

Safe Routes to School? Black Caribbean Youth Negotiating Police Surveillance in London and New York City

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In this article, Derron Wallace examines how Black Caribbean youth perceive and experience stop-and-frisk and stop-and-search practices in New York City and London, respectively, while on their way to and from public schools. Despite a growing body of scholarship on the relationship between policing and schooling in the United States and United Kingdom, comparative research on how students experience stop-and-frisk/search remains sparse. Drawing on the BlackCrit tradition of critical race theory and in-depth interviews with sixty Black Caribbean secondary school students in London and New York City, Wallace explores how adolescents experience adult-like policing to and from schools. His findings indicate that participants develop a strained sense of belonging in British and American societies due to a security paradox: a policing formula that, in principle, promises safety for all but in practice does so at the expense of some Black youth. Participants in the ethnographic study learned that irrespective of ethnicity, Black youth are regularly rendered suspicious subjects worthy of scrutiny, even during the school commute.

Keywords: Black students, police, school safety, urban schools and neighborhoods, Caribbean diaspora

This article is principally concerned with Black Caribbean school pupils' encounters with the stop-and-search program in London and the ongoing stop-and-frisk practices in New York City while going to and from school. The decades-old stop-and-search program in the UK and the unconstitutional stop-and-frisk practices in New York City are key surveillance schemes of an ever-expanding carceral state (Shedd, 2015). Across global cities like Lon-

don, New York City, Toronto, Paris, and Amsterdam, the results of such police tactics are often the same: they disproportionately impact young people of color, particularly low-income Black youth (Bowling & Weber, 2011). In 2016 the British Home Office reported that Black people are six and a half times more likely to be stopped by UK police than White people are, a finding that sparked criticism of the police by the home secretary, Theresa May.¹ Similarly, in 2016 the New York City Police Department confirmed that, over the previous decade, Black youth were stopped and frisked more than any other racial group. Despite such reports, during a town hall meeting in September, Republican presidential nominee Donald J. Trump called for a nationwide stop-and-frisk policy as a strategy for reducing violent crime in urban areas based on its implementation in New York City.²

Though a raft of research and policy briefs documents stop-and-frisk/search as being distinctly racialized practices, how, where, and why such practices occur during the commute to and from school remains largely unexplored. Schooling, when understood broadly, includes those liminal spaces between home and school—the bus routes, train journeys, cycling paths, and walkways—that remain largely unexamined and undertheorized. There is, therefore, an urgent need to extend education research to capture the complexities of the home-to-school surveillance schemes that pursue students of color as they pursue an education.

With this study I aim to address two key questions: How do Black Caribbean youth perceive and experience routine police patrol to and from school? How does the application of stop-and-frisk/search inform their understanding of race and ethnicity in US and UK societies? Because answers to such questions are largely absent from critical youth studies and sociology of education, this project seeks to provide an analytical intervention that honors the study of young Black lives in order to develop strategies that address their safety on their terms (Bowling & Weber, 2011; Smith, 2015). My findings indicate that for second-generation Black Caribbean pupils traveling through disadvantaged communities to public schools in London and New York City, policing often becomes one tragic and traumatic means through which they come to terms with the weight of being Black in British and American societies. Insights into Black Caribbean youth's experiences with policing can highlight alternative approaches to supporting young people as they travel to and from schools. Before exploring these results, I first highlight trends in extant scholarship of policing in urban schools and neighborhoods, pointing to limited cross-national analyses in sociological and educational research to date. I then present critical race theory (CRT), and BlackCrit specifically, as a fitting theoretical framework that complements trends in the literature. After outlining the research design, I examine the results of this study, which illustrate how experiencing stop-and-frisk/search while on route to school impacts students' sense of safety and belonging in schools and society.

Analytical Traditions on Policing and Schooling

There are four dominant analytical traditions in the study of policing in urban schools and neighborhoods that illuminate the complex penological influences on pupils' social and educational experiences. These traditions are seldom discrete modes of inquiry but are often overlapping analytics that explicate the complexities of policing in and around schools and throughout society (Hagan, Shedd, & Payne, 2005). I offer here a four-part heuristic for synthesizing scholarship on policing and schooling: historical, legal, sociopolitical, and institutional. The *historical* tradition charts the patterns of punishment, exclusion, and marginalization experienced by ethnoracial minorities, from enslavement to mass incarceration in the United States and from post-migration ethnoracial segregation to disproportionate incarceration in the United Kingdom (Gillborn, 1997; Patterson & Fosse, 2015). Scholarship in the historical tradition disrupts normative assumptions about the advent of policing practices such as stop-and-frisk/search as new, modern approaches and instead underscores how such tactics have been social and legal state expressions for centuries in American and British societies (Laniyonu, 2017, 2018). As examples of the historical tradition, Holdaway's (1998) critical-historical analysis of policing in England and Rice and White's (2010) appraisal of police-youth interactions illuminate the state-endorsed approaches to targeting Blacks for disproportionate routine policing in response to (im)migration and gentrification.

The second analytic trajectory is the *legal*, which examines the constitutional precedence and policies justifying and challenging violence at the hands of state actors (Bell, 1992; Winder, 2004). Research in the legal tradition interrogates the set of laws and policies that authorize aggressive policing—including zero-tolerance and school suspension policies, zoning and antidelinquency legislation, neighborhood policing measures, and national border militarization procedures (Alexander, 2012; Loader, 2016). In the US and UK, laws (along with social and education policies) can arguably function as policing tactics in and of themselves, maintaining boundaries between advantaged and disadvantaged communities and limiting the power of historically marginalized groups. Examining the formative legal parallels between stop-and-frisk in New York City (which dates back to the Uniform Arrest Act of 1942, or "Terry stops") and stop-and-search in the UK (based on the Vagrancy Act of 1824, or "sus laws"), White and Fradella (2016) and Dabydeen, Gilmore, and Jones (2008), among others, illustrate that what was originally framed as race-neutral crime-reduction strategies developed into discriminatory practices for Black confinement and control, with no exceptions for Black immigrants.

The third analytical tradition is the *sociopolitical*, which highlights the resistance strategies and grassroots social movements (e.g., student movements in the 1960s and 1970s in the US and in the 1970s and 1980s in the UK) developed to protest the criminalization of disadvantaged minorities in the

schools, streets, and society (Nixon, Wooden, & Corbo Crehan, 2012; Quinton, 2011). Research in the sociopolitical tradition highlights the agentic powers of marginalized communities to combat police harassment and negotiate the improvement of social and education policies affecting young people of color. The Black Parents and supplementary school movements in the UK and the Black Panther and student movements in the US, for instance, represent models of political organizing for holding the police and other state agents to account (Anderson, 1999; Christensen, 2011). A prime example of this is Franklin's (2014) *After the Rebellion*, a comparative analysis of post-civil rights social movements led by Black youth across US metropolitan areas to improve youth-police interactions and to reform the criminal justice system. Franklin (2014) highlights the Youth Force of the South Bronx's and Justice 4 Youth Coalition's community organizing efforts that resulted in "the cancellation of millions of dollars in New York City's capital budget that were initially targeted for the expansion of youth prison" (p. 233), redirecting those resources instead to funding access to higher education and citywide education reform efforts.

The fourth analytical tradition, the *institutional*, spotlights the contemporary techniques of the state to preserve order and control in institutions like public schools through metal detectors, school police, community support officers outside of schools, gun and gang control around schools, and stop-and-frisk/search procedures (Bireda, 2002; Nolan, 2011). Increasingly, sociologists of education and urban sociologists pursuing this tradition of research focus on the rise of police in neighborhoods and schools to counter concerns of juvenile delinquency and street crime in the US and UK; the hypercriminalization of Black, Latinx, and Asian youth in public schools; and school policing as an entry point into the criminal justice system (Bristol & Mentor, 2018; Christensen, 2011; Rios, 2011; Simkins, Hirsh, Horvat, & Moss, 2004). The institutional analysis tradition also captures how individual actors negotiate sanctions and surveillance in public institutions (BBC News, 2007; Smith, 2015). For instance, *Unequal City*, Shedd's (2015) study of young people's perceptions of injustice and policing in and out of Chicago public high schools is rooted squarely in the institutional tradition. Its findings reveal that African American and Hispanic students perceive greater degrees of social and criminal injustice than their White and Asian peers due in large measure to the differing geographies of opportunity they traverse between home and school.

Sociological research highlighting young people's meaning making of police-youth interactions capitalizes on all four analytical traditions. Such work offers insights into the effects of policing strategies in and around schools but hardly examines the precarious routes to and from school as pathways into the penal system (Shedd, 2015; Star et al., 2014). Instead, through both scholarly and media coverage, significant focus has been placed on: (1) in-school disciplinary measures, including rising, racially disproportionate rates of detention, suspension, and expulsion (Crenshaw, Ocen, & Nanda, 2015; Morris, 2016;

Wun, 2016); (2) policing infrastructure, primarily the increase in metal detectors, cameras, and detention rooms (Geller, 2017; Shedd, 2015); (3) school casualties, such as mass shootings, knife crimes, and peer bullying (Fine et al., 2003; Powell & Henry, 2017; Reid, 2009); (4) surveillance agents, including hall guards, deans of discipline, and school resource and community support officers (Christensen, 2011; DeMatthews, Carey, Olivarez & Moussavi-Saeedi, 2017; Geller, 2017); (5) and contextual factors, namely the historical formation of poverty and violence in urban neighborhoods and their influence on contemporary community relations (Britton, 2018; Holdaway, 1998; Legewie, 2016; Rice & White, 2010; Tyler, Fagan, & Geller, 2014). These factors have generally negative impacts on students of color, limiting their sense of security, constraining school culture to reflect the criminal justice system, and, in some instances, stymying students' social, psychological, and scholastic development (Gillborn, 1997; Loader, 2016).

Insights from the aforementioned analytical traditions notwithstanding, there remain three significant shortcomings in the literature worth addressing: the dearth of cross-national studies, scant exploration of pupils' experiences with policing to and from school, and a paucity of research on Black immigrant youth's experiences with policing. First, current understandings of pupil discipline and policing are often limited by an exclusive focus on single-nation studies, an approach which seldom recognizes the increased national and international security that impedes on the disadvantaged youth in local settings (Bowling & Weber, 2011; Loader, 2016). Second, attributing close attention to school commutes via bus, train, and pedestrian routes offers insights into the often-ignored pathways of policing that influence students' school experiences and sense of belonging in global cities. Third, first- and second-generation Black immigrants will continue to influence the future of race relations in global cities like London and New York (Wallace, 2017a, 2017b, 2018; Warikoo, 2011; Waters, 2014). Recent census reports suggest that there has been a significant increase in the Black immigrant population in London and New York City; there are now more first- and second-generation Black immigrants (Black Africans and Black Caribbeans) in these two cities than there have been at any other point since the 1960s (Kasinitz, Mollenkopf, Waters, & Holdaway, 2008; Warikoo, 2011). Their presence in global cities warrants more careful attention in educational research. To bridge the gap in the literature, I build on the historical, legal, sociopolitical, and institutional traditions to explore, cross-nationally, second-generation Black Caribbean youth's encounters with stop-and-frisk/search procedures on their way to and from public schools.

The case of Black Caribbeans illuminates the significance of racialization in shaping group outcomes. For decades, Black Caribbeans in the United States have been deemed an exceptional Black minority relative to African Americans based on their levels of educational attainment, home ownership, and cultural prominence (Foner, 1979, 2005; Ifantunji, 2016; Model, 2008).

They are disproportionately represented at Ivy League institutions (Massey, Mooney, Torres, & Charles, 2007) and have garnered positive recognition for their industriousness, immigrant “grit,” and investment in education (Rong & Brown, 2001). Such outcomes have produced narratives of ethnic exceptionalism, logics of ethnic advantage, and measures of cultural superiority. In the United Kingdom, by contrast, Black Caribbeans have been deemed a persistently underachieving minority since the 1960s, most notably in the field of education. They experience disproportionate detention, school exclusion, and imprisonment (Gillborn & Mirza, 2000; Strand, 2012). Ethnic exceptionalism has no traction among Black Caribbeans in the UK due largely to the fact that their ethnicity often functions as a penalty, not an asset, as it has historically done for Black Caribbean people in the US (Foner, 2005).³ Despite their contrasting status positions as celebrated and denigrated minorities in the US and UK education systems, Black Caribbean participants in this study on both sides of the Atlantic came to terms with the weight of Blackness through police surveillance while commuting to and from school, when ethnic exceptionalism is a minor or meaningless measure.

Challenging Myths of Exceptionalism

Critical race theory (CRT) is an apposite theoretical frame attentive to the historical, legal, sociopolitical, and institutional traditions in the literature on policing and schooling (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Loader, 2016). Though inaugurated in the United States in the early 1970s as an extension of critical legal studies, CRT also has had considerable traction in the United Kingdom, extending Britain’s Black radical and intellectual traditions. On both sides of the Atlantic, CRT activism and analytics are generative for highlighting race and racism as enduring features of social life in British and American societies (Gillborn, 2005); centering the perspectives and the experiential knowledge of racially minoritized groups through counter-storytelling as a legitimate strategy for challenging normative narratives about race, culture, and the like (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995); and recognizing race as irrepressibly shaped by class, gender, age, and immigrant status, among other factors (Crenshaw, 1991; Warren, 2017; Yosso, 2005). CRT generally and BlackCrit specifically are of significant intellectual and political utility not only for these reasons but also for their capacity to disrupt myths of ethnic exceptionalism that unintentionally reinforce anti-Black racism.

As an evolving strand of CRT, BlackCrit interrogates anti-Blackness as a multivalent, heterogeneous phenomenon rooted in the global political economy. BlackCrit promotes an agile political imagination for Black liberation, moving beyond the classic, wide-ranging race critiques of CRT to more precise pronouncements on anti-Blackness and its ever-shifting powers. Central to this project, BlackCrit theorizes Black life in an anti-Black world and cen-

ters the often-ignored structural factors and institutional dynamics that influence Black subjugation within and beyond North America. According to Lewis (2000), BlackCrit “addresses the significance of racial attitudes toward Africans and peoples of African descent in the structure and operation of the international human rights system” (p. 1076).⁴ Building on Lewis’s rendition, Dumas and Ross (2016) argue that “BlackCrit in education helps us to more incisively analyze how the specificity of (anti)blackness matters in explaining how Black bodies become marginalized, disregarded, and disdained in schools and other spaces of education” (p. 415). BlackCrit in education also offers critical analytics for identifying and critiquing the partial pardoning of “some Blacks” at the expense of others—dimensions of Black ethnic relations often too taboo to theorize in the field of education.

One insidious strategy of anti-Black racism active in the popular imaginary is the seemingly benign construction of Black ethnic exceptionalism as an enduring master narrative, a perspective not yet explored in BlackCrit. Black ethnic exceptionalism selectively frames Black immigrants and their children in the United States as aspirational, high achieving, and distinctive by virtue of their culture, comportment, and achievements (Ifantunji, 2016; Imoagene, 2012; Morrison, 2011; Thomas, 2012). For instance, Black immigrants and their children, especially those from English-speaking countries, are disproportionately represented at Ivy League institutions (Massey et al., 2007; Rong & Brown, 2001). Yet, there remains little discussion of the pre- and postmigration class advantages that aid in their advancement in US schools and society. On the surface, Black ethnic exceptionalism provides an opportunity to acknowledge Black ethnic diversity. However, what may appear to be complimentary recognition of cultural and moral distinctions is often evidence of cultural racism’s maturation and ever-shifting (re)presentation. From a Black-Crit perspective, myths of ethnic exceptionalism are nuanced yet pejorative resignifications of anti-Blackness; they cast a select group not as model minorities for all to emulate but as an elevated Black minority, as distinct relative to Blacks in US contexts, not necessarily to White, Asian, or Latinx people (Greer, 2013). Furthermore, ethnic exceptionalism is veiled anti-Blackness because its relevance and rewards are contingent on Black pathology, however partial. But the often-flattening optics of the police state regularly invite suspicion, at the very least, of Black people, thereby disrupting myths of exceptionalism.

The Study

This article draws on data from a cross-national ethnographic study I conducted between 2012 and 2014 on the educational experiences of second-generation Black Caribbean pupils in London and New York City. With the study I sought to capture the social and scholastic experiences of Black Carib-

bean adolescents and to examine the myths of exceptionalism that shape their educational trajectories. Through sixty semistructured, open-ended, one-on-one interviews, the significance of stop-and-frisk/search surfaced as an often-overlooked dimension of the educational experiences of Black Caribbean pupils attending large public schools. As I traveled local bus and train routes with participants and their peers to and from school, I witnessed what participants described as “Babylon invasion” in New York City and “FEDs search” in London. Stop-and-frisk was declared unconstitutional in August 2013, during the course of my ethnographic fieldwork and interviews, and yet, in the experiences of some participants, the practice persisted as a feature of the students’ school journeys.

As one for whom the Caribbean, London, and New York are all familiar homes, I straddled the boundaries of insider/outsider status throughout my fieldwork. Depending on the context and group arrangements, I occupied a liminal third space at the intersection of being an insider and an outsider (Rollock, 2012). For at least three years before the project began, I lived and worked in the neighborhoods where I conducted the study; however, unlike my participants, I was neither a native New Yorker nor a native Londoner.

Case Selection and Data Collection

To explore the influence of stop-and-frisk/search policies on Black Caribbean youth going to and from school, I conducted sixty in-depth interviews as part of a larger comparative ethnographic study that drew on a paired-case design focusing on two of the largest high schools in London and New York City, Newton and Bridgewood, respectively. I selected these two case schools because they had the largest number of registered Black Caribbean pupils in London and New York City. Both schools were also located in segregated communities on the urban periphery, bordering predominantly White suburban neighborhoods. Interviews proved to be a useful strategy for eliciting Black Caribbean youth’s perceptions of and experiences with stop-and-frisk/search, the meanings they derive from such encounters, and the impact of such meanings on their schooling (Fine et al., 2003).

These two global cities proved ideal sites for studying the impact of stop-and-frisk/search on Black youth because, in their respective national contexts, it is practiced with the greatest frequency in London and New York (Bowling & Weber, 2011). The cities have different policing histories but similar policing technologies that disproportionately impact minorities across racial and class lines in a putatively postracial moment (Laniyonu, 2017, 2018; Parmar, 2011; Reid, 2009). A critical, cross-national comparison reveals that stop-and-frisk is not a solely US and UK phenomenon; it is, in fact, an internationally applied state tactic that influences the life experiences of adolescents (Belur, 2011; Bowling & Weber, 2011; Laniyonu, 2018). What is perhaps most troubling about the evolution of proactive policing procedures over the past two

decades in London and New York City is the shift toward an intensive focus on policing adolescents in and around schools for neighborhood safety (Heymann, 2000; Nixon et al., 2012; Parmar, 2011). This raises questions about the influence of race, place, and power worth analyzing from the perspective of young people.

Between 2012 and 2014, I conducted 60 in-depth interviews with Year/grade 10 and Year/grade 11 pupils in London and New York City (30 in each city). Through snowball sampling, pupils interested in the study were referred by their peers, endorsed by school leaders, and authorized by their parents. The participants I feature in this article were recruited through a three-step process. First, I issued questionnaires to all students who self-identified as Black Caribbean at Bridgewood and Newton secondary schools to identify the generational status of pupils. In the second phase, 240 second-generation Black Caribbean pupils agreed to participate in one of 48 focus group interviews. And in the third phase, eighty-five students agreed to participate in a one-on-one interview, but only 60 received parental consent. The data I discuss here are based on the interviews conducted in the third phase. I use pseudonyms throughout this article to ensure the protection and anonymity of the participants.

The US sample included 15 male and 15 female participants, 16 of whom were working class (based on free school meals eligibility, parents' educational attainment, and parents' employment) and 14 middle class (based on parents' university completion and professional credentials). The UK sample comprised 16 female and 14 male students, 17 of whom were working class and 13 middle class. These participants were all born in either the UK or the US, but one or both of their parents had migrated from Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, Guyana, Barbados, Montserrat, Antigua and Barbuda, Grenada, St. Vincent and the Grenadines, St. Lucia, and/or the Bahamas. The interviews ranged from 55 to 85 minutes in length and explored participants' urban schooling experiences, engagement with authority in and outside of school, and their encounters with stop-and-frisk/search outside of school.

Data Analysis

For the purposes of accuracy and precision, all interviews were digitally recorded, professionally transcribed, and repeatedly analyzed. I conducted two rounds of coding to develop both inductive and deductive analyses. I read all transcripts multiple times for wider contextual meaning before uploading and analyzing them through NVivo for a more systematic assessment. I then applied two rounds of coding iteratively. In the open coding phase, I identified key codes and broad themes based on participants' words and emphases related to police surveillance and authority, such as "FEDs search," "unfair policing," and "young people's safety." The focused coding phase included more precise descriptors, such as "police targeting students," "stop, question,

and search,” “bias against Black people.” With open and focused coding as key features of the analytic process, complex perspectives on stop-and-frisk/search emerged, reinforcing the need to consider Black youth’s perspectives on policing and its impact on their perceptions of safety in getting to and from school.

Findings

For the Black Caribbean youth in this study, who every day negotiated segregated urban geographies (Anderson, 2011; Brown, 2005), stop-and-frisk/search practices (and the threat of them) functioned as real challenges to their physical and psychosocial security. As a “common-law right of inquiry” (NYPD, 2016, p. 2), stop-and-frisk/search is meant to preserve the safety of local neighborhoods at the expense of *any* select group (in principle), but often it is at the expense of ethnoracial minorities (in practice). So while stop-and-frisk/search laws are applicable to all, they are disproportionately applied to low-income Black and Brown youth (Laniyonu, 2017, 2018; Quinton, 2011; Rengifo & Fratello, 2014). This tension between principle and practice and between national pronouncements on “liberty,” “justice,” “fairness,” and “equality” and the simultaneous precarity of ethnoracial minorities is precisely what orients adolescent pupils to the clandestine codes of belonging in British and American societies. This is the security paradox—that Black youth’s vulnerability begets the security of others. In their interactions with law enforcement on route to school, some Black youth discern that liberty is limited, that equality is not equally distributed, that fairness and justice are more aspirational than they are actual outcomes/foregone achievements.

The descriptive results of the study show that 25 of the 60 Black Caribbean pupils interviewed experienced stop-and-frisk/search between 2007 and 2014. Fourteen of the 25 pupils were based in New York, and 12 of them were male. The 11 London pupils who experienced it were all Black males traveling home from school. Although just over one-third of the participants confirmed experiencing stop-and-frisk/search as nonemergency interactions with the police, 57 reported witnessing ethno-racial minorities being frisked by the police during their journeys between home and school. For the 25 youth who experienced stop-and-frisk/search between home and school, the implications of such street encounters affected their sense of security and belonging. For these participants, two common themes shaped their home-to-school journeys: the limited capacity of school uniforms to shield against stop-and-frisk and their disappointment with the limits of ethnicity to protect them from being publicly treated like adults by the police. Stop-and-frisk encounters therefore sensitized participants to the contextual limits of ethnic exceptionalism and the hypervulnerability of Black and Brown bodies in a carceral state even while heading to or from school as productive citizens (Hanink, 2013; Legewie, 2016).

Uniforms for Safety? Expecting Protection and Experiencing Adultification

Participants suggested that whether on the streets or on public transportation, in full school uniform or simply wearing a shirt with their school's emblem, they encountered stop-and-frisk in the moments they least expected it: when heading to and from school. In New York, a grade 11 student, Justin, was stopped, questioned, and frisked while walking to a train station after school for what was described to him as being under suspicion of possessing drugs.

I just couldn't believe it, yo. The officer pulled me to the side by my backpack. He literally yanked me by my backpack and frisked me in public . . . I wasn't resisting at all. I know not to do that because my moms always says that's how they kill Black boys and tell stories about how we were fighting like men . . . But would he really grab any grown-ass man like that? But because I'm a kid in a school shirt, he could do that to me . . . Being Caribbean or whatever didn't help me . . . and no one stopped to help me out . . . Now when I see officers in school or near the [train or bus] station all of this massive aggression comes over me . . . Sometimes, I can feel my hand shaking . . . Seeing police doesn't make me feel safe . . . not even in school . . . 'cause it's not just what happens to me, it's what I see happening to Black men in this neighborhood all the time.

Justin's narrative reveals that intensive encounters with the police can inform deep distrust in law enforcement across a range of institutions, including schools. Furthermore, Justin's claims about the overpolicing of Black boys and men in select New York City neighborhoods are corroborated by reports on the gendered and racialized disproportionality of stop-and-frisk procedures. In 2012, the New York Civil Liberties Union reported that in 33 of the city's 76 precincts, Blacks and Hispanics experienced over 90 percent of stops and were frisked more often than Whites who were stopped. The report also points out that 90 percent of Black men stopped and frisked for furtive movement were innocent (Legewie, 2016; NYCLU, 2017). While Justin's experience with the police is distinct, the sentiments he expressed about his safety and belonging as a school student were held widely by all his male and female peers in New York City. Consider, for instance, grade 10 New Yorker Troy, who also commented on the limited value of school uniforms in the face of police authority:

The officer put his hand on my shirt collar and pulled me to the side . . . I just had to man up . . . He ripped my collar . . . I knew 5-O [the police] really shouldn't be trusted, but I didn't think that they would treat a kid in school uniform like that. I ain't no dealer. I don't even do drugs or nothin' . . . I was actually heading to tutor kids for the PSATs I just did . . . You don't see doctors, nurses, firefighters gettin' manhandled like that in their uniforms. So why did he treat me like that in mine? . . . If I'm going to wear a uniform, at least have some respect for it.

Michael, a grade 11 New York pupil of Guyanese background, had similar critiques of police mistreatment of him while he was in his school uniform.

They pushed my face against the wall and searched my pockets, emptied my bag and even put their hands on my [genitals] . . . I was mad tight [angry] . . . That never happened to me before . . . Couldn't even tell my moms. The police don't have respect for my uniform . . . I'm a student, but they treated me like I'm a full, grown-ass adult man, yo . . . It was one of the first times I realized that what my mother taught me about being a good Caribbean kid, you know, showing respect, having manners, can't change nothing . . . But I dunno . . . maybe one day it will stop me from getting arrested . . . Police shouldn't be out here treatin' people like these streets are prison . . . They already treat us like that in school.

Troy, Justin, and Michael not only commented on the mistreatment they endured after school at the hands of law enforcement, but they also inadvertently pointed to the politics of racialized masculinity that shape certain stop-and-frisk encounters and how these adolescent males processed them. On one hand, the police engaging them as adult men rather than teenagers rightfully incensed them. On the other hand, they acknowledged “manning up” or “dealing with it” rather than consulting school officials or notifying their parents. They found some power in hardened masculinities. In the testimonies of these young men and others like them, we witness again the need to “re-imagine Black boyhood,” as Dumas and Nelson (2016) contend. Commenting on the ever-constrained possibilities of Black male adolescence, Dumas and Nelson (2016) observe that Black young men “also suffer because of the absence of an expansive imagination of Black boyhood, since they then become subject to an adultification that erases even their right to childhood and their status as *still* children” (p. 30). In the cases of Troy, Justin, and Michael, the Black male adultification process can perhaps be so pervasive that it is internalized as a set of normative expectations useful for negotiating even the most challenging social encounters individually rather than reporting such matters to the relevant authorities (Ferguson, 2000). Put plainly, teen boys like Troy, Justin, and Michael avoid being institutional problems by fixing their own problems.

The adultlike treatment Troy, Justin, Michael, and their peers complained of was not exclusive to Black male adolescents in New York City. All the participants in London stopped and searched by police were males who did not report the incidents to school officials or their families for fear of having such encounters added to their school records or being seen by their peers as incapable of “handling the FEDs [police],” as one participant put it. Their search experiences were not quite as physically invasive as those of their New York City counterparts, nor were they conducted with as serious a set of “reasonable suspicion” claims. But the public staging of stop-and-search procedures induced a sense of shame among the Black Caribbean male UK pupils that they did not discuss openly after the incident. Year 11 Londoner Darren explained, “I got stopped and searched. I kept it to myself . . . Telling people is like forcing yourself to live it over and over and over again . . . If you're man enough, you can handle it.” Other participants, like Year 10 pupil Cory, were searched due

to police claims of “antisocial behavior”—crowding stores with peers or wearing hoodies in shopping malls and buses, acts generally stigmatized in their local communities. Cory maintained:

I was on my way to school with a hoodie on at a bus stop. It was cold . . . The officer took my things and searched my bags, my book, my hoodie and told me not to wear it again. I didn't like that he did that in public, literally at the bus stop, or that they searched my uniform. But you can't really be too sensitive about these things when you're a Black lad in London . . . It could be worse . . . It probably will get worse when I'm older. Might as well man up from now.

Cory's take on the situation illustrates that not all Black Caribbean pupils held highly critical views of the police's deployment of stop-and-search (or had reasons to). Deploying a similar set of gender tropes, about “manning up,” Kadeem explained that the officers who searched him did not speak to him in a manner becoming their positions as law enforcement officers:

They searched me and ting, but the man dem started yelling at me in the middle of the street . . . It's like they didn't see a young person; they just saw a big Black man . . . I was angry about it, but I just moved on . . . Don't know who can help me with this any way. It's too late. Who am I supposed to go to that will really help me? More police?

In London, and increasingly in New York, school uniforms are used in public schools for multiple social purposes, including establishing and sustaining school identities, limiting social class distinctions in appearance, and promoting students' health and safety by reducing bullying and other negative expressions of peer pressure (Brunsma, 2004; Brunsma & Rockquemore, 1998; Murray, 1997). While school leaders expect students to comply with dress code policies, students in this study also expected that wearing school uniforms would fulfill its intended purposes—especially to promote their safety. When recounting being mishandled like adults while wearing high school uniforms, participants often mentioned feelings of anger, shame, and distrust in the police. Most significantly, participants consistently cited deep discontent with the depreciation of their uniforms, from the limited symbolic value of school uniforms, to officers conducting stop-and-frisk procedures, to the limited material value of public school uniforms relative to those worn by professionals. Participants like Troy and Kadeem insisted that their uniforms should clearly signal their youth, should warrant fair treatment in the company of law enforcement, and should guarantee safety in public spaces. To be sure, these participants did not suggest that school uniforms should necessarily provide universal immunity from police searches, but they thought that uniforms should guarantee relational, age-appropriate engagement. All school pupils have a right to be safe, especially when engaging with or in the company of the police while wearing their uniforms.

Ethnicity for Safety? Negotiating Disjunctures Between Expectations and Experiences

For over a decade, immigration and education studies scholarship has suggested that ethnicity can function as a social resource for distinct immigrant groups in schools and society (Lee & Zhou, 2015; Zhou, 2005). However, critical perspectives on ethnicity as a social resource among Black ethnics are sparse, especially in the field of education (Imoagene, 2012). But to the extent that ethnicity benefits Black Caribbean immigrants, such an outcome is seldom universal and often context specific. In the study, second-generation Black Caribbean pupils in New York City performed Caribbean identity (through attitudes, accents, and related actions) in pursuit of ethnic advantage. In London, however, Black Caribbean pupils downplayed their ethnic identity when stopped by the police, fearing cultural typecasting and ethnic disadvantage.

In addition to being disturbed by stop-and-frisk encounters, participants in New York City were struck by the fact that ethnicity and attendant myths of ethnic exceptionalism did not yield anticipated outcomes. As Michael and Troy alluded, the ethnic scripts their immigrant mothers taught them to perform—speaking with a Caribbean accent to communicate immigrant or newcomer status, using perfect diction to indicate or imitate a middle-class upbringing, displaying respect and decorum in the presence of authority, and working hard—did not shield them from racialized mistreatment, sometimes to their surprise. Comments from Tom, a grade 10 New Yorker of Trinidadian descent, captured these dynamics well when he observed:

I never really believed that I would get frisked coming to school. I'm a good yute [young man] . . . Of all the things, it happened to me on my way to school for tutoring . . . But when it happened to me I learned that school clothes, Caribbean background . . . don't really stop the police . . . The police will come for you anyway . . . All the things my mother told me would help protect or cover me didn't . . . I showed respect, but that didn't change nothin'.

In a similar vein, Andre, a grade 10 student and aspiring police officer of Jamaican heritage, also pointed to the limits of performative ethnic scripts in the company of police officers.

I was mad nice and had manners to the police and everything. I answered all the questions, pronounced all my words right, used a Caribbean accent . . . The boss [police] literally pat me down and searched my pockets at the bus stop and made me miss my bus to school! And he ain't even find anything 'cause there was nothin' to find . . . why we gonna say this is the land of opportunity or here we got liberty and justice for all? . . . Ain't that the pledge? I stop saying that now . . . After that day, I was like, yo, it's like they just out here waiting for a Black man to put in prison. But nah, I'm not the one.

Teisha, a grade 11 pupil who self-identified as Jamaican, offered a comparable assessment, pointing out the relevance of race and the declining significance of ethnicity when confronted by the police.

When the police frisked me, I was wearing school uniform, talking with a Caribbean accent, and carrying a book in my hand. None of that means anything to the police 'round here . . . When they see you, all they see is Black, Black, Black . . . My mother and father can't tell me nothin' more . . . I was "being good" and it never matter[ed].

Teisha's classmate, Jenny, a grade 11 student of Barbadian and Antiguan parentage, offered a similar claim on Blackness as a regular penalty when engaging with the police, despite pronounced performances of ethnicity.

When I got stopped, and they searched my things, I respond to the police . . . "Yes sir, no miss, why sir" . . . [voice trembles then cracks] I turn up my Caribbean accent. I told them I'm from a good home. [tears well up] I started shaking . . . After it was done, I got on the train and I cried. When I got to school, my teachers were like, "Why are you in such a bad mood today?" . . . I told them I didn't feel too good. I just kept looking into space . . . I said to myself, "Geez, they [the police] don't care about any of these things? What about all those things I learned from mummy?"

Jenny's, Andre's, and Teisha's comments provide insights into their expanding racial consciousness, which sharpened as they grew cognizant of the limits of ethnicity and exceptionalism. Extracts from their interviews illustrate how embodied and performed representations of "respect" and "goodness" purportedly in the name of Caribbean ethnic belonging do not guarantee reciprocity from law enforcement. Furthermore, the comments elucidate how stop-and-frisk encounters influenced their sense of belonging in the American polity. Andre discerned the difference between America's celebrated political values at the national level and its sharp disconnect with punitive policing practices at the local level as a principle-practice gap that made him question his security and civic engagement. This is the security paradox that Andre, like so many of his peers, contended with after stop-and-frisk encounters.

But the security paradox is not the only significant contradiction that troubled participants. There were tensions between parents' expectations and pupils' experiences journeying to and from schools. The informal lessons Black Caribbean mothers shared with their children about the power of accents, attitudes, diction, and comportment as assistive resources across a range of social contexts fell short of their promise. Owing to their stop-and-frisk encounters, students like Teisha and Tom questioned the value of investing in performative ethnic scripts that ended on the streets in the company of the police. Accordingly, participants came to understand ethnic exceptionalism as a celebratory cultural construct that is conditional and context-bound, with little or no influence on the police during stop-and-frisks or on the prevention of anti-Black racism that arguably informs the disproportionate application of the practice.

While their ethnic background afforded them praise and positive recognition in the classroom as a source of intelligence and achievement (Coleman-

King, 2014), Black Caribbean participants in New York City eventually discerned that in the company of the police, their ethnicity had diminishing positive utility, if any at all. Based on their experiences with stop-and-frisk, participants suggested that race generally, and Blackness specifically, functions as the significant somatic allure of policing that performative ethnic scripts fail to erase. Participants' use of objects like books and backpacks, along with relational aesthetics like Caribbean accents, manners, and comportment, did not deter police scrutiny, raising their awareness of the power of race as they traversed a range of segregated ethnic enclaves on their way to and from school. Black Caribbean youth like Andre and Tom were arguably coming to terms with a failing ethnicity in segregated neighborhoods in which the police were hypervigilant of Black criminality (Goel, Rao, & Shroff, 2016; Legewie & Schaeffer, 2015). As "good," "respectful" Caribbean youth, they were not exempt from the police state's determined investments in overpolicing communities of color, along with the racialized maladministration of discipline in and between school and the streets (Dumas & Nelson, 2016).

In London there is little, if any, investment in ethnic exceptionalism among Black Caribbean pupils and their families. Accordingly, the Black Caribbean pupils in this study did not rely on their ethnic identities to authenticate their worth as productive members of British society. Like their diasporic counterparts in New York, Black Caribbean pupils in London found ethnicity limited in its capacity to ensure safety traveling to and from school in the presence of the police. While students in New York City marshaled ethnic exceptionalism in the company of the police, pupils in London often deployed an individualistic iteration of exceptionalism, one that rendered them different from others. Ultimately, these strategies of differentiation and distinctiveness failed to shield pupils on both sides of the Atlantic from adultlike police scrutiny (Wallace, 2017).

In sharp contrast to Black Caribbean pupils in New York City, participants in London acknowledged experiencing generally fair treatment during stop-and-search encounters, even if they thought the motivations for the search were illegitimate or simply misunderstandings. Kenny, a Year 11 pupil, maintained that

the police 'round here, yeah, are not as bad like the ones in America. They are not going to shoot you . . . They talk to us more and ting . . . But at the end of the day, yeah, you might still get searched, but they will tell you or make up a reason why they searching you.

Ten of the eleven Caribbean males stopped and searched by the police suggested that officers cited reasons for searches before conducting such measures but that they struggled to understand how their investments in wearing a hoodie, laughing with a group of friends at the bus stop, or waiting at the entrance of a store constituted "antisocial behavior." As Joseph, a Year 11

middle-class student, reasoned, "That's just what young people do . . . Most posh White people get away with it, but the rest of us Caribbean boys get searched and all that." When pursued by the police, participants like Joseph perceived their Caribbean ethnicity to be an additional tax on their Black identities, not a credit. As Roy, a Year 10 pupil, put it, "As soon as they find out you're Caribbean, it's like, 'here comes another one of them in trouble.'" Among these eleven Caribbean boys, the common counterstrategy to the collective ethnic penalty associated with Caribbean identity was to pursue individual exceptionalism.

Odain, a Year 10 pupil, expressed concerns about being targeted for additional scrutiny as a working-class Caribbean male. His perceptions were not necessarily informed by his own direct encounters with stop-and-search but were based on his assessment of the wider significance of Black Caribbean disadvantage in school and society. He recounted how "it just don't make sense to tell the FEDs [the police] you are Caribbean. That's just going to hurt you. Just tell them you're different . . . Tell them how you're hardworking . . . that you're not like all the other Caribbean mates . . . That might work." Consider, too, the perspectives of Kenny, a Year 11 pupil who also distanced himself from stereotypes of Caribbean males when he was stopped by the police.

At the end of the day, yeah . . . I don't want the FEDs to lock me up and call my parents and what not . . . When they searched me, I was in the shopping center after school. I was so shamed. I didn't do anything, but they said no hoodies were allowed in the mall by students in school clothes, and they just had to check me. The whole time, yeah, I was telling them that I'm not like the rest of the Caribbean man dem. I work hard . . . I'm Caribbean, but I'm different . . . I'm British . . . But if that's what you have to do to find a bit of peace, then how British are you really?

But Odain and Kenny are not alone in their pursuit of individual exceptionalism. Eight of the eleven boys stopped and searched by police confessed to doing the same. They considered it an investment in their safety and a potential reason to bring stop and search practices to a halt sooner. Roy, for example, argued:

I don't know if these things work for real, but when the police searched me, I just had to tell them that I am not a yaadie . . . I'm not like them loud Caribbean boys who don't have ambition, you get me . . . I just had to let them know that . . . Two twos they stopped and let me go where I was going.

As Joseph learned, appeals to individual exceptionalism are not often successful. A Year 11 middle-class pupil, Joseph spoke about being stopped by the police three times between 2010 and 2012 and being searched each time. In all instances, he suggested, his declarations of individual exceptionalism by virtue of his social class, nationality, and comportment did not result in positive outcomes with the police.

When I got stopped and searched the first time, I was with my mates, and I sounded posh and everything. I explained in a calm way where we were going, what we studied, that we were good lads . . . It didn't matter. The next time I was by myself, and this time I was ready. I told them I wasn't like other Caribbean people . . . I told them I was British . . . that my dad is a musician and my mum is a nurse with the NHS . . . They didn't care. The last time I got . . . upset with the officers because I could see that my big words, my Britishness, my professionalism was getting me nowhere . . . I'm young and Black, that['s] what they [the police] see.

Joseph, Roy, and their peers captured the promises and pitfalls of exceptionalism. In a city context in which Blacks experience disproportionate aggressive policing, especially Black Caribbean males, exceptionalism is conceptualized and pursued as a path to safety in the company of law enforcement.

Such a political project fails in at least three respects. First, the deployment of individual exceptionalism falls short of its anticipated power to end or consistently distract police from stopping and searching Black Caribbean males. Efforts by these participants to distance themselves from “yaadies” (rural and inner-city Jamaican immigrants regarded as uncouth) and render themselves distinctive by virtue of their British nationality, middle-class standing, and positive social behavior proved futile in a nation-state shaped by entrenched racial inequality. Second, individual exceptionalism comes at the expense of a stigmatized ethnic group; it reifies negative ethnic stereotypes of Black Caribbeans and colludes with prevailing power structures to denigrate Black Caribbeans for momentary personal gain. Third, claims of individual exceptionalism do not and cannot transform the wider racialized political economy that facilitates Black social suffering. Participants like Kenny and Roy questioned their belonging in a nation that made them hide, diminish, or trade their ethnic identities for public safety. Safety is perhaps, then, not only the absence of physical harm in the company of the police but the liberty to be and belong without penalty. No measure of exceptionalism (individual in the UK or collective in the US) or degree of ethnic standing (positive in the US or negative in the UK) can permanently undo or outdo structural and material anti-Blackness, as showcased through the disproportionate application of stop-and-frisk/search (Legewie, 2016; Miller, 2010).

Implications and Conclusion

Stop-and-frisk/search, among the most consistently controversial police practices in London and New York City, shapes the lived experiences of people of color, including students traveling to and from school. On both sides of the Atlantic, the practice points to the racialization of policing and the enduring impact of anti-Blackness in everyday life. As this research shows, ethnicity, uniforms, and myths of exceptionalism provide no permanent shield against the injuries of racism, mistreatment, and overpolicing. The findings illustrate that

participants' expectations for protection while wearing school uniforms were thwarted by experiences of adultlike treatment from law enforcement. Additionally, Caribbean accents, deferential attitudes, and related markers framed by parents as manifestations of Caribbean identity also failed to provide security during what participants experienced as unsafe encounters with the police. Given these results, new alternative approaches are needed that prioritize the safety of all Black students, regardless of their culture, context, or class. I offer here four implications informed by the analytical frames used to synthesize scholarship on policing and schooling—legal, sociopolitical, institutional, and historical. These proposed plans can ultimately assist in improving Black students' safety during their school commutes.

As an extension of the legal tradition, stop-and-frisk/search practices deployed by police officers in New York City and London should be eliminated as legal and practical policing measures. While stop-and-frisk is now unconstitutional in New York City (Legewie & Schaeffer, 2015), the practice continues informally in local neighborhoods without repercussion (Shedd, 2015). Policy makers, law advocates, and research activists should be attentive to the soft surveillance measures (move alongs, pat downs, bag searches, destination queries, store sweeps, etc.) that can escalate to aggressive stop-and-frisk procedures but would be regarded as regular police duty. In London, stop-and-search remains a lawful practice, despite decades of protest (Dabydeen et al., 2008). The recent Race Disparity Audit commissioned by Prime Minister Theresa May has called national attention to stop-and-search as a racist policing practice, one sometimes enforced illegally without required documentation and scrutiny. What the Race Disparity Audit does not show is that school pupils—disproportionately Black males—also experience stop-and-search on their journeys to and from school. New laws and relational approaches should be adopted by law enforcement that support, not stress, adolescents traveling between home and school.

But the safety of young people generally, and Black youth specifically, requires more than police accountability and changes in policing policies. Based on the sociopolitical tradition, students should be encouraged to know their civic and legal rights as preparation for activism. In New York City, participants did not know that some stop-and-frisk encounters were illegal; participants did not know how to effectively report police misconduct or how to identify counseling for the emotional trauma some endured. With knowledge of the illegality of select stop-and-frisk encounters, Black Caribbean pupils and their peers may find a reason to organize and report such encounters to their parents, school leaders, and other relevant authorities. To better educate students on their rights, schools should transform civics and social studies curricula and align them more closely with the contemporary political developments affecting young people's day-to-day lives. Furthermore, based on the institutional analysis tradition, community-based organizations and religious and cultural institutions should participate in educating young people on their

rights and commit to training adults on how to effectively support Black youth after they've endured disciplinary measures. Citizens UK's CitySafe campaign and New York City's Communities United for Police Reform Know Your Rights campaign are models of broad-based, multi-institutional community organizing that prioritize youth voice, engagement, and awareness. Other institutions throughout London and New York City might be well served by adopting and supporting their work.

To extend the historical tradition of research on policing and schooling, further empirical studies are needed to explicate the impact of punitive policing on the educational experiences and civic participation of students, especially during their commutes to and from school. Research in the historical tradition captured the active, aggressive investment in anti-Blackness through police terror to prevent, for instance, African Americans from traveling to school by bus (Walker, 1996). More work is needed to identify and historicize contemporary iterations of the "travel trauma" Black students experience at the hands of the police and other state actors. In some instances, the very journey to school can matter just as much as classroom learning, shaping students' attitudes toward schooling and commitments to learning (Givens, 2016).

Combining the historical, legal, sociopolitical, and institutional traditions can extend critical youth studies and enrich critical theories of race and Blackness in pursuit of a liberatory imagination. Data in this study indicate that ethnic imaginaries—constellations of values, understandings, and ethnocultural scripts that influence ethnic minority groups' identities and outlooks—can function as barriers to a "Black liberatory fantasy" and reality (Dumas & ross, 2016, p. 431). I suggest that BlackCrit can be used to disrupt ethnic imaginaries.

Ethnic imaginaries and their associated myths of ethnic exceptionalism are ultimately failed projects. Based on a BlackCrit exegesis, ethnic imaginaries, no matter how expansive or promising, cannot undo Black corporeality. When attached to the Black body, ethnicity fails to fully free its subjects of (police and state) suspicion, scrutiny, and subjugation. This is no secret to Black immigrants and their children. Yet, ethnicity's allure remains; its appeal rests in its *conceivable capacity* to shield partially or lessen occasionally an otherwise unencumbered White racism. Black ethnic exceptionalism—or, in the case of this study, Black Caribbean exceptionalism—then becomes a curious construction formulated not deliberately for the expansion of anti-Blackness but explicitly as a defense against, or marginal relief from, White racism's yielded pressures. In this context, Black ethnic exceptionalism (individual and collective) is conceived of as an exercise in resistance to pervasive pathologies associated with Blackness in the White imagination. However, it perpetuates ethnic hierarchies for the *possibility* of meager advantages as opposed to full freedom. The BlackCrit tradition might suggest that police authority yields no enduring exceptions to Black subjects in schools or the streets. Accordingly, Black communities in London and New York may more effectively advocate

for safe routes to school for all students if they invest in intraracial coalition building, organize through civil society organizations, support Black youth's understanding of their rights, and commit to the full freedom of *all* Black people—without exception(alism)s.

Notes

1. Like other parts of the UK, London has a long history of legally mandated stop-and-search practices. Since the establishment of the Vagrancy Act of 1824, the police have been granted power to question and detain those suspected of traveling with weapons illegally, carrying stolen items, and committing or plotting crimes. Popularly known as “sus” laws, the Vagrancy Act of 1824 targeted “every suspected person or reputed thief, frequenting any river, canal, or navigable stream, dock, or basin, or any quay, wharf, or warehouse near or adjoining thereto, or any street, or any highway or any place adjacent to a street or highway; with intent to commit an arrestable offence” (Demuth, 1978, p. 22). At the establishment of sus laws, schools were never mentioned as possible zones of surveillance; but in the decades that followed, into the twenty-first century, the premises and perimeters of schools became sites for exercising them.
2. Current stop-and-frisk practices in New York City and cities across the US date back to the Uniform Arrest Act of 1942, which permitted spot-checks of individuals suspected of potentially endangering the public or committing a crime. The act ordered any “law enforcement officer who has stopped or ordered any person to remain in his presence pursuant to this section may, if he reasonably believes that his safety so requires, search such person and his immediate surroundings, but only to the extent necessary to discover any dangerous weapons which may on that occasion be used against the officer” (Ronayne, 1964, p. 219). Though initially adopted in a select few states, the Uniform Arrest Act of 1942 was ultimately reviewed by the US Supreme Court based on a trilogy of cases in 1968: *Terry v. Ohio*, *Sibron v. New York*, and *Peters v. New York*. In all three cases, the Court ruled that stop-and-frisk procedures were constitutional, further permitting police to stop, search, and seize civilians based on “reasonable suspicion” rather than probable cause. In the decades that followed the ruling, New York City applied stop-and-frisk tactics to reduce the city’s soaring crime rates, particularly in the 1990s. The infamous attack on Haitian immigrant Abner Louima in 1997 and the killing of Black immigrants such as Amadou Diallo in 1999 and Patrick Dorismond in 2000 by officers of the NYPD sparked protests and civilian calls to end police harassment, limit the enforcement of stop-and-frisk, and hold police accountable through the establishment of police monitoring and reporting procedures.
3. Class histories and the order of arrival play a significant role in the reception of Black Caribbeans in the US and UK. Though the initial cohorts of Black Caribbean immigrants into Britain were highly selective and often middle class, subsequent cohorts were less selective than earlier ones, even less selective than Caribbean immigrants to the United States (Ladipo, 1998; Model & Ladipo, 1996). Additionally, Black Caribbeans in the US have benefited greatly from the presence, programs, and policies of African Americans, aiding their transition and incorporation into US society (Kasinitz, 1992; Model, 2008; Waters, 1999). By contrast, Black Caribbeans in the UK did not have a large group of Blacks to support their integration into British society. As economic migrants, Black Caribbeans arrived in Britain in large numbers as citizens of the Empire in the mid-twentieth century. And although Black presence in Britain dates back to the eleventh century, Black Caribbeans in Britain are regarded as the largest cohort of Blacks to impact the nature of schooling in British society, through enrollment, engagement, and activism (Coard, 1971).

4. Informed by W. E. B. DuBois's (1903, p. 1) prescient proclamation that "the colorline belts the world," Lewis (2000) registers anti-Black racism as human rights violations evinced by historical violent conquest, enduring economic exploitation, and discriminatory legal and relational practices that manifest at global and local levels. And yet, international law and associated institutions (e.g., the United Nation and the International Criminal Court) rarely hold Western democracies to account on anti-Black racism and its sundry structural manifestations.

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Acknowledgments

I thank Danya Wallace, Emmanuel Gotora, Tolani Britton, Travis Bristol, Sumer Mehmet, Shameka Powell, Jarvis Givens, Brian Lozenski, Joseph Nelson, Jasmine Johnson, Greg Childs, and Satnam Virdee for their sound advice and sincere support throughout the research and writing processes. Above all, I am grateful to the Black Caribbean young people in London and New York City for participating in this study and urging a more critical understanding of safety and security in and out of school.