti-racist and other anti-oppressive struggles resides outside of it.

As long as there is racism, there will be a need for anti-racism. What form this will take depends largely on the way racism reproduces itself, what new antagonisms surface, who loses and who benefits. However, if history has taught us one lesson it is that 'race' and racism are not only inherently linked to the imagination of 'the West', of Europe, but is also deeply entrenched in the way in which modern Western capitalist states are constituted. Whilst there is no disputing that the ideas of anti-oppressive practice and anti-discriminatory practice have their functions, the historic struggle against racism must not be lost in the important task of connecting oppressions. This struggle will necessitate the development of collectivities and new conceptualisations of anti-racism that move beyond the black/white binarism.

Opposition struggles such as anti-racism are always born out of a critical praxis, moments in history where a few individuals are prepared to develop common cause and act. Racism is a weapon that often targets its victims with accuracy and stealth. It is elusive and slippery and just when one thinks it is cornered, it re-emerges somewhere else, preying on old and new victims. What anti-racism and other movements against oppression have done is to establish an agenda, a discourse to name and confront oppression. However, a sustainable project against the structures of oppression can only be one that manages to build structures of anti-oppression. If variants of Marxist analysis enabled us to understand the material and ideological antecedents of racism, then

perhaps postmodernism has enabled us to understand, more completely, the *modus operandi* of racism, to unravel the *genome* of racism and lay bare its DNA sequence. Armed with this knowledge, there is every possibility that a newly reconstituted anti-racist social work will emerge in due course.

Conclusion

The International Federation of Social Workers Definition of Social Work³¹, which has been incorporated by the GSCC in their own construction of social work talks about the need to empower and liberation service users. Clearly, no one can disagree with this. Yet to translate the rhetoric into reality it will necessitate an engagement with power in all its complexity, as structural, economic, political, cultural as well as personal. To suggest that ARSW over the 25 years of its short existence has failed to eradicate racism is in no way to deny its significance; indeed from the perspective of a social work academic it is difficult for me to imagine what social work education would look like without anti-racism. If the death of Stephen Lawrence and the subsequent failures of the criminal justice system to bring his murderers to justice served as a reminder, as if one was needed, of the potency and regenerative powers of institutional racism, then it is also worth remembering that institutions themselves are products of wider social, economic and political conditions. Whilst equality legislation, policies and procedures all serve as important instruments for anti-racist action, that is all they can be. In a climate where 'old racisms' against visible minorities are set alongside 'new racisms' targeted at asylum seekers and refugees, Muslims and other minority ethnic groups, coupled with the New Labour project to accelerate the privatisation of public services, those who profess ARSW will need to enter a process of re-imagination, of working at different levels, both through

³¹ Adopted by the IFSW General Meeting, Montréal, Québec, Canada, 25-27 July 2000 Canada, 25-27 July 2000.

and between new and old communities of resistance, yet bounded together by some overarching principles.

Given the impact of globalisation on policy development, it would be reasonable to expect oppositionary movements, of which anti-racism is one, to develop an international dimension. Whilst some social work academics have begun to develop international alliances (e.g. International Federation of Social Workers) and we are now seeing the internationalisation of some academic journals, there is little evidence that ARSW has developed outside of national boundaries. It is even more ironic given that during the late 1970's and early 1980's, when ARSW was beginning to be defined (Chapter Three), there was an important international influence. Not only were those early black social workers drawing from experiences in the Indian Sub-continent and Caribbean, lived or through familial and community networks, many of the earliest critiques of racist practices, in particular child care, were derived from work done in the US (e.g. Moynihan, 1973; Ladner, 1978; Devore and Schlesinger, 1981). The current parochialism is particularly surprising given that the issue of racism and the relationship between minority populations and states is so universal. Whilst much has been achieved in terms of the production of literature, which in many ways represents one of the great successes of the anti-racist challenge to social work, there is a need for more theoretically informed research into the ways anti-racist social workers (black and white) have, both explicitly and tacitly, developed mechanisms and forms of resistance to racism. Moreover, there is a need for research into the problems and possibilities of anti-racist social workers building critical alliances with community based religious organisations to promote anti-racist outcomes.

Racism amounts to the reduction of complexity, to the creation of illicit explanatory shortcuts that pave the way for domination and exploitation of differences. (Lorentz, 1997) In the final analysis, perhaps the question is not how can social work professionals be anti-racist but what are the consequences for those professionals and professions that

are incapable of being so? Particularly in societies like ours where the 'national interest' is used to justify the oppression of the most vulnerable sections of the population (refugees, poor people, black people etc).

If the ARSW project is to have a future, it will need to respond to the kinds of theoretical and practical problems identified in this thesis. Whilst it would be arrogant for me to prescribe what such a reconstituted project might actually be - for it can only come out of action - based on the findings and insights gained in this study, I offer the following 10 general principles that could underpin the task.

1. Refusing to deny the potential significance of difference yet not assuming difference to be all pervasive and unchanging.
2. Opposing the separation of populations based on essentialist and fundamentalist constructions of 'race', ethnicity, religion, nation...etc and resisting actively social control and coercive measures against targeted populations (e.g. asylum seekers).
3. Maintaining the importance of 'cultural sensitivity' in working with all (black and white) service users, yet at the same time, rejecting the tendency to deny the normality of hybrid or syncretic identities, particularly in therapeutic and identity work with all children.
4. Despite the constraints imposed by the ever-increasing regulation of social work, retaining an intellectual, political and moral imperative to exercise autonomy.
5. Understanding the double-edged nature of professional 'expert knowledge' and being open to having ones authority and explanations challenged and/or rejected by service users.
6. Recognising that social work is not reducible to rationality, therefore the uncritical appeal to science or 'evidence based practice' alone needs to be opposed.
7. Breaking out of the black/white binarism and embracing a broader hegemonic project which is capable of generating new anti-racist collectivities and alliances that speak to different minority group experiences and aspirations.

8. Rejecting attempts to compartmentalise oppressions in a hierarchy whilst recognising that individuals are not equally oppressed but are located in a hierarchy of power and powerlessness.
9. Developing political strategies to undermine such hierarchies of power that diminish an individual's capacity to reach their full potential.
10. Building an anti-oppressive practice that draws on an understanding of the multifarious manifestations of power and powerlessness and the politics of resistance.

Oppressed people react to their oppression in many different ways with anger being one such response. This emotion is critical for motivating self and others to act. However, as hooks points out, a renewed anti-racist project will need to mobilise this rage in very particular ways moving 'it beyond fruitless scapegoating of any group, linking it instead to a passion for freedom and justice that illuminates, heals, and makes redemptive struggle possible (hooks, 1995 p 20).

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1

Postal Survey

In order to assist us in further addressing the needs of BPT's and planning for the conference could you please complete the attached questionnaire. Your responses will be treated with confidence and anything conclusions drawn from the returns will be anonymised.

Ethnic origin.....Gender.....Job title..... Client group.....

What sector are you currently working in?
Statutory.....Voluntary.....Private.....

How long have you been practice teaching/supervising students?

How did you come into practice teaching/supervising students?
.....
.....

Qualification: Please tick and state year obtained.

CSS.....CQSW.....DipSW.....Practice Teaching Award.....Other.....

What opportunities have you have for training in relation to practice teaching/student supervision (e.g. courses, support groups etc.)
.....
.....
.....

What if any blocks have you experienced in your professional development?
.....
.....
.....

What suggestions could you give to enhance the support and development of BPT's
Locally.....
.....
...

Nationally.....

Are you aware of any BPT's networks in your area?

Please give details.....

Completed Forms should be sent to BPT's Workshop, c/o Haydae Lyn, CCETSW Bristol Office, 1st Floor, 21 Prince Street, Bristol, BS1 4PH.

APPENDIX 2A

DEVELOPING BLACK PERSPECTIVES IN PRACTICE TEACHING

Workshop Facilitators Guidance Notes

Workshop 1 - Reflecting on the past present and future of Black Struggles

Aim: This workshop is designed to enable conference participants to reflect upon the past and discuss their own feelings and thoughts about contemporary black struggles

Process:

Stage 1 - Introductions

Begin by introducing yourself and the aim of this workshop. Then ask each person to introduce him or herself and share any immediate reflection on the morning presentations. 30 minutes max

Stage 2 - Workshop questions

Participants should be guided through the following questions. I would like workshop leader to take notes of the important discussion points, which will be used to assist in writing up the conference proceeding.

1. In the light of the MacPherson report on the events surrounding death of Stephen Lawrence has anything changed for black people since the inner city uprisings of 1981 and the report issued by Lord Scarman at that time?
2. In the face of the fragmentation and differentiation of the black community on ethnic, class and gender lines, how appropriate/useful is it to talk about a common struggle and what are the possibilities and problems in invoking a notion of black perspectives?
3. Do the emergent and increasingly popular notions of 'anti-oppressive practice', anti-discriminatory practice, represent a maturing of or watering down of the struggle against racism?

Stage 3 - Feedback

Can workshop leaders prepare 3/4 key points to feedback at the plenary.

Workshop 2 - Building and enhancing black practice teacher networks

Aim: To enable black practice teachers to reflect upon their experiences as black practice teachers and to discuss how we can build and enhance black practice teachers networks.

Process:

Stage 1 - Introduce the aim of the workshop

Stage 2 - Workshop questions

Participants should be guided through the following questions. I would like workshop leader to take notes of the important discussion points, which will be used to assist in writing up the conference proceeding.

1. As a black practice teacher what positive (supports) and negative (blocks) experiences have I encountered in my professional development?
2. In reflecting upon specific experiences with students, how do I address the issue of 'race' and difference within my role as a practice teacher?
3. Given the momentous impending changes taking place social work education and training, what strategies can collectively we develop to promote the interests of black practice teachers at a local and national level?
4. Is there a need to establish a national black practice teachers organisation or should we be seeking to exercise greater influence within existing organisations such as NOPT (The National Organisation of Practice Teachers)?

Stage 3 - Feedback

Can workshop leaders prepare 3/4 key points to feedback at the plenary.

APPENDIX 2B

DEVELOPING BLACK PERSPECTIVES IN PRACTICE TEACHING

Summary of Key points form Focus Group Discussions

In order to allow conference participants to engage in discussion around key themes two workshops were held, one during the morning the other during the afternoon. Participants were provided with a series of workshop questions. Overall, there were four groups. The morning workshop focused on general issues relating to black workers in social work. The afternoon workshop focused on issues relating to practice teaching and BPT's. Each group had a facilitator who, in addition to facilitation, was responsible for making notes of the key discussion points and feeding them back in the plenary. This section contains a summary of the key points.

Workshop one - Reflecting on the Past, Present and Future of Black Struggles

Question 1 -

In the light of the MacPherson report on the events surrounding death of Stephen Lawrence has anything changed for black people since the inner city uprisings of 1981 and the report issued by Lord Scarman at that time?

- People generally felt that not a lot had changed and many participants were sceptical about the recommendations of the MacPherson Report ever being implemented. Many had little knowledge of any strategies for implementation within their organisations.
- The death of Stephen Lawrence raised issues e.g. racist police practices.
- Some participants felt that black people are still blamed for problems of racism.
- There was a feeling that some white people are scared of the issue and defiantly racist and are behaving like the victims in this affair.
- The MacPherson Report confirmed what Black people already know and have been saying for some time. Why has it only been taken seriously when a white person says it?
- There was general agreement that the report will have the same journey as the Scarman report and will fade away. Police do not protect us or support measures to address Black needs. The police will become more subtle and caring organisations will panic and look to us for all the answers as they will need to be seen to be doing something.
- Black communities have a generally more positive feeling as they feel empowered to fight injustice but some of the less articulate will need our help. We must recognise that we are sometimes limited in what we can do. Some of the older age group still feel that if something awful happens to Black people they must have deserved it.

Question 2 -

In the face of the fragmentation and differentiation of the black community on ethnic, class and gender lines, how appropriate/useful is it to talk about a common

struggle and what are the possibilities and problems in invoking a notion of black perspectives?

- Many participants suggested that there is still a black perspective although due to external pressures, such as community loyalty and preconceived ideas, it is not always easy to maintain this position. However, there was also a strong feeling that the definition of black perspectives was contested and the power lay with those who define it, which could be exclusionary.
- Many participants felt that the struggle against white racism is a common struggle; it has an impact on us individually, in our communities and families.
- A black perspective enables us to fight according to our own rules and not those set by white people.
- Some participants expressed the view that we need to get away from systems that only black people change.
- People seem to have forgotten that there is still a need for a collective stance against white supremacy.
- Some participants felt that there was a perception amongst members of the Asian community that MacPherson was largely an issue for the African Caribbean community.
- Black people have driven the struggle for equality generally and generate good practice although at times we feel as if there is no collective struggle.
- There is a watering down of the issues that are lost in discussions around AOP and ADP policies. Statutory sector is less likely to implement these policies whereas voluntary sector engage more as they are more politically based and more accepting of challenge. However, the voluntary sector is seen as less professional than statutory sector and furthermore Black staff views are less respected than white views.
- The view that differences amongst black staff are often used divisively, however, it seems clear that as black workers/people we need to find mechanisms for living and dealing with our differences as well as our similarities.

Question 3

Does the emergent and increasingly popular notions of 'anti-oppressive practice', Anti-discriminatory Practice, and 'social justice' represent a maturing of or watering down of the struggle against racism?

- Many participants felt that these terms represent a watering down of the struggle against racism.
- It was suggested that people are much better at getting things right on paper e.g. equal opportunity policy statements. However, in reality there is little change other than white colleagues being better trained in how not to be caught. There is little evidence that ADP has had any impact on tackling racism.
- Best value seems to suit the majority so minority interests are marginalised.

- The jargon masks racism and confuses the issue so white people can treat it as a theoretical exercise and argue convincingly that it's in our best interest. This is a diversion. We must advocate, empower and educate our Black service users.
- Every incident that happens to Black people affects us as individuals; we feel it. Nothing really happens until something tragic occurs which is a great cost.

Workshop 2 - Building and Enhancing Black Practice Teacher Networks

The responses to these questions fell into 3 categories; negatives, positives and the way forward.

As a black practice teacher what positive (supports) and negative (blocks) experiences have I encountered in my professional development?

Negative

- Lack of workload relief and the likelihood that the student's case load becomes yours when they leave.
- No financial incentive that recognises the extra work and responsibility in taking on students.
- Concern that women registering to go on the CCETSW programme will be discriminated against because of absence from work and career breaks. How will they be affected after a long break?
- Jealousy from colleagues who see PT as an luxury and resent colleagues going away on training courses.
- Costs for attending conferences and courses where a fee is payable.
- Many placement requests are turned down not because there is a lack of PT's but the concern that the student will place a burden on the team.
- A significant number of participants felt that there are occasions where black students can act to undermine them. Black students feel ghettoised whilst white students can feel threatened. Either way life can be difficult.
- There is considerable evidence that often weak and failing black students are placed with BPT's. Difficult tensions can occur when BPT's begins to challenge the practice of the student.

Positives

- Most participants felt that despite the pressures they enjoyed seeing a student develop. Some felt committed to taking black students in order to support black people into the profession

- Practice teaching was seen by many as a mentoring role and many participants valued this role.
- Many felt that practice teaching was very beneficial to their own practice as it enabled them to become more reflexive about their knowledge, skills and values.
- Some felt that the competency model if operated with learning and not ticking boxes in mind was a useful model.
- A supportive training unit/staff development section can be a very positive element.

Strategies for the way forward

Given the momentous impending changes taking place social work education and training, what strategies can collectively we develop to promote the interests of BPT's at a local and national level?

- Participants offered a broad array of positive suggestions, which are summarised below.
- There was almost universal support for a national forum with an annual conference.
- Identify mechanisms for maintaining regular links perhaps through telephone and internet
- Whilst cautioning about the lack of access, web site for BPT's to access for resources, links, contacts and discussion was seen as a very important step forward.
- Development of mentoring role which should form a component of the PT role for which specific training needs to be given.
- Some means of linking BPT's with black tutors and researchers, perhaps at a future conference.
- Data base of BPT's
- Support networks could be developed that build on existing networks e.g. support groups
at; Bristol, Sheffield and Wolves.
- Look at the remit of training teams and ensure managerial support.
- Performance appraisal and individual training plans can be used, as it will become a contract with line managers
- If one is having difficulties should be able to pick up the phone or visit. A link person/mentor should be available.
- More support from Training Section is needed.
- Mergers between Health and SSD have helped increase the level of multi professional and Black support - this has implications for future developments of BPT networks.

- Want more regionally based meetings with a facilitator probably every three months and provide invites across the country so we have national views.
- More support from university programmes linked to the DipSW. Regular meetings with individuals and groups and provision of tutorials for BPT's.
- Internet is useful but not all have access.
- Need access to literature, further training on developing skills as PT e.g. working with white students, working in white teams, share research.
- Practice learning teams input will help support this initiative.
- Agency training dept. Need to be aware about Black PT's needs and need for time out. CCETSW should write to our organisations and state the need for developmental support.
- Joint training events for PQSW should be part of our agenda
- Level of consistency is needed within organisations should be a standard for support for Black PT's.
- Have a rota whereby one regional management group arrange a meeting and then another regional group organises next event an so on.
- Some participants felt that a link up with the National Organisation of Practice Teaching could be a good idea - perhaps by the establishment of a BPT's sub group.

APPENDIX 3

Interview Schedule

Introduction

My name is Gurnam Singh and I am a Senior Lecturer in Social Work, Coventry University. The study is part my PhD studies at Warwick University.

Purpose of the study

This central aim of this qualitative study is to advance current theoretical understandings of 'race', racism, anti-racism and black perspectives within professional social work. In exploring the theory/practice continuum of anti-racist social work and black perspectives I am particularly interested in the thoughts and experiences of black practice teachers; who arguably play an increasing pivotal role in the development anti-racist social work.

Sampling

The study will involve interviewing approximately 20 experienced black practice teachers, all of who have been selected on the basis that they have/are making a significant contribution to promoting anti-racism and black perspectives in their work/organisation.

Tape recording, note taking and confidentiality

1. Ask interviewee if it is possible to tape record the interview.
2. Let them know that it is important to 'capture' their words and ideas, and using the tape recorder will allow me to do this
3. Ask for permission to take notes while the interview is in progress. This will help to keep a track of the interview.
4. Inform the interviewee that nothing they say will ever be identified with them personal, and that they will not be identified by name as a study participant.
5. Ask participant to complete informed consent form

Conduct of the Interview

1. The interview will last about 1 hour and will be roughly divided into two parts. The first part will explore your experiences as a black worker. The second will explore with you your thoughts and ideas about black perspectives and anti-racism.

Ask the respondent if they have any, concerns etc before commencing.

Switch on the tape recorder and run a little test.

1. Biographical data

- a. What is your current position/post?
- b. Ethnicity - How would you describe your ethnicity?
- c. Gender
- d. Age
- e. Relevant qualifications before social work course
- f. Relevant qualifications after social work course

g. How many students have you supervised/practice taught?

Experience in Social Work

1. How many years have you been involved in social work?

2. Can you tell me how/why you became a social worker?

3. What blocks to personal and professional development have you encountered in your career?

Supplementary - have you ever suffered direct or indirect discrimination that has impacted your social work career? Please describe with examples?

4. What support have you received for ongoing development?

Practice Teaching

5. How long have you been involved in Practice Teaching?

Supplementary - how did you become involved in Practice Teaching?

6. What qualifications and/or training have you received in practice teaching??

7. In what ways have you been involved in practice teaching?

8. Have you ever suffered direct or indirect discrimination that has impacted your role as a practice teacher?

Supplementary - Please describe with reference to actual experiences?

Issues relating to white male/female students:

Supplementary: what remedies did you adopt?

Issues relating to black students male/female:

Supplementary: what remedies did you adopt?

Issues relating to the university:

Supplementary: what remedies did you adopt?

9. What institutional support and encouragement have you received for practice teaching?

Race and Social Work

10. How would you define racism?

11. In what ways do you think racism manifests itself in social work?

12. How would you define anti-racism?

13. What do you think have been the main achievements of anti-racism in social work?
14. What do you think have been the main failings of anti-racism in social work?
16. How do you think the current policy framework will impact anti-racism in social work?
- Drift towards anti-oppressive practice.
 - Managing diversity
 - Managerialism
17. In your practice teaching role how do you enable your students to learn about anti-racism?

Black Perspectives and Social Work

18. What does the idea of black perspectives mean to you?
19. In what ways have your ideas about black perspectives changed over time?

Supplementary: who/what has influenced/informed your thinking about black perspectives?

20. In what ways does black perspectives inform your practice as a:
- Practitioner
 - Practice teacher

Thank very much for your time

APPENDIX 4

Experiences of Black Practice Teachers

Informed Consent Form

Introduction

My name is Gurnam Singh and I am a Senior Lecturer in Social Work, Coventry University. The study is part of my PhD studies at the UNIVERSITY OF WARWICK.

This central aim of this qualitative study is to advance current theoretical understandings of 'race', racism, anti-racism and black perspectives within professional social work. In exploring the theory/practice continuum of anti-racist social work and black perspectives I am particularly interested in the thoughts and experiences of black practice teachers; who arguably play an increasing pivotal role in the development anti-racist social work.

The study will involve interviewing approximately 20 experienced black practice teachers, all of who have been selected on the basis that they have/are making a significant contribution to promoting anti-racism and black perspectives in their work/organisation.

In order to capture your thoughts in their entirety I would like to tape-record the interview. If you agree to take part, the interview will last for about 1 hour. Confidentiality and anonymity will be maintained throughout in relation to all participants in the study. Once I have managed to transcribe the interview I will erase the tape recording. I will send you a copy of the transcription for comments on accuracy and further thoughts.

Consent

I understand the aims and purpose of this study and I am happy to give consent for my involvement.

Name:.....
Signed:.....Date.....

Signed: (Researcher).....

I am happy for the interview to be tape recorded and transcribed.

Name:.....
Signed:.....Date.....

Signed: (Researcher).....

Appendix 5

DEVELOPING BLACK PERSPECTIVES IN PRACTICE TEACHING

Exploring and promoting the needs of BPT's

A ONE DAY NATIONAL WORKSHOP
Friday 21st January 2000
Coventry University, Techno Centre
Coventry

The workshop aims to:

1. Update participants with current practice and policy developments in relation to social education and more specifically practice teaching and learning
2. Offer an opportunity for participants to meet and engage in networking, through the sharing of experiences such as BPT's' hopes and aspirations.
3. Provide a forum for BPT's to discuss and record their thoughts, feelings, hopes and concerns about the current organisation of social work education and practice teaching, both at a local and national level.
4. To share good practice in order to enhance participants' own range of practice teaching skills and knowledge.

The workshop will contain a mixture of key note presentations, workshops and plenary sessions.

There is no workshop fee and places are limited, so an early response is encouraged. Lunch and refreshments will be provided.

For further information contact:

Gurnam Singh, Coventry University on 01203 - 838107

e-mail gurnam.singh@coventry.ac.uk

or Haydae Lyn, CCETSW Bristol Office on 0117 929 3888

e-mail haydae.lyn@ccetsw.org.uk

Conference Organised by: The Centre for Social Justice, School of Health and Social Sciences, Coventry University In Partnership with The Central Council for Training and Education in Social Work

APPENDIX 6

Biographical Data

	Age	Ethnicity	Gender	Number of students practice taught	Position/Job	Qualification before social work	Qualification for Social Work	Qualifications for PT	Year of experience in social work	Years of experience PT
Zoebia	48	Asian Black Woman	F	4	senior case worker children's disability	BA, BEd from India	MA/CQSW	currently completing the CCEITW award	1983	1996
Ranjit	42	Punjabi Indian	M	4	Senior Lecturer in Social Work	Degree	CQSW	none	1979	1997
Gurmit	37	Punjabi, Sikh, British.	M	5	SW Crisis intervention Family Support	Social Sciences Degree	MA/CQSW	CCESTW PT Award	1988	1993
Kiran	48	Indian	F	2	Social Worker - assessment and care	Degree from India	CQSW	currently completing the CCEITW aw	1993	2000
Gurbax	37	East-African Asian Sikh	F	2	SW care mgr older people with MH	A Levels	DipSW ASW 2002	5 day introduction/CCEITS W PT course	1993	1998
Mike	57	AC West Indian with African Roots	M	14	Team Leader - Child Care	Degree	MBA, PT, CQSW	CCESTW PT Award	1982	1993
Jag	32	Sikh	M	3	Social Worker - Mental Health	Humanities Degree	MA/CQSW	5 day introductory course	1997	2000
Clinton	57	African-Caribbean	M	8	Manager - voluntary sector	Degree	CQSW	CCESTW PT Award	1993	1997
Dinesh	45	Black Asian	F	12	Director PT programme	Degree	MA/CQSW	CCESTW PT Award	1983	1990
Fouzia	50	Asian	F	8	Senior Social Worker	Degree from India	CQSW, ASW	CCESTW PT Award	1983	1993
Ali	45	Pakistani Muslim	M	6	Senior Social Worker adults	Youth Work JNC and Cert med tech	CQSW	5 day introduction/CCEITS W PT course	1989	1997
Sanjay	35	British Indian but depends day to day	M	5	Independent Consultant and PT	Humanities Degree	PgDip/CQSW	CCESTW PT Award	1990	1997

Seema	48	Black British	F	47	Director PT Programme	BA Youth and Com Wk/MA	-	PT Award	-	1990
Gurpreet	42	Indian, but depends where and when	F	2	Social worker older people	Degree from India	DipSW 1884/top-up degree 2002	currently completing the CCETSW aw	1993	2001
Cherry	40	Asian/AC Origin but black British	F	50	Training officer Practice Learning	A Levels	BA Social Policy/CQSW 1984	Short courses	1984	1988
Susan	43	British - Anglo/Indian Parentage	F	32	Training officer/specialist pt	NNEB Nursery Nurse Training	CSS 1981, Cert Mgt	MA/completing CCETSW PT award	1980	1997
Nisha	40	Indian but Black and Hindu	F	9	Senior Lecturer in Social Work	Social Sciences Degree	PgDip/CQSW	MEd	1984	1990-92
Devi	57	Indian	F	25	Team Leader/Specialist Practice tear	Degree India - access to HE	CQSW	CCETSW PT Award	1986	1992
Jaswinder	45	Asian then black	F	45	Team Leader/Specialist Practice tear	Degree from India	CQSW, ASM, CCETSW PT Award	CCETSW PT Award	1983	1990
Sharon	45	African Caribbean	F	46	Team Leader	Registered Nurse	CQSW	CCETSW PT Award	1987	1991
Claudia	39	African Caribbean	F	20	Resource Centre Manager	NNEB Nursery Nurse Training	DipSW 1990	Certificate in Management	1984	1994

