



The diversity trap? Critical explorations of black male teachers' negotiations of leadership and learning in London state schools

Derron Wallace

To cite this article: Derron Wallace (2020) The diversity trap? Critical explorations of black male teachers' negotiations of leadership and learning in London state schools, *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 23:3, 345-366, DOI: [10.1080/13613324.2019.1663977](https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2019.1663977)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13613324.2019.1663977>



Published online: 25 Mar 2020.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



The diversity trap? Critical explorations of black male teachers' negotiations of leadership and learning in London state schools

Derron Wallace

Brandeis University, Waltham, MA, USA

ABSTRACT

Black and minority ethnic teachers are significantly underrepresented in British schools. Despite increasing anxieties about Britain's 'diversity shortage' among teachers, recent studies on the experiences of Black teachers generally, and Black male teachers specifically, remain rather sparse. Drawing on in-depth interviews with 25 Black Caribbean and Black African male teachers with five or more years of experience in London schools, this article deploys Bourdieusian conceptions of organizational habitus to explore the ways in which the national 'diversity shortage' can lead to a local 'diversity trap' in state schools that limits the range of roles Black male teachers are encouraged to pursue in schools. Findings suggest that pressures for Black male teachers to serve in racialized roles as community liaisons, role models, and school-wide disciplinarians, particularly for ethno-racial minority students, have stymied the long-term progress of Black male teachers towards departmental and administrative leadership – ranks at which the diversity shortage is even more acute.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 15 October 2017

Accepted 15 January 2019

KEYWORDS

Black teachers; role models; urban school engagement; Bourdieu; habitus; race

Introduction

In recent years, the importance of Black and minority ethnic (BME) teachers in the British educational system has garnered significant attention in public discourse. Discussions in popular presses range from analyses of teachers' experiences of discrimination and disadvantage to the establishment of new professional development networks for BME teachers (Adams 2017; Glaze 2017; Haque 2017b; Pells 2017). Perhaps the most striking of all these findings is Britain's lingering teacher diversity shortage. BME students comprise more than 25% of the national student population, yet only 7.6% of full-time staff in Britain are BME teachers (Rhodes 2017). The Department for Education (DfE) estimates that approximately 68,000 BME teachers are needed in state schools to address the diversity shortage and better represent England's state school population (Haque 2017a). This raises salient questions about how to recruit BME teachers effectively in the coming years.

But increasing the number of BME teachers without changing the organizational and relational conditions in schools is likely to create retention challenges. Analyses of

current BME teachers' professional experiences show that racism continues to color the day-to-day affairs in schools and impedes BME teachers' professional advancement (Bhopal and Rhamie 2014). A recent report *Visible Minorities, Invisible Teachers* (2017) found that BME teachers experience frequent discrimination on the job, report receiving lower pay incommensurate with their experience, and encounter higher rates of verbal abuse relative to their White counterparts. Though analyses of the differential treatment of BME teachers have focused on race and ethnicity, critical examinations of the gendered experiences of BME teachers are seldom featured in social analyses. To complement the growing body of research and media reports on BME teachers, this article casts its attention on the experiences of Black male teachers – noting how race, class, and gender influence their leadership and learning in London state schools. In so doing, this article addresses an often-neglected area of educational research in the British context.

The distinct experiences of BME male teachers in the British context are worth highlighting. Based on a nationally representative survey in 2016, the DfE reported that '[a]lmost three out of four school teachers are female,' with rates of male teachers decreasing slightly from 27.1% in 2010 to 26.1% in 2016 (Haque 2017a, 12). There are only 5% of BME male teachers in state schools compared to 28% of White British male teachers (National Union of Teachers 2017). When considering the leadership ranks in schools, less than 0.5% of BME male teachers are in Headteacher roles, compared to 12% of White British men (Haque 2017a). If we are to increase the number of Black male teachers in British schools and understand the organizational arrangements that influence their advancement, explicit attention should be paid to Black male teachers.

Drawing on qualitative research on Black African and Caribbean male teachers, this article suggests that despite increasing talks of Britain's national 'diversity shortage,' hardly any attention is offered to what I regard as the local 'diversity trap' in schools that limits the range of roles Black male teachers are encouraged to pursue in schools. I define the 'diversity trap' here as the strategic engagement and confinement of BME teachers to select disciplinary, pastoral, and community-based roles that often support local schools at the expense of their wide-ranging intellectual and professional talents. The 'diversity trap' is arguably the result of an insidious form of racism that renders BME teachers most useful in distinct social and care roles. To better contextualize and explicate the hidden costs of the 'diversity trap,' I first explore scholarship on BME teachers in the United Kingdom. I then outline the design of the study, highlight the theoretical framework that informed it, and discuss the data analysis process. Finally, I present the findings, which suggest that Black male teachers regularly encounter pressure to serve in racialized roles as community liaisons, role models, and school-wide disciplinarians, particularly for ethno-racial minority students. Contrary to the expectations of the participants in this study, accepting such roles did not often result in their continued promotion, but instead stymied the long-term progress of these Black male teachers towards departmental and administrative leadership – ranks at which the diversity shortage is even more acute (Haque 2017a).

Black male teachers in Britain & beyond

To date, research on Black male teachers in Europe and the global South remains sparse. Much of the existing literature on Black male teachers focuses on the North American context, with special emphasis on the United States. Due to the predominance of such works, studies on Black male teachers in US schools often function as analytical anchors for research on the racialized and gendered experiences of Black male teachers in other parts of the world (Callender 2018; Lynn and Jennings 2009; Msibi 2012). Such US-specific scholarship provides sensitizing perspectives into the barrier to entry and retention that shape the profession (Bristol 2018; Thomas and Warren 2017), the promise of professional affinity groups for teachers of color in predominantly white institutions (Bristol and Shirrell 2019; Lewis and Toldson 2013), the power and perils of Black male teachers as role models and ‘other fathers’ (Bristol and Goings 2019; Brockenbrough 2012; Brown 2009; Lynn and Jennings 2009), and the institutional strategies that cause and challenge the marginalization of teachers of color (Brown 2011; Martino and Rezai-Rashti 2010a; Pabon 2017). The analytical and theoretical insights of these works notwithstanding, there are important contextual differences within and between national settings that should be carefully accounted for. As such, this article focuses on the cultural and institutional conditions of teaching and learning for Black male educators in the British context, offering specific attention to the historical context that informs the contemporary experiences of teachers in British schools. The subsequent section shows that the demand for Black male teachers has not always been shaped explicitly by demographic differences between the student population and the teaching force, but by a range of political crises in the field of education.

BME teachers: a collective counterforce to institutional disadvantage

Through teacher leadership, community-based research, and public activism, Black teachers have left an indelible mark on teaching and learning practices across the British Isles. However, public appeals for BME teachers have often been informed by a national political crisis – from the crisis of Asian and Caribbean migration (1950s–1970s) and the crisis of racism in schools (1970s–1980s) to the crisis of Black (male) underachievement (1980s to 2000s). The postcolonial labour migration crisis of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s inspired the first set of national debates about the social and political benefits of increasing the presence of BME teachers in British schools (Dabydeen, Gilmore, and Jones 2008). This migration crisis became especially charged during the late 1960s and 1970s, when BME children entered the British school system in unprecedented numbers (Troyna 1993). But there was resistance to claims of migrants as the source of the crisis, rather than the minimally supportive context of British schools. In 1971, for instance, Grenadian youth worker and teacher-activist Bernard Coard prompted a shift in the national discourse on Black youth in state schools (Gillborn and Mirza 2000). With the publication of *How the West Indian Child Is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System*, Coard (1971) challenged dominant discourses about Black Caribbean pupils’ intellectual and behavioral ‘subnormality’ and focused instead on how an ensemble of social factors shaped the

educational disadvantage of BME pupils. Based on interviews and documentary analysis, Coard (1971) argued that the ‘underachievement’ of Black Caribbean pupils was not genetically designed but socially constructed, not culturally inherent but politically conditioned. Coard (1971) called for a dismantling of institutional racism in schools and an increase in teacher and staff diversity to support immigrant youth generally, and Black Caribbean youth specifically.

When government officials continued to advance narratives of Black ‘educational failure’ and provided limited adjustments to the social conditions of state schools, BME teachers founded Black supplementary schools as organic grassroots institutions fostering complex, contextually informed pedagogies (Reay and Mirza 1997). Reay and Mirza (1997) and Gerrard (2013), among others, highlighted Black supplementary schools as multi-heritage institutions organized principally by Black women as a social movement for educational change. The structure of class sessions varied from one institution to the next, but often included small group discussions, peer-to-peer teaching, and one-on-one tutorials – changing the relationship between teachers and students (Andrews 2014, 2016; Gerrard 2011). Black supplementary schools were hosted in community centres (private and government-run); churches (of multiple theological persuasions); educational institutions (primary, secondary, and tertiary); and a host of other anchor institutions in local boroughs throughout major cities (Maylor et al. 2013). Though a systematic analysis of the role of Black male teachers in supplementary schools has yet to be done in sociological research, evidence from recent studies has suggested that Black male teachers served in collaborative roles as co-teachers, co-funders, and administrators to support the educational progress of BME pupils underserved by state schools (Bhopal and Rhamie 2014; Maylor 2009; Wilkins and Lall 2011).

Discussions of the importance of BME teachers resurfaced during the national awakening to the crisis of racism in schools in the late 1970s and 1980s (Tomlinson 1982). Commenting on the deliberate recruitment of Black teachers in Britain throughout the 1980s, Evans (1988) argued that such efforts came ‘in part as a response to the crisis in ... school created by the resistance of Black pupils to the racism they encountered’ (184). Due to the protest of BME parents and teacher-activists, the Labour government called for an independent investigation into Caribbean underachievement in Britain. Following a multi-year inquiry into six local educational authorities, the commission, led by Anthony Rampton, produced its first report in 1981, in which the team highlighted the severity of teacher racism in British schools. *The Rampton Report* argued that cultural biases in IQ tests, limited information on diversity in teacher training programs, and consistently low teacher expectations informed the educational disadvantage of BME pupils, especially Black Caribbean ones. *The Rampton Report* called for a transformation of teacher expectations, the diversification of the teaching profession, and the implementation of explicitly antiracist policies in British schools. The report and the recommendations therein proved so controversial that the subsequent conservative government replaced Anthony Rampton with Lord Michael Swann, calling for more balanced findings. The final report, *Education for All*, acknowledged interpersonal and institutional racism along with the ‘pervasive climate of racism’ they create. However, rather than focusing on antiracist strategies in British schools, the report called for

an ‘inclusive multiculturalism’ that sought the advancement of all members of British society. In making the case for the increased presence and promotion of BME teachers in schools, *The Swann Report* maintained:

It is undoubtedly true that some ethnic minority teachers can play a particularly valuable ‘pastoral’ role within a multi-racial school both directly, through supporting and encouraging pupils and parents drawn from the same ethnic minority group, and indirectly, through advising their colleagues on the background and concerns of certain ethnic minority groups and ensuring that the practices and procedures of the school as a whole take account of the needs of the communities which they serve ... *it should never be assumed that each and every teacher of ethnic minority origin will be able or willing to accept this role.* (603) [italicized for emphasis].

Despite the requisite qualifications about the role of BME teachers in British schools, research from the 1980s to present highlight the limited pastoral, community, and disciplinary roles to which BME teachers are often confined in British schools (Bhopal and Rhamie 2014; Maylor 2009). Furthermore, even when BME teachers are not in lower-level leadership roles, they are regularly expected to serve as role models for Black pupils to raise Black students’ aspirations, improve their attitudes, and increase their achievement outcomes (Wilkins and Lall 2011). I elaborate on this below.

Black teachers as role models: prioritising aspirations, attitudes, and achievement

Since the release of *The Swann Report*, researchers have examined the polemics and potential of BME teachers as role models (Haque 2017a; Maylor 2009). Studies from the late 1970s to date point out that schools have recruited BME teachers to meet a number of (often unstated) social, behavioural, and educational goals, especially as the British government has sought to address the ‘Black underachievement crisis’ from the 1980s to present. According to Evans (1988), Troyna (1993), and Tomlinson (1982), for instance, government and school officials deemed Black teachers as appropriate role models for Black pupils, ‘better able to handle Black pupils’ (Evans 1988, 184). Additionally, Callender (2018) asserts, ‘[t]he call for black male teachers is often connected to their status as role models as an antidote to the issues facing black boys’ (167). But as scholarship in the United Kingdom, United States, Canada, Europe, and various parts of the world suggest, the assumption that all Black teachers are committed to improving Black pupils’ aspirations, attitudes, and achievement is flawed and worth interrogating (Brockenbrough 2012; Garcia and Lopez 2005; Rezai-Rashti and Martino 2010).

In their assessment of appeals for role models in teacher recruitment efforts of the late 1990s and early 2000s in England and Wales, Carrington and Skelton (2003) argued that:

Underlying official discourse in this sphere is the assumption that the ‘targeted recruitment’ of male or ethnic minority teachers will provide much-needed ‘role models’ in schools for those groups most likely to experience educational failure and disaffection. Thus, matching teachers and children by gender or ethnicity is seen as a panacea for male or Black ‘underachievement.’ (253)

Carrington and Skelton (2003) suggest that national calls to boost BME teacher representation were not driven primarily by a need for balanced demographic representation, but by an instrumentalist aim to address ‘underachieving,’ ‘disaffected,’ and ‘disadvantaged’ youth. The endorsement of BME teachers as role models by prominent Black figures such as Members of Parliament Diane Abbott, David Lammy, among others, has bolstered an uncritical acceptance of ‘role models’ as a key solution to the challenges BME and working-class young people face in schools. Having teachers as ‘surrogate fathers’ to model positive masculinities or ‘ethnic peers’ to challenge prevailing cultural stereotypes is largely a compensatory, micro-level practice to redress historic racial inequality. Based on interviews with 60 Black teachers at the primary and secondary levels, Maylor (2009) argued that proposals for ethnic and gender matching in teaching and role modelling in schools assume the critical consciousness of Black (male) teachers as a universal – or at the very least, widespread – inclination towards improving Black pupils’ outcomes. Such an assumption is grounded in racial essentialism, presuming Black teachers’ natural capacity to mentor and manage Black pupils (Francis et al. 2008). Claims of this kind reduce the complex nuances of Black male identities and investments. Maylor (2009) found that cultural similarity is not synonymous with rigorous relational training for effectively engaging BME pupils. In keeping with recent scholarship, Maylor (2009) reported:

The findings in this study demonstrate that the recruitment of Black teachers does not automatically convert into those teachers either desiring to serve as role models or feeling comfortable in such a role, or indeed being accepted or acknowledged as appropriate role models by all Black pupils. (17)

Maylor’s study suggested that not all Black teachers are recognized as authorities or positive role models by Black pupils, especially when working-class Black pupils perceive considerable taste, style, and economic differences between them and middle-class Black teachers.

The skills prioritized for Black teachers in Britain’s popular and policy discourses are in fact necessary for *all* teachers in schools. Initial Teacher Training (ITT) programmes can play a key role in challenging assumptions of racial and ethnic matching through courses that center racial and ethnic diversity. In their analysis of ITT, Bhopal and Ramie (2014) argued that despite anti-discrimination policies and equality laws, trainee teachers are often ill-equipped to negotiate race, equity, and diversity in school settings. This rings true for White and BME teachers. Bhopal, Harris, and Rhamie (2009) work suggested that trainee teachers desire more engagement with issues of race, equity, and inclusion in ITT courses, but such programmes have generally been less responsive to these concerns than they have been to boosting the number of BME teachers. Arguably, ITT programmes have been more attentive to the demands for role models than they have been to modelling the multiple roles teachers from a variety of backgrounds will need to play in Britain’s increasingly diverse schools (Bhopal, Harris, and Rhamie 2009; Callender 2018).

The wider literature on BME teachers in schools has suggested that whether it be the postcolonial labour migration crisis of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, the national awakening to the crisis of racism in schools in the 1980s, the Black ‘underachievement crisis’ of the late 1990s and 2000s, or the currently emerging ‘diversity crisis’ throughout

state schools and the public sector, calls for BME teachers are arguably motivated by their desired political utility rather than their creative intellectual acuity. Despite the benefits of the literature on the history, activism, and roles of Black and ethnic minority teachers in British schools (Gerrard 2013; Maylor 2009; Maylor et al. 2013), the empirical and analytical gaps in such work necessitate further research (Verma and Ashworth 1986). First, while the body of scholarship on BME teachers in the United Kingdom has focused on race and ethnicity, a sharp gender-sensitive lens is seldom applied. This flattens the experiences of BME teachers and limits explicit discussions of Black men's (and Black women's) experiences as teachers in schools. Second, very limited work has been done on how BME teachers negotiate school practices that limit their leadership in schools – practices that diversify the teaching base but maintain power often among White (upper) middle classes. This study examining the racialized and gendered experiences of Black male teachers in state schools and how they strategically negotiate leadership amid a predominantly White teaching force fills a gap in the literature.

Theoretical framework

This paper extends the Bourdieusian notion of habitus to illustrate how schools maintain White domination through the racialized roles Black male teachers are often assigned (implicitly or explicitly) as members of a predominantly White teaching force. In so doing, this article explicates the function of a racialized organizational habitus in schools that deploys diversity as a constitutive feature of White school leaders' self-interest, but maintains the racialized power structure at the highest levels of leadership.

The structural and status positions of BME teachers in schools are not at all arbitrary social outcomes. Bourdieu (1998) challenged seemingly natural hierarchical arrangements through his explication of the concept of habitus. Bourdieu (2002) defined habitus as a complex 'system of *long-lasting* (rather than permanent) scheme or schemata or structures of perception, conception and action' (27). Put differently, habitus is the unconscious sense of one's place and the place of others in relation to the individual (Nash 1999). Habitus speaks to the inevitable historical and social conditioning – the internalization of individual experiences and social histories that contributes to the outlooks and outcomes of individuals in society (Bourdieu 1998, 2006). Habitus is a set of unexamined, taken-for-granted perceptual schemes that inform habits of thought, action, and being (Bourdieu 2002). It is, as Reay (2004) noted, 'a complex interplay between past and present' and 'a compilation of collective and individual trajectories' (434). Although Bourdieu focused primarily on the individual habitus at work in social fields, I paid specific attention to the institutional or organizational habitus in this work (Atkinson 2011; Carter 2012; Stahl 2013). Organizational habitus is here defined as 'class-based dispositions, perceptions, and appreciations transmitted to individuals in a common organisational culture' (Horvet and Antonio 1999, 320).

Such class-based dispositions that inform symbolic boundaries in organizations are not formulated independent of race and ethnicity. Bonilla-Silva, Goar, and Embrick (2006), for example, highlighted the invisible, constraining forces of a White habitus in

key institutions. He defined the White habitus as the ‘racialized, uninterrupted socialization process that conditions and creates whites’ racial taste, perceptions, feelings, and emotions and their views on racial matters ... it promotes a sense of group belonging (a white culture of solidarity) and negative views about nonwhites’ (104). A White habitus is structurally consequential because it often informs social closures, the ‘process of subordination whereby one group monopolizes advantages by closing off opportunities to another group of outsiders beneath it which it determines as inferior and ineligible’ (Murphy 1988, 8). As Bonilla-Silva, Goar, and Embrick (2006) noted, the White habitus is not about individual moral character, but about the normative cultural and institutional conditions that legitimize and reproduce inequality (Mirza and Reay 2005; Reay and Mirza 1997).

In this contemporary moment, BME teachers in British schools are not deliberately deemed inferior. In fact, they are desirable resources, especially for discrete roles. They nevertheless experience a form of social closure that appears inclusive but is fundamentally a strategy in the preservation of White domination (Wallace 2017a, Wallace 2018a, 2018b, 2019). As a feature of the organizational conditions of schools, the diversity gap in state schools influences veteran BME teachers being frequently tapped as diversity actors (disciplinarians, pastoral care workers, role models, and mentors), which protects their schools’ reputation as responsive, non-racist institutions, but often undermines the reputation of Black male teachers as content experts and intellectual leaders (Bristol 2018; Callender 2018). This, I argue, is emblematic of a White organizational habitus that renders BME teachers as ideal (or perhaps, natural) diversity actors for department and extracurricular activities – especially given demographic disparities between the staff and the student populations in London schools – but not as qualified for leadership as (White) instructional leaders. Diversity roles can therefore function as traps for teachers interested in school-wide leadership.

Methods and data

Data for this article are drawn from the first phase of an on-going qualitative study of Black teachers in secondary schools across London. The larger study explores the institutional processes and procedures that shape the day-to-day professional experiences of Black male and female teachers in urban secondary schools. More specifically, the work examines Black teachers’ perceptions of the institutional mechanism that enables or restricts their professional advancement, despite their longstanding commitment to the profession. To fill gaps in the literature, the analysis rendered in this article focuses on the first round of interviews with 25 Black male teachers conducted in 2017. Although the participants taught a variety of subjects and worked in schools of differing sizes, all participants had 5 or more years of full-time teaching experience, with most having over 10 years of experience. Interviews considered how these participants negotiated the gendered and racialized restrictions placed on them in schools.

The Black African and Caribbean male participants discussed throughout this work were recruited through four strategies. The first strategy included open calls across social media and professional development networks for BME teachers in the United Kingdom. The first four participants responded to advertisements made in the new Black, Asian, and Minority Ethnic in Education network (BAMEed) – an association

designed to support the promotion and progression of BME teachers into senior roles in schools. The second strategy, a snowball sample approach, yielded 11 participants outside the BAMEed network, some of whom came at the recommendation of BAMEed members. Eight additional participants came through outreach to senior leaders in secondary schools across South and East London. The final two participants came through personal access to supplementary school leaders in South and East London working in secondary schools.

The Black male teachers in this study are by no means a homogeneous group. The participants varied by age, national origin, generational identity, class background, ethnic identification, and citizenship status. Most participants were middle-class British nationals in their mid-30s working in ethnically diverse schools with a predominantly White teaching staff. All but four participants came from working-class households and were the first in their families to attend university. Additionally, pseudonyms were used throughout for the purposes of anonymity and confidentiality. On average, interviews lasted for 1 hour and 40 minutes, with the shortest lasting 1 hour and 10 minutes and the longest lasting 2 hours and 25 minutes.

All interviews for this study were digitally recorded, professionally transcribed, and carefully analyzed. Transcripts were uploaded to NVivo and analyzed accordingly through two related phases. To enable inductive and deductive analyses – and transitions between the two – I pursued two rounds of coding (Creswell 2003; Heyl 2001). In the first iteration, I labeled all data using broad themes on the gendered racism that informed the professional experiences of Black male teachers in schools. Attendant codes includes ‘institutional processes of racism,’ ‘assigned and assumed roles of Black male teachers,’ and ‘limits of promotion and career advancement in school.’ In the second iteration, I deployed more specific codes to elucidate the experiences of Black male teachers. These codes included ‘Black men as behavior management specialists,’ ‘barriers to senior leadership,’ and ‘networking with White teachers.’ Through an iterative process, I refined the coding scheme to access all surplus meanings expressed during the interviews. In the section that follows, I outline the most substantive factors that informed the leadership and learning of Black male teachers in state schools.

Findings

The findings suggest that the Black male teachers in this study encountered three common dynamics that are often – but not always – sequential in their professional trajectories. First, they were ‘backed,’ winning support for White senior leaders and BME veteran teachers to pursue mid-level appointments like ‘Head of Year,’ ‘Head of Department,’ ‘Instructional Coach,’ among others. Next, they were ‘blocked,’ capping their professional advancement towards senior management roles. Last, they were ‘burned,’ encountering discrepancies between what senior management suggests about their value and the prevailing limitations on their progress. I elaborate on these findings in the sections that follow.

Being backed: the power of white sanction and BME support

Participants described being ‘backed’ as including, but exceeding, moments of commendation or fleeting acts of advocacy. Approximately 21 of the 25 participants noted being backed as a *process* of moral and relational support from a select few senior colleagues to consider administrative and pastoral care roles beyond their capacity as classroom teachers. All participants regarded such recommendations as ‘votes of confidence’ or ‘marks of approval’ that engendered a sense of belonging and communicated their personal and professional worth to their schools. As participants sought to make modest career moves in predominantly White institutions, being backed proved not only crucial but also necessary for negotiating the racialized institutional habitus. Participants suggested that being ‘backed’ came in two distinct but related forms: White sanction and support of senior BME staff, particularly from BME women.

According to Miller (2016), White sanction ‘occurs where the skills and capabilities of a BME individual are, first, acknowledged and, second, endorsed/promoted by a white individual, who is positioned as a broker and/or mediator acting on behalf of the interests of the BME individual’ (12). Participants described White sanction as a necessary stage of the promotion and progression process in schools with a predominantly White teaching staff. Samuel, a 15-year veteran Mathematics teacher, maintained, ‘It’s almost impossible to get ahead in these schools without a white mentor, advisor, sponsor, advocate Very few Black people are part of the inner leadership circle, and most times there are none. You need a White ally to invite you in.’ Similarly, Kwesi, a seasoned teacher of 13 years, suggested that White sanction ‘is the favor you get from certain specific White leaders Their endorsement of your skills and capabilities can help you get far, fast – at least, faster than you would on your own.’ In other words, the power of White sanction rests in its capacity to make BME teachers (more) legitimate candidates for school leadership. White advocates invoke the names of BME teachers, highlight their experiences in the BME teachers’ absence in predominantly White leadership circles, and endorse the candidacy of BME staff for key roles.

Samuel’s and Kwesi’s views shared above are emblematic of ones held by other participants. In fact, 20 of the 25 participants mentioned the import of White advocates in White staff teams for recognizing talented BME teachers and recommending them for leadership. As seven-year English teacher, Thando, explained: ‘It doesn’t matter how talented you are as a teacher . . . If one of these White advocates don’t recommend you to the team and confirm your talent, the members of the team won’t believe that you are to be taken seriously.’ To some like Thando and Kwesi, White sanction is arguably necessary, not because BME teachers possess or display deficiencies in their teaching craft, but because it is useful for negotiating White-led institutions. The power to hire, fire, and promote still rests almost exclusively in the hands of White teachers and leaders in their schools, despite diverse student intake. In school contexts led by White Headteachers with primarily white Deputy and Assistant Headteachers, ‘White sanction’ arguably becomes central to professional advancement.

It must be noted that the ‘need’ for White sanction in schools says more about them as institutions than it does about specific BME teachers like Samuel and Kewsi who work within them. When the unspoken cultural codes of a school or the informal rules

of promotion necessitate approval, endorsement, and brokerage from a White advocate, the organizational dynamics and institutional power structure should be questioned. In fact, some participants did just that because not all of them viewed White sanction favourably. Some participants suggested that White sanction is not a practice of social justice or structural change. White sanction maintains the dominant racialized power structure in schools, preserving authority among white staff and confining BME teachers to select pastoral roles. For instance, Randy, an English Literature teacher of 10 years, asserted:

Everyone needs some kind of mentor or sponsor to get ahead. But what I don't think other White teachers realize is that they are considered for everything, especially the key roles ... A lot of the times, yeah, school leaders think Black teachers are only good for certain roles ... that doesn't happen to White teachers. They can do anything.

Randy is not alone in his critique of the restrictive roles assigned to be BME teachers. As Justin, a Science teacher for the past 6 years, argued deftly, race and ethnicity inform the role that BME teachers negotiate:

... I'm still quite new to my school, but what I saw at my last school is the same thing I see at my new school ... It's the same thing my Mum told me about in all the schools she worked in as a qualified teacher. White leaders, even when they are allies, really only see us as carers or monitors. They give us roles that prioritise behaviour management, parental engagement, community relations, sport[s] and club advising, planning cultural and talent events ... It's like we get these roles to be role models for the race. They should just call us race models ... I know it's only a matter of time before they ask me to mentor the struggling Black boys like they did at my last school. Of course, if you have a young Black man on staff, that's what he should do in schools. I have yet to hear any of my White colleagues at this school or my old school being asked to mentor White working-class boys. Aren't they the really underachieving ones?

Justin's multi-institutional analysis of race, role restrictions, and role modeling pointed not only to the limits of White sanction but also to the racialized institutional habitus that permits White teachers wide-ranging engagement with multiple roles of an intellectual and relational nature and the confinement of BME teachers to 'race modelling.' In schools across London, a racialized institutional habitus functions as 'a complex internalised core from which everyday experiences emanate,' privileging the White middle classes especially (Reay 1995, 98). The set of historical and contemporary practices in schools that inform the participation and progress of teachers reveals race and class projects that privilege the White middle classes with the greatest concentration of power in schools and access to a range of roles from entry to senior levels, while relegating BME teachers to complementary or accessory roles. Through White sanction, Black male teachers like Justin are positioned as diversity actors, particularly profitable to schools for helping underperforming Black boys, liaising with minority ethnic parents, and managing student behavior (Brockenbrough 2012; Rezai-Rashti and Martino 2010).

Fortunately for participants, White sanction is not the only source of support for BME teachers' progress in schools. Participants reported getting advice and predictions from more senior BME teachers about promotions in schools. Like White sanction, BME support is informal. All but one participant suggested that BME support did not come through public or formal institutional mechanisms, but discretely through one-on-

-one relationships or small group collaborations. Support from BME teachers often took a number of years to engender the trust needed to discuss promotion, pay, and professional development in considerable detail. Of the 25 participants, 19 confirmed that over time, they received important suggestions and career advice that aided in their professional advancements. For instance, Aaron, a French teacher for over 9 years, suggested that in the absence of formal affinity networks in school to support BME teachers, his 'extended collegueship' with three more senior BME teachers granted him insights into leadership prospects. He explained:

... You can't have a known support group for minority teachers in my schools. Leaders will think you are starting a race problem ... but I'm grateful for three of my fellow Black and minority teachers at this school While my White line manager may tell me he wants to put me up for a certain position, these three senior colleagues have me thinking three, four, or five steps ahead ... about not just being Head of Year, but Head of Department and Assistant Headteacher and Deputy Headteacher My extended collegueship has taught me more than any manager ever has.

Commenting similarly on the role of select senior teachers in plotting pathways towards career advancement, Charles, a physics teacher with 13 years of classroom experience, argued:

I have learned so much from minority teachers who are steps ahead of me ... I have four mentor colleagues ... they help me understand the school as an organization ... help me to respond and negotiate when I am asked to mentor or punish Black boys because of their behavior, which makes me angry ... They help me avoid some of the mistakes they have made ... It's easier for White teachers to have this kind of network because there are so many of them When there are only few minority teachers, you have to be intentional about finding that kind of support ...

In the aforementioned extracts, Charles and Aaron celebrated the access they have to BME 'mentor colleagues,' but remain critical of the racial logics of the schools in which they serve. Like other participants, they questioned the fear of minority ethnic affinity groups in schools and 'the race problem' such alliances provoke. Additionally, they expressed unease with assumptions behind race-gender matching done by school leaders who requested that they mentor Black boys because they are Black men (Maylor 2009). These factors are emblematic of a latent racialized institutional habitus that renders the White middle classes as normative powerbrokers and minority ethnic teachers as 'othered' accessories. The institutional Whiteness that Charles, Aaron, and their contemporaries negotiate fails to recognize that by virtue of the predominance of White teachers in schools, numerically and politically, White teachers regularly have their own racial affinity group convening. Moreover, through recurring requests, school leaders make gendered and racialized assumptions about the relational links between Black boys and Black male teachers, when such race-gender matching is seldom applied to White men and boys (Bhopal and Rhamie 2014; Ingram 2009). To note Charles's and Aaron's commentary as one-off, singular reports on individual experiences is to miss the analytical heft of their critique of institutional Whiteness. Participants like Charles and Aaron summoned a more radical racial imagination that spotlights the normative cultural and institutional practices that bolster Whiteness, all the while serving diverse populations and professing equality (Wallace 2017b; Watson 2017).

Being blocked: black male teachers critiquing the career ceiling

Despite the power of White sanction and the benefits of support from select BME teachers, there are limits to the long-term efficacy of such support strategies in the lives of Black male teachers. Overwhelmingly, participants reported encountering a seemingly impenetrable career ceiling in their schools that is emblematic of institutionalized racism. Participants were not barred from upper leadership explicitly, but rather blocked through a more insidious and seemingly 'rational' process in which participants seldom received sustained relational support and requisite professional mentorship opportunities to advance to senior levels like some of their White middle-class colleagues. These participants, coming largely from Black working-class families, suggested that White sanction does not result in mentorship. Additionally, they reported that the entry-level or intermediary pastoral roles they have held in schools were used as 'holding zones' or 'professional purgatory,' as participants put it – positions which promising BME teachers struggle to advance from because of opportunity hoarding. Elaborations on these findings are offered below.

Although 24 of the 25 participants acknowledged the benefits of White sanction in their own professional trajectories, 18 leveled critiques on the decidedly limited long-term influence of White sanction and the White advocates who provide it. White sanction legitimated the participants' candidacies and endorsed their selection for pastoral or departmental roles, but came with little or no expressed investment in the continued promotion of BME teachers. The interview extracts below illuminate in-school mentorship for emerging teacher-leaders as a racialized political act in London state schools.

Gregory, a physical education teacher for the past 10 years, suggested that shared heritage among teachers in schools influences mentorship prospects. He reported:

... for me, mentorship has made all the difference. I am a Department Head and I got here because of a Black mentor at another school ... it would have been difficult for me to find that [mentorship] here, but my White colleagues get that kind of mentorship easily The issue is when there are so many White teachers in a school, newer White teachers have so many potential mentors to choose from because there is a large number of senior colleagues who have identities and interests in common with them. But when you're a Black man from the working class, teaching with White staff? Now that's tricky business if you want a mentor ... this becomes a barrier ...

Consider, too, comparable arguments from Paul, an early-career History teacher, about the absence of in-school mentorship as a barrier to promotion:

I think at my school, my fellow teachers mean well, but I think they are afraid to mentor minority teachers ... or maybe they are just not that committed to having minority teachers advance. Not sure why that's the case ... in the meantime, White teachers who came into the school after me are being well mentored and are getting promoted ahead of me It's just interesting to watch how race works out in who gets mentored or not. Having someone show you the ropes, as it were, is key, but when you don't have access to that around you like others do ... that's how you get blocked from some positions ...

Commentary like these from Paul and Greg suggested that the limited access to mentorship is one of the primary means through which Black male teachers are stymied in their career progression. However, the more provocative preoccupation of these

participants was not necessarily the absence of in-school mentors, but how the racial configuration of the teaching staff informs an institutional habitus that enables the advancement of some White teachers more than their BME peers. For participants, the barriers that arise from these contexts are primarily racial and relational. Such barriers point to a sociopolitical reality that BME teachers encounter daily, in which they are not only minoritized numerically but also marginalized socially. The experiences of marginalization that Paul and Greg shared about their schools offered nuanced insights into the function of racial domination. Racial domination is not always the outcome of overt racism; it is also the product of normative institutional practices that result in unequal opportunities.

Opportunity hoarding is another means through which participants were blocked from key leadership roles. Lewis and Diamond (2015) defined opportunity hoarding as ‘the process through which dominant groups who have control over some good [information], regulate its circulation, thus preventing out-groups from having full access to it’ (155). In the experiences of the participants in this study, opportunity hoarding manifested itself through the selective supply of information on promotion possibilities or limited circulation of advanced notices on criteria for more senior roles (Lewis and Diamond 2015). The following examples from participants illuminate the nuances of blocking through opportunity hoarding.

Samuel, the most experienced teacher of all the participants, pointed out the impact of information hoarding on the advancement of BME teachers like him. He explained:

... There are times when senior people tell their closest junior colleagues about upcoming vacancies. You see that junior colleague taking on extra responsibilities, speaking up more in meetings, getting a lot of face time with senior management, you know, performing in a more public sort of way for about three months ... and then you hear the news that a senior position is open. When you check it out, that junior colleague who has been performing in public to demonstrate mastery has known about that position for months now ... You can't call it discrimination because then you will get ostracized and definitely won't be considered for a senior position in the future ... You just keep that stiff upper lip, work harder, and try to get access to the networks where senior folks will share information with you ...

In Samuel's case, and in those of several other participants, being blocked did not occur through overt, expressed rejection of BME teachers. The nature of blocking through information hoarding functioned in a more covert, selective fashion. Blocking tactics like selective information hoarding render promotion patterns normative and meritocratic until BME teachers discern the blocking mechanisms at work in their schools. Another long-time teacher, Andre, explained:

I've been at my school for seven years now, and I can tell you that how promotion works on paper is not really how it works in reality ... Some White teachers know about positions in the school long before it gets advertised ... Meanwhile we [BME teachers] are stuck in professional purgatory. It's no accident ... it's no coincidence.

In another interview, Randy reinforced Samuel's and Andre's claims. He argued:

Sometimes a White person on the senior executive team knows that they are leaving, and they haven't announced it. They secretly pick a successor months in advance and start coaching that person ... Before you know it, that [selected] person is shadowing the

senior exec. member regularly The position gets advertised because by law it has to . . . but the way things work sometimes is that there is a way around the law to benefit those who are like the leaders – you know, privileged, White British people.

Like many of their peers, Samuel, Andre, and Randy called attention to the nature of institutionalized Whiteness that reproduces racial inequalities among teachers in schools. Their experiences showed that specific mechanisms are at play in schools that create barriers and sustain boundaries among teachers interested in school leadership. Their perspectives also reinforced the fact that the inclusion of BME teachers in entry-level leadership tracks may change perceptions of the power of Whiteness in schools and to wider publics, but does not change the institutional arrangements that preserve White privilege and disadvantage BME teachers. While the organized union of BME teachers in schools invokes a ‘race problem,’ the institutional habitus of schools allows White middle-class teachers to advance selective information-sharing strategies that maintain White leadership as the institutional norm (Ahmed, 2007; Picower 2009).

Being burned: highlighting the psychosocial effects of blocking on black male teachers

Being burned proved to be another significant feature of the participants’ professional experiences. I define ‘being burned’ as the moments of deep disappointment and internal distress when the participants realize that despite their investments in their schools and their commitment to diversity actor roles, their schools would not promote them due to a racialized opportunity structure. Participants reported questioning their worth in their respective schools and pursuing positions in what they hoped would be institutions more supportive of their professional advancement. The results showed that 23 of the 25 participants reported seeking promotions in their schools for which they were qualified, but after a number of years in pastoral roles and repeated attempts to engage in more strategic work, they still had not managed to move beyond entry-level or intermediary leadership. After being ‘backed’ and then ‘blocked,’ most participants turned their criticisms inward, questioning their value as teachers. Howard, a Media Studies instructor for the past 11 years, has sought promotion four times in the 5 years at his current secondary school. He explained:

... I left the school I was at before because after 6 years, I couldn’t get beyond Deputy Head of Year. I poured my life into that job I left and went to this school, and the same thing is happening I know I’m a really good teacher and leader. My line managers have told me all the time that I exceed their expectations . . . but after five years and four tries at other leadership roles, I’m still Deputy Head of Year It’s demoralizing.

Similarly, Tommy, a Mathematics teacher with 7 years of experience, sought promotion three times in 5 years. The toll on his psyche was not based primarily on the rejection he experienced, but on the lack of clarity about how to advance from one stage of leadership to the next. Tommy explained:

I have been in the teaching game for a few years now, and I’ve been denied leadership opportunities a lot of times You can’t get too angry about that. What does my head in

is that the leaders keep praising me, telling me I'm amazing, that the pupils and the parents love me, that I am valuable to the school, but their actions or their decisions say the complete opposite They don't even have the decency to tell me exactly what I can do to get the promotion I'm looking for. I have asked and I still can't get a good answer I keep thinking, something must be wrong with me If this continues, I'm not going to be a teacher for very long. I'm young enough to make a career shift.

Though the conditions of Simon's case were different, the outcome was similar to Tommy's and Howard's. A seasoned History teacher, Simon, sought leadership of his department twice. Yet, despite being the most experienced teacher in his department and having years of outstanding GCSE examination results from his students, Simon has started to interrogate himself as the primary source of his 'professional stagnation.' He reasoned:

I think after a while, the whole thing just takes its toll. You are giving your everything to an institution led by White people and you're forever playing a supportive role while they lead It makes me depressed sometimes . . . I don't even know how to change this Maybe I'm the problem? I just can't get that out of my head.

Extracts like the aforementioned ones from Tommy, Howard, and Simon are representative of 17 participants' responses to repeated denial in their schools. They challenge the institutional practices that keep decision-making processes and criteria for promotion nebulous, question their individual talents, and in some instances raise suspicion about their longevity in the profession. Participants like Tommy and Howard have found themselves caught in the diversity trap – serving in advising and care roles in ways that obfuscate their respective institutions from claims of racism. Participants repeatedly encounter a racialized opportunity structure that denies them promotion and keeps them in roles as diversity actors, while their White peers advance to more senior roles (Lynn and Jennings 2009; Picower 2009). In this regard, the inclusion of BME teachers in leadership networks does not result in a transformation of Whiteness and the power it holds in school leadership (Coard 1971).

While most participants internalized critiques or questioned their value in their schools in recent months, some sought to offset negative outcomes by pursuing positions elsewhere (Wallace 2017b). Of the 25 participants, five confessed to actively pursuing jobs in and outside of education in environments they hoped would be more hospitable to their development. For them, leaving their schools or the teaching profession altogether proved to be an act of resistance, a form of self-affirmation, and an investment in a healthy state of mind. Consider, for example, Shaun's experience. An English teacher who has helped his school receive awards from the local educational authority for community engagement, Shaun is now invested in leaving his school and/or the profession due to limited opportunities to progress into more senior leadership. He reported:

After eight years as a teacher and four years in this school, I just can't seem to get ahead. I can't keep doing work that makes the school look good and the outcomes keep me stuck I'm looking at other schools, but also looking into work in other industries When there is no clear investment in your future or leadership potential, this is how schools lose good teachers."

James also provided a sobering analysis of the weight of Whiteness in schools and how efforts to limit its power are a worthwhile but frustrating pursuit across industries. A French teacher at his current school for the past 7 years, James argued:

After seven years here, I just think it's time to leave teaching. It's not just about one school ... these issues are all over the place ... When I realized there was no room to grow in my previous role, I left and went to another school. I left that school and then came to this school. I devoted seven years of my life here, coming early, staying late ... watching them promote people to Head of Department while I am still doing the work of Department Head without getting the pay. I'm just going to leave teaching, but the sad reality is that I don't know if the legal or business fields are any better ... White leaders are in charge and there is hardly room to advance except for one or two tokens ... This is a sad reality ... but I still have to try though.

In this extract, James called attention to a racialized institutional habitus in schools that reinforce White domination (Mirza and Meeto 2012; Sleeter 2001). The ubiquity of Whiteness in British schools and related organizations points to the fact that leaving the teaching profession does not necessarily limit the power of a racialized institutional habitus that contributes to the reproduction of racial inequality. For participants like Kwesi, James, and Tommy, among others, being 'burned' caused them to consider leaving the profession and regularly inspired them to pursue jobs in other schools, with the hope that different institutional dynamics would yield better outcomes for their careers. What James' comments underscored was that regardless of context, in or outside of schools, a racialized institutional habitus is at work preserving the interests of the White middle classes.

Conclusion

This article reports findings from an exploratory study on the professional experiences of Black male teachers in London state schools. The results suggest that while the experiences of BME teachers are complex and wide-ranging, three common dynamics prevailed in the trajectories of participants. First, participants were 'backed' for key entry-level leadership roles by White advocates. Second, they were 'blocked' from upper-level leadership roles through information hoarding. Third, they were 'burned' when they recognized differences between the praise they received for their leadership and the promotions they were denied. The outcome of this sequence is what I regard in this work as a 'diversity trap,' allowing White-led institutions to benefit from the presence and labor of BME teachers as diversity actors, yet such teachers remain confined to those roles, with a limited capacity to engage in upper-level leadership roles. The diversity trap is not a one-off, individual dilemma; it is, in fact, a structural challenge that warrants multipronged strategies. Drawing on Bourdieu's notion of habitus, this article underscores how a racialized institutional habitus limits opportunities for people of color who are interested in senior roles. To that end, not only does Britain's teaching force need to and welcome a more representative staff, but the organizational culture of schools also needs to be transformed, making promotion prospects and criteria much more transparent (Bristol 2015; Carter 2005, 2012).

Further research needs to be done on the gendered experiences of BME teachers in Britain – throughout Europe and indeed across the world – to explicate with greater precision the global architecture of gendered White supremacy and how it shapes the field of education. The dynamics noted in this article cannot be relegated to the United Kingdom, for they abound in the United States, South Africa, Canada, France, the Netherlands, and diverse parts of the African diaspora. Future research should pursue cross-national analyses within the African diaspora to understand better how racism circulates across national borders and through diasporic circuits to protect the power of privileged parties (Bell 1992; Bonilla-Silva, Goar, and Embrick 2006; Desmond and Emirbayer 2009).

While this article focuses on the experiences of Black male teachers, the claims of deliberate disadvantage and institutional racism in education that these participantsexperienced have been registered in studies in the United Kingdom from the late 1970s to present. Despite the findings of such research, radical structural changes have yet to be consistently prioritized in British schools (Miller 2016). The Runnymede Trust's recent nationally representative study also pointed out some of these dynamics. While the results sparked a national debate and were recently corroborated by former Prime Minister Theresa May's *Race Disparity Audit* of the racial injustices in the field of education, schools and state authorities are still struggling to implement solutions. Information is clearly not enough to initiate and sustain change. Because BME teachers are the ones underrepresented in school leadership and are the ones most affected by the diversity trap, solutions for improving their experiences should not be sought in schools, the government, and related bodies exclusively. Out-of-school networks for BME teachers such as BAMEed and related affinity groups can help BME teachers organize, build power locally, and affect policies nationally. Put differently, the solutions to the diversity trap described in this work are unlikely to come from those who profit from its existence. BME teachers, male and female, should therefore continue to establish networks, inaugurate programmes, and formulate policies for local educational authorities to ensure the system-wide professional advancement of all BME teachers.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the author.

References

- Adams, R. 2017. "BME Teachers Often Given Stereotypical Roles in Schools, Survey Finds." *The Guardian*, April, 34. <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2017/apr/14/bme-teachers-stereotypical-roles-in-schools>
- Ahmed, S. 2007. "A Phenomenology of Whiteness." *Feminist Theory* 8 (2): 149–168. doi:10.1177/1464700107078139.
- Andrews, K. 2014. "Toward a Black Radical Independent Education: Black Radicalism, Independence and the Supplementary School Movement." *The Journal of Negro Education* 83 (1): 5–14. doi:10.7709/jnegroeducation.83.1.0005.
- Andrews, K. 2016. "The Problem of Political Blackness: Lessons from the Black Supplementary School Movement." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 39 (11): 2060–2078. doi:10.1080/01419870.2015.1131314.

- Atkinson, W. 2011. "From Sociological Fictions to Social Fictions: Some Bourdieusian Reflections on the Concepts of 'institutional Habitus' and 'family Habitus.'" *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 32 (3): 331–347. doi:10.1080/01425692.2011.559337.
- Bell, D. 1992. *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism*. New York: Basic Books.
- Bhopal, K., and J. Rhamie. 2014. "Initial Teacher Training: Understanding 'race,' Diversity and Inclusion." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 17 (3): 304–325. doi:10.1080/13613324.2013.832920.
- Bhopal, K., R. Harris, and J. Rhamie. 2009. *The Teaching of "Race", Diversity and Inclusion on PGCE Courses: A Case Study Analysis of University of Southampton (1 No. 1)*. London: University of Southampton.
- Bonilla-Silva, E., C. Goar, and D. Embrick. 2006. "When Whites Flock Together: The Social Psychology of White Habitus." *Critical Sociology* 32 (2–3): 229–253. doi:10.1163/156916306777835268.
- Bourdieu, P. 1998. *Acts of Resistance: Against the Myth of Our Time*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Bourdieu, P. 2002. "Habitus." In *Habitus: A Sense of Place*, edited by J. Hilher and E. Rooksby, 27–34. Aldershot: Ashgate.
- Bourdieu, P. 2006. "The Forms of Capital." In *Education, Globalisation and Social Change*, edited by H. Lauder, P. Brown, J. Dillabough, and A. Halsey, 105–118. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Bristol, T. 2015. "Teaching Boys: Towards a Theory of Gender-relevant Pedagogy." *Gender and Education* 27 (1): 53–68. doi:10.1080/09540253.2014.986067.
- Bristol, T. J. 2018. "To Be Alone or in a Group : An Exploration into How the School- Based Experiences Differ for Black Male Teachers across One Urban School District." *Urban Education* 53 (3): 334–354. doi:10.1177/0042085917697200.
- Bristol, T. J., and M. Shirrell. 2019. "Who Is Here to Help Me? the Work-Related Social Networks of Staff of Color in Two Mid-Sized Districts." *American Educational Research Journal* 56 (3): 868–898. doi:10.3102/0002831218804806.
- Bristol, T. J., and R. B. Goings. 2019. "Exploring the Boundary Heightening Experiences of Black Male Teachers: Lessons for Teacher Education." *Journal of Teacher Education* 70 (1): 51–64. doi:10.1177/0022487118789367.
- Brockenbrough, E. 2012. "'you Ain't My Daddy!': Black Male Teachers and the Politics of Surrogate Fatherhood." *International Journal of Inclusive Education* 16 (4): 357–372. doi:10.1080/13603116.2011.555091.
- Brown, A. 2009. "'O Brotha Where are Thou?' Examining the Ideological Discourses of African American Male Teachers Working with African American Male Students." *Race, Ethnicity, and Education* 12 (4): 473–493. doi:10.1080/13613320903364432.
- Brown, A. 2011. "Same Old Stories": The Black Male in Social Science and Educational Literature, 1930s to the Present." *Teachers College Record* 113 (9): 2047–2079.
- Callender, C. 2018. "Needles in a Haystack: An Exploratory Study of Black Male Teachers in England." *Management in Education* 32 (4): 167–175. doi:10.1177/0892020618791656.
- Carrington, Bruce, and Christine Skelton. 2003. "Re-thinking 'Role Models': Equal Opportunities in Teacher Recruitment in England and Wales." *Journal of Education Policy* 18 (3): 253–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02680930305573>.
- Carter, P. 2005. *Keepin' It Real: School Success beyond Black and White*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Carter, P. 2012. *Stubborn Roots: Race, Culture & Inequality in U.S. And South African Schools*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Coard, B. 1971. *How the West Indian Child Is Made Educationally Subnormal in the British School System*. London: New Beacon Books.
- Creswell, J. 2003. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative and Mixed Methods Approaches*. London: Sage Publications.
- Dabydeen, D., J. Gilmore, and C. Jones. 2008. *The Oxford Companion to Black British History*. edited by D. Dabydeen, J. Gilmore, and C. Jones. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Desmond, M., and M. Emirbayer. 2009. "What Is Racial Domination?" *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race* 6 (2): 335–355. doi:10.1017/S1742058X09990166.

- Evans, G. 1988. "Those Loud Black Girls." In *Learning to Lose: Sexism and Education*, edited by D. Spender and E. Sarah, 183–190. London: Women's Press.
- Francis, B., C. Skelton, B. Carrington, C. Hutchings, B. Read, and I. Hall. 2008. "A Perfect Match? Pupils' and Teachers' Views of the Impact of Matching Educators and Learners by Gender." *Research Papers in Education Journal* 23 (1): 21–36. doi:10.1080/02671520701692510.
- Garcia, O., and R. Lopez. 2005. "Teachers' Initial Training in Cultural Diversity in Spain: Attitudes and Pedagogical Strategies." *Intercultural Education* 16 (5): 433–442. doi:10.1080/14675980500378482.
- Gerrard, J. 2011. "Gender, Community and Education: Cultures of Resistance in Socialist Sunday Schools and Black Supplementary Schools." *Gender and Education* 23 (6): 711–727. doi:10.1080/09540253.2010.528378.
- Gerrard, J. 2013. "Self Help and Protest: The Emergence of Black Supplementary Schooling in England." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 16 (1): 32–58. doi:10.1080/13613324.2012.733685.
- Gillborn, D., and H. Mirza. 2000. *Educational Inequality: Mapping Race, Class and Gender. A Synthesis of Research Evidence*. London: OFSTED.
- Glaze, B. 2017. "British Schools are Suffering from "considerable" and "stubbornly Persistent" Racism, Report Claims." *Mirror*, July 6, 4. <https://www.mirror.co.uk/news/politics/british-schools-suffering-considerable-stubbornly-10744247?service=responsive>
- Haque, Z. 2017a. *Visible Minorities, Invisible Teachers: BME Teachers in the Education System in England*. London. <https://www.nasuw.org.uk/uploads/assets/uploaded/6576a736-87d3-4a21-837fd1a1ea4aa2c5.pdf>.
- Haque, Z. 2017b. "Pay Is Driving Ethnic Minority Teachers Out of the Classroom." *The Times*, July 6, 7. <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/pay-is-driving-ethnic-minority-teachers-out-of-the-classroom-h3xwg35lf>
- Heyl, B. 2001. "Ethnographic Interviewing." In *Handbook of Ethnography*, edited by P. Atkinson, A. Coffey, S. Delamont, J. Lofland, and L. Lofland, 369–383. London: Sage Publications.
- Horvet, E., and A. Antonio. 1999. "'Hey, Those Shoes are Out of Uniform': African American Girls in an Elite High School and the Importance of Habitus." *Anthropology & Education Quarterly* 30 (3): 317–342. doi:10.1525/aeq.1999.30.3.317.
- Ingram, N. 2009. "Working-class Boys, Educational Success and the Misrecognition of Working-class Culture." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 30 (4): 421–434. doi:10.1080/01425690902954604.
- Lewis, A., and J. Diamond. 2015. *Despite the Best Intentions: How Racial Inequality Thrives in Good Schools*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lewis, C., and I. Toldson. 2013. "Black Male Teachers: Diversifying the United States' Teacher Workforce." In *Black Male Teachers: Diversifying the United States' Teacher Workforce*, edited by C. Lewis and I. Toldson, xiii–xv. New York: Emerald Group Publishing.
- Lynn, M., and M. E. Jennings. 2009. "Power, Politics, and Critical Race Pedagogy: A Critical Race Analysis of Black Male Teachers' Pedagogy." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 12 (2): 173–196. doi:10.1080/13613320902995467.
- Martino, W., and G. M. Rezai-Rashti. 2010a. "Male Teacher Shortage: Black Teachers' Perspectives." *Gender and Education* 22 (3): 247–262. doi:10.1080/09540250903474582.
- Maylor, U. 2009. "'they Do Not Relate to Black People like Us': Black Teachers as Role Models for Black Pupils." *Journal of Education Policy* 24 (1): 1–21. doi:10.1080/02680930802382946.
- Maylor, U., A. Rose, S. Minty, A. Ross, T. Issa, and K. A. Kuyok. 2013. "Exploring the Impact of Supplementary Schools on Black and Minority Ethnic Pupils' Mainstream Attainment." *British Educational Research Journal* 39 (1): 107–125. doi:10.1080/01411926.2011.614689.
- Miller, P. 2016. "'white Sanction', Institutional, Group and Individual Interaction in the Promotion and Progression of Black and Minority Ethnic Academics and Teachers in England." *Power and Education* 8 (3): 205–221. doi:10.1177/1757743816672880.
- Mirza, H., and D. Reay. 2005. "Doing Parental Involvement Differently: Black Women's Participation as Educators and Mothers in Black Supplementary Schooling." In *Activating Participation*, edited by G. Crozier, 137–154. Stoke-on-Trent: Trentham Books.

- Mirza, H., and V. Meetoo. 2012. *Respecting Difference: Race, Faith and Culture for Teacher Educators*. London: Institute of Education Press.
- Msibi, T. 2012. "‘I’m Used to It Now’: Experiences of Homophobia among Queer Youth in South African Township Schools." *Gender and Education* 24 (5): 515–533. doi:10.1080/09540253.2011.645021.
- Murphy, R. 1988. *Social Closure: The Theory of Monopolization and Exclusion*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Nash, R. 1999. "Bourdieu, ‘habitus’, and Educational Research: Is It All Worth the Candle?" *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 20 (2): 175–187. doi:10.1080/0142569995399.
- Pabon, A. J. M. 2017. "In Hindsight and Now Again: Black Male Teachers’ Recollections on the Suffering of Black Male Youth in US Public Schools." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 20: 766–780. doi:10.1080/13613324.2016.1195359.
- Pells, R. 2017 July 6. "Black and Minority Teachers Face ‘inherent Racism’ in UK Schools, Report Warns." *The Independent*, 33. <http://www.independent.co.uk/news/education/education-news/bme-teachers-racism-uk-schools-black-minority-ethnic-education-nasuwtrunneymede-trust-a7827131.html>
- Picower, B. 2009. "The Unexamined Whiteness of Teaching: How White Teachers Maintain and Enact Dominant Racial Ideologies." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 12 (2): 197–215. doi:10.1080/13613320902995475.
- Reay, D. 1995. "‘they Employ Cleaners to Do That’: Habitus in the Primary Classroom." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 16 (3): 353–371. doi:10.1080/0142569950160305.
- Reay, D. 2004. "‘It’s All Becoming a Habitus’: Beyond the Habitual Use of Habitus in Educational Research." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 25 (1): 431–444. doi:10.1080/0142569042000236934.
- Reay, D., and H. S. Mirza. 1997. "Uncovering Genealogies of the Margins: Black Supplementary Schooling." *British Journal of Sociology* 18 (4): 477–499. doi:10.1080/0142569970180401.
- Rezai-Rashti, G. M., and W. J. Martino. 2010. "Black Male Teachers as Role Models: Resisting the Homogenizing Impulse of Gender and Racial Affiliation." *American Educational Research Journal* 47: 37–64. doi:10.3102/0002831209351563.
- Rhodes, D. 2017 July 13. "Schools Need 68,000 Extra BME Teachers to Reflect Population." *BBC News*, 21. <http://www.bbc.com/news/uk-england-40568987>
- Sleeter, C. 2001. "Preparing Teachers for Culturally Diverse Schools: Research and the Overwhelming Presence of Whiteness." *Journal of Teacher Education* 52 (2): 94–106. doi:10.1177/0022487101052002002.
- Stahl, G. 2013. "Habitus Disjunctures, Reflexivity and White Working-class Boys’ Conceptions of Status in Learner and Social Identities." *Sociological Research Online* 18: 3. doi:10.5153/sro.2999.
- Teachers, N. U. 2017. *Visible and Invisible Barriers: The Impact of Racism on BME Teachers*. London: Runnymede Trust and the National Union of Teachers.
- Thomas, E. E., and C. A. Warren. 2017. "Making It Relevant: How a Black Male Teacher Sustained Professional Relationships through Culturally Responsive Discourse." *Race Ethnicity and Education* 20 (1): 87–100. doi:10.1080/13613324.2015.1121217.
- Tomlinson, S. 1982. "A Note on the Education of Ethnic Minority Children in Britain." *International Migration Review* 16 (3): 646. doi:10.2307/2545373.
- Troyna, B. 1993. *Racism and Education: Research Perspectives*. Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Verma, G., and B. Ashworth. 1986. *Ethnicity and Educational Achievement in British Schools*. London: Macmillian Press.
- Wallace, D. 2017a. "Distinctiveness, Deference and Dominance in Black Caribbean Fathers’ Engagement with Public Schools in London and New York City." *Gender and Education* 29 (5): 594–613. doi:10.1080/09540253.2017.1296118.
- Wallace, D. 2017b. "Reading ‘race in Bourdieu? Examining Black Cultural Capital among Black Caribbean Youth in South London." *Sociology* 51 (5): 907–923. doi:10.1177/0038038516643478.

- Wallace, D. 2018a. "Safe Routes to School? Black Caribbean Youth Negotiating Police Surveillance in London and New York City." *Harvard Educational Review* 88 (3): 261–286. doi:10.17763/1943-5045-88.3.261.
- Wallace, D. 2018b. "Cultural Capital as Whiteness? Examining Logics of Ethno-Racial Representation and Resistance." *British Journal of Sociology of Education* 39 (4): 466–482. doi:10.1080/01425692.2017.1355228.
- Wallace, D. 2019. "The Racial Politics of Cultural Capital: Perspectives from Black Middle Class Pupils and Parents in a London Comprehensive." *Cultural Sociology* 13 (2): 159–177. doi:10.1177/1749975519839521.
- Watson, A. 2017. "Male Delivery': A Critical Investigation of What Boys Have to Say about the Influence of Male Teachers on Literacy Engagement and Achievement." *Educational Review* 69 (1): 102–117. doi:10.1080/00131911.2016.1169996.
- Wilkins, C., and R. Lall. 2011. "'you've Got to Be Tough and I'm Trying': Black and Minority Ethnic Student Teachers' Experiences of Initial Teacher Education." *Race, Ethnicity and Education* 14 (3): 365–386. doi:10.1080/13613324.2010.543390.